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EDITED BY
CHARLES H. GRANDGENT
SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION

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NEW SERIES, VOL. X, 1.

I.—ON THE DATE AND COMPOSITION OF *THE
OLD LAW*¹

It is the purpose of this paper to study the unassisted work of Middleton, of Rowley, and of Massinger for the individual characteristics of these men. From the characteristics thus arrived at, the part each man probably took in the com-

¹ The texts used in this paper are as follows:

Middleton's Plays; edited by A. H. Bullen, Boston, 1885.

Massinger's Plays; edited by Arthur Symonds, Mermaid Series, 1893.

Rowley's Plays; *All's Lost by Lust*, London, 1633. (The quarto.)

A Match at Midnight, in vol. ii of *Ancient British Drama*,
3 vols. London, 1810.

A Woman Never Vexed, in vol. xii of Hazlitt's *Dodsley*,
4th edition, London, 1875.

In making quotations for the purpose of illustration, I have been confronted by a dilemma. If I made them long enough to be perfectly clear to a person not very familiar with the plays, the paper would be too long. But if I cut them shorter, there was danger of failure to be convincing. In trying to take a middle course I fear I have oftenest erred on the side of brevity; I hope, therefore, that those interested in *The Old Law* will carefully reread the play before attempting section v of this paper.

I desire here to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor George P. Baker of Harvard University for his courteous and valuable assistance during the preparation of this paper; also to my colleague, Professor Frank E. Farley, for helpful criticism.

position of *The Old Law* will be determined. This assignment of parts will be used as the basis for determining the probable method of composition, and the approximate date of the play.

I.

It will be necessary to consider Middleton's characteristics only as they appear in the seven plays by him published in 1602, 1607, and 1608, since his part in *The Old Law* is pretty generally thought to be very early. Bullen¹ assigns the date of this play to 1599 apparently on no further evidence than the speech of the Clerk in act III, scene 1, line 34; speaking of Agatha, the Clerk says, "Born in an. 1540, and now 'tis '99." Bullen adds, however, that this is "a point on which we cannot speak with certainty." Fleay,² Dyce,³ C. H. Herford,⁴ and A. W. Ward,⁵ all agree on this date and evidence, but Ward adds that the play "in subject as well as in occasional details savours of the student." Further evidence for the early writing of Middleton's part in this play may be found by comparing it in plot and general treatment with six other plays of the same type, usually considered to be by Middleton alone. *Blurt, Master-Constable*, and *The Phoenix*, which are known to be early, *The Mayor of Queensborough*, *Women Beware Women*, *More Dissemblers besides Women*, and *The Witch*, which it is generally agreed are later, are all of the same general type of plot. They have a tragic main plot and a comic sub-plot. The differences are, the last four are distinctly romantic and tragic in their serious parts; the first two are solved without serious results, though they might easily have ended fatally. The comedy

¹ *The Works of Thomas Middleton*; ed. by A. H. Bullen, vol. i, p. xv.

² *Chronicle of the English Drama*; F. G. Fleay, 2 vols. 1891.

³ *The Works of Thomas Middleton*; ed. by A. H. Dyce, 5 vols. 1840.

⁴ Article on *Thomas Middleton*, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, by C. H. Herford; vol. xxxvii.

⁵ *A History of English Dramatic Literature*; by A. W. Ward, 3 vols.; 1899; vol. ii, p. 501.

of the former two is prominent and from distinctly lower London life; that of the latter four is less prominent and concerns people of a higher station in life. Finally the appreciation and expression of the awfulness of wrong is distinctly better in the latter four than it is in the former two of these plays. Now a single reading of *The Old Law* will show that it belongs with *The Phoenix* and *Blurt, Master-Constable* rather than with *The Mayor of Queensborough* or with *The Witch*, not to mention the still more evidently later plays, *Women Beware Women* and *More Dissemblers besides Women*.

For the present purpose, then, the distinguishing characteristics of Middleton's early work will be derived from *Blurt, Master-Constable*, printed in 1602, and the six comedies printed or licensed for printing in 1607 and 1608; namely, *The Phoenix*, *Michaelmas Term*, *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, *The Family of Love*, *Your Five Gallants*, and *A Mad World My Masters*.¹

In these plays approximately two-thirds of the matter is in prose, and one-third in dramatic or epic blank verse. A few songs, however, that have no real connection with the plays, are introduced here and there, as in *BMC*, I, 2, 209-216, where the pages remain, after the action of the scene is over, to sing for us. Another slight exception is found in the heroic couplets now and then occurring in *BMC*, *MW*, and *MT*. Yet this use of song and rime is by no means prominent in these plays; it merely shows Middleton's sympathy with the dominant forms of the drama, and his leaning toward the romantic and idealistic without the ability to give it adequate expression.

All this verse is pretty uniformly regular as to number of feet, and smooth in quality. It is sometimes noticeable, even, that poetical expression is kept at the expense of

¹ Hereafter these plays will be called respectively, *BMC*, *P*, *MT*, *TCO*, *FofL*, *YFG*, and *MW*.

naturalness and brevity. A somewhat exaggerated case, though really typical, is found in *FofL*, V, 2, 25-36, of which I quote the first five verses:

Gerardine?
Aurora, nor the blushing sun's approach,
Dart not more comfort to this universe
Than thou to me: most acceptably come!
The art of number cannot count the hours
Thou hast been absent.

This is not mere lover's hyperbole, but it is the writer's attempt to express in good verse a simple though passionate welcome from a girl to her lover. The response is similar and worse. An equally formal and almost antiphonal scene occurs in *YFG*, I, 2, 1-23. The antiphonal quality of this latter passage is rather unusual, but the formal fulness of the verse, almost if not quite padding, is thoroughly typical of Middleton's longer speeches. The most notable exceptions to this uniformity of verse are in *YFG*, which besides containing incomplete verses in several places, has eight double endings in sixteen lines in I, 2, 83-98. A few rough verses, too, are scattered through the plays, like *FofL*, IV, 2, 2:

Thou power predominate, more to be admir'd,

and some irregular ones, like line 97:

Is happiness sought by the gods themselves,

and like I, 1, 105, in *MW*:

Yet willingly embrace it—love to Harebrain's wife.

But with the exception of a few such lines, the verse errs on the side of dull regularity.

In the distribution of prose and verse, also, Middleton seems somewhat self-conscious. Dignified, serious topics, like love, honor, bravery, integrity, whether they are merely talked about by the characters or whether they are the domi-

nant influences in the action of the play, are almost always presented in verse. But the moment there is a change to the light and humorous, there is a change of form. The only important exceptions to this occur in *YFG*. These exceptions, however, cannot be allowed to weigh fully against the other plays for two reasons: first, the verse in these places is essentially unlike that in the other five plays; and second, although this play was licensed for printing in March, 1607-8, the quarto bears no date, so it may be much later and revised by another hand. A single passage to show the quality of the verse; IV, 8, 48-57:

When things are cleanly carried, sign of judgment:
 I was the welcom'st gallant to her alive
 After the salt was stolen; then a good dinner,
 A fine provoking meal, which drew on apace
 The pleasure of a day-bed, and I had it;
 This here one ring can witness: when I parted,
 Who but *sweet master Goldstone*? I left her in that trance.
 What cannot wit, so it be impudent,
 Devise and compass? I'd fain know that fellow now
 That would suspect me but for what I am.

A good example of a sudden change from verse to prose because of the change of theme, is found in *P*, I, 4. Up to line 197, since law has been treated humorously as the means of gulling some one, the speeches are all in prose; but the moment Phoenix begins speaking of law in a higher sense, the form becomes verse. A similar case may be found in *FofL*, V, 2, 39-42, where the change is made in the midst of a speech because Gerardine turns from talking to Maria of their approaching marriage, to ask her an ordinary question about some of the less dignified characters in the play:

At Dryfat's house, the merchant, there's our scene,
 Whose sequel, if I fail not in intent,
 Shall answer our desires and each content.
 But when sawest thou Lipsalve and Gudgeon, our two gallants?

Compare also the curious use of prose and verse in *BMC*, I, 1, 123-133, quoted on page 12. This practice of poetical

expression for the serious treatment of serious topics, or for increased effectiveness, is surprisingly constant throughout these plays.

Middleton's early prose is usually well written, adapted to the characters, and conversational. It is for the most part better adapted to its purpose than is the verse; he seems more at home with it. There are a few exceptions, like the euphuistic prose in *BMC*, I, 1, 100-104, and the stiff phrasing in some parts of the induction to *MT*; but on the whole, Middleton subordinates the means to the end better while using prose than while using verse. The reader is seldom, if ever, conscious of the style while the characters are talking his colloquial prose.

The people who occupy the important places in the plays are mostly from the lower ranks of society. They are the kind one would meet in Eastcheap or on the Bankside, excepting five people in *P*, and one of slight importance in *BMC*. These are two dukes, the son of a duke, and three nobles. Of these gentlefolk, only Phoenix and one of the nobles are more than puppets in the play. Phoenix, to be sure, develops considerable character; he and his companion in disguise stand out in striking contrast to the law-breakers that make up the rest of the action. But Middleton is unable to keep him from becoming decidedly priggish in his search for the vices in his dukedom. The result is an unattractive hero. Two good instances of his priggishness are found in his apostrophes to law and to marriage. In the former case, Phoenix and his friend have been observing a perverter of the law in his dealings with simple people; the pettifogger is called out to see a captain, whereupon the friend asks, "What captain might this be?" Phoenix, rapt out of consciousness of the question, makes no reply but soliloquizes on law for thirty lines thus:

Thou angel sent amongst us, sober Law,
Made with meek eyes, persuading action,
No loud immodest tongue,

Voic'd like a virgin, and as chaste from sale,
Save only to be heard, but not to rail;
How has abuse deform'd thee to all eyes,
That where thy virtues sat, thy vices rise! etc.

I, 4, 197-203.

At the end of the speech, the friend repeats his question with better results. The passage on marriage is in II, 2, 162-196. These elaborate monologues are as ill-timed as would be Henry V's speech "Upon the king," if it were to follow Falstaff's caricature of Henry IV, in the first part of the play by that name. It is evident, therefore, that Middleton was unable at this time to fit dignified people into his plays. He does not seem quite at home with them.

It is equally clear that Middleton was considerably interested in the lower classes; at all events, he handled them much better. His touch is sure and his appreciation is excellent when dealing with the common people. He must have known all kinds of men and women of the lower social stratum, from the young spendthrift, Witgood, who got back his squandered fortune by his wits, to Frippery, the broker gallant, who grew rich upon the prodigality of his friends; from the lascivious jeweler's wife, who secretly supported her "friend in court," to the keen-witted servant of the courtesan, who poured a pail of dirty water from an upper window upon the head of a too importunate old courtier. The perfect naturalness of the whole list of shrewd, reckless, good-natured, immoral characters is unmistakable.

The kind of people who are most prominent in these plays will no doubt account for the fact that in none of the seven is there a leading character who really wins our admiration. However attractive they may be in other parts of the play, without exception they somewhere do things or show characteristics that we cannot admire in a hero or a heroine. Not only does the modern reader feel this, but it is impossible to imagine a competent critic of the seventeenth century feeling otherwise. The failure to idealize Phoenix has already been

mentioned. In the same play Castiza is made an exemplary lady in most situations, but it is almost impossible to understand how she could have married the captain. After calling her a fool for marrying him, the captain sells her to a man who with the captain's consent has already tried to seduce her. Caught in the act of selling, the captain is arrested; whereupon Castiza says:

Who hath laid violence upon my husband,
My dear sweet captain? Help!

II, 2, 297-298.

In *FofL*, Gerardine and Maria would make an ideal pair of lovers in many ways, but they are obliged to hasten their marriage at the end of the play that their child may be born in wedlock. In *YFG*, Fitsgrave and Katherine keep their honor and are shrewd in their actions, but they are priggish in their moral superiority over their friends and associates. And so through the rest of the plays; not a single character wins unqualified sympathy. Of the two, the men are better understood than the women, but there is lack of full appreciation of human nature even among the people Middleton knew best.

The fact that there are no heroes or heroines in these plays does not imply that there are no interesting characters. Like Satan in *Paradise Lost*, the sharpers and the courtesans carry off the honors. If moral and ethical questions are disregarded, as of course they may be in comedy, there are some excellent people in these plays. There can be no doubt that the police force and Lazarillo in *BMC*, were irresistably funny on the stage. So were Falso and his servants, and Tangle in *P*. The exquisite scheming of Quomodo in *MT*, and his complete overthrow by the man he had wronged must have been very effective. And so on through a long list of people like the two old sharpers gulled in *TCO*, like the broker-gallant and the cheating-gallant in *YFG*, and like Sir Bounteous Progress and Follywit in *MW*. Here also, as in the case

of the more honest characters, the women fall below the men in naturalness; but I cannot help admiring the wit, energy, and good sense of the courtesan in *TCO*. Aside from the fact that she is called a courtesan, and is treated accordingly, her actions and character on the stage would place her on a level with the best in the play. She and Imperia in *BMC*, in spite of the stigma of their names, are the most interesting and life-like women in these plays. They are real people from the streets of London, full of interest because so thoroughly plausible.

Part of the interest felt in the characters of this class, is no doubt due to the fact that both the men and the women are quick in conversation, apt in repartee, and shrewd in all their dealings. The very fact that so many of them are professional gullers and cheats would make keen wits necessary. In five of the plays, all but *BMC* and *P*, the hero and the heroine win by the sharpest kind of scheming against no mean opponents. In *YFG*, as the name shows, there are five professionals whose only business is to show us how such fellows get their living out of the simpler people. In the two plays just excepted there is no lack of sharp practice, though the plot of the play does not hinge on these wit-contests. For instance, Falso's mock trial of his own servant, and Tangle's living upon the gullible court followers, in *P*, are really subordinated to the rest of the plot, but they are two of the most effective scenes in the play. The same is true of Imperia and her discarded suitors in *BMC*.

Considering the knowledge that Middleton seems to have had of the London lower life, it is surprising that his plays show so little appreciation of its serious aspect. Even recognizing the fact that most of this work is comedy, there still remain places where the serious side of that life can hardly be ignored. Whether he was unable to see it or unable to express it is not very clear. That the latter is likely to have been the difficulty is shown by such cases as that of Penitent Brothel and Mistress Harebrain in *MW*. Scene 2 of act III

could have been made just as effective without the actual sin, for that plays practically no part in the action. Middleton, however, allows the sin a place, and without doubt gains in realism thereby; then in his attempt to maintain ethical verity he makes the sinner repent, but in a most formal and categorical manner. So far Middleton seems merely to be unable to phrase a serious situation. But this passage is followed by the entrance of a Succubus in the form of the woman to tempt the repentant sinner back to his sin. At best it is very low melodrama;—but I have a strong suspicion that the audience thought it excellent burlesque. The temptation, as a serious matter, is as ridiculous as the speech of repentance is unnatural. A few lines will show the temper of the speech of repentance:

Nay, I that knew the price of life and sin,
 What crown is kept for continence, what for lust,
 The end of man, and glory of that end,
 As endless as the giver,
 To doat on weakness, slime, corruption, woman!
 What is she, took asunder from her clothes?
 Being ready, she consists of an hundred pieces,
 Much like your German clock, and near ally'd;
 Both are so nice, they cannot go for pride:
 Besides a greater fault, but too well known,
 They'll strike to ten, when they should stop at one.

IV, 1, 14-24.

In *FofL*, the case is somewhat different. There the serious side of life is entirely disregarded. All through the play we are led to understand that Glister has had criminal relations with Mistress Purge. At the end of the play, however (V, 3, 400-428), the case is dismissed from a mock court, the only place where the guilty are called to account, with a little good advice and a promise to the injured husband that all will be well if he also will do as he ought. On the whole, therefore, it looks as though Middleton knew there was a serious side to this life, and as though he tried at times to express it; but he did not have a deep and genuine feeling

for the moral questions that unavoidably underlie the life he chose to portray.

The plots of these plays are realistic in method and motif; only in a slight degree are they romantic or tragic. On brief consideration, five of these plots seem to be little better than a stringing together of effective incidents: *P*, *MW*, *YFG*, *FofL*, and *BMC*. In *P*, for instance, Falso's abuse of justice especially in order to protect his disguised thieving servants, is well connected with his plan to detain his niece's dower. But these events have practically no connection with the half insane termor, Tangle, who is largely amusing because of his humorous gulling of others seeking their rights at law. The captain's attempt to prostitute his wife, and then, after failure in that, his attempt to sell her, are quite independent of the other two stories. And yet these varied incidents are mechanically unified by the fact that Phoenix, while investigating the vices of his dukedom, finds all of these abuses and corrects them. Thus the unifying element is really present, although quite secondary to the elements unified, for the Phoenix story is secondary in interest to at least three others in the play. However poor such a plot may be, there was plainly a carefully worked out plan at bottom. The plots of the other four plays show similar plan and similar looseness. In *TCO*, and in *MT*, however, there is developed a well balanced plot that of itself becomes interesting. The binding together is not in all places skilful, but for the most part it is effective. To a much greater extent than in the five plays first mentioned, these two plays not only arouse interest in the individual situations, but they make each situation increase the interest in the final solution.

Although in most of these early plays Middleton lacked a fine artistic sense in plot-construction, he showed remarkable ability in making effective scenes. Every play has at least two or three really excellent situations; and some plays are full of them, as *TCO*, and *MT*. That this fact is

due to his discrimination and not to chance is shown by the fact that not one of the seven plays is strong in plot and weak in situation, while five are weak in plot and strong in situation, and the other two are strong in plot and still stronger in situation. Middleton's regard for incident is still farther shown by the way effective scenes are introduced because they are effective regardless of their connection with the plot. There are a large number of these, as in *BMC*, III, 3, where Lazarillo reads a remarkable paper on the way women may get control of their husbands; or in *P*, where the principal purpose of the main plot is that a number of comic gulling scenes may be introduced; or in *FofL*, II, 3, and III, 2, in both of which Lipsalve and Gudgeon drop to pretty low comedy for the amusement of the pit, without advancing the plot at all; or in *MW*, III, 2, where the courtesan in mock illness entertains company and helps her friend to meet the merchant's wife almost under his very eyes, and in IV, 5, where she traps Follywit into marriage, neither of which scenes is vitally connected with an important main plot. It is, then, in his ability to choose the right kind of incidents, and to work them up into effective scenes, that Middleton showed the most promise in his early dramatic work.

The fact that these plays are all comedies, and also that in these plays character and plot are less artistically worked out than is incident, would naturally preclude the possibility of developing to any extent important themes. Some, however, are touched upon in a significant manner. Love is conventionally romantic, making the lover speak in all sorts of hyperboles, as in *BMC*, I, 1, 123-133:

My dear Violetta, one kiss to this picture of your whitest hand, when I was even faint with giving and receiving the dole of war, set a new edge on my sword, insomuch that

I singl'd out a gallant spirit of France,
And charged him with my lance in full career;
And after rich exchange of noble courage,

(The space of a good hour on either side),
 At last crying, Now for Violetta's honour !
 I vanquished him and him dismounted took,
 Not to myself, but prisoner to my love.

Similar extravagant passages are found in *FofL*, I, 2, 53-57, and 99-102. But this romantic love never becomes the central interest of the play ; it is rather subordinated to other things. The brevity of its presentation is well shown in the case of Fidelio and Falso's niece (she has no name) in *P*. The niece is given only about fifty lines divided into less than half as many speeches, and all occurring in five appearances on the stage. The most prominent romance is that of Gerardine and Maria in *FofL*. Here the woman appears ten times, but with no lines the last time, though it is the scene in which her troubles cease and she is promised to her lover in marriage. During the other nine appearances she has fifty-one speeches, making in all 208 lines or about four pages of the 108 pages of the play. Of these fifty-one speeches, sixteen have only one line, and but five have ten lines or more. Certainly romantic love is not given a prominent part in these plays, even though it might have been used to advantage in some instances.

The opportunities for pathos are not numerous, and where they occur, are handled with only moderate skill. In one of the best plays, *MT*, there are two cases somewhat alike ; a father follows a wayward daughter to London, and grieves over her fall, while he in disguise and not recognizing her serves her in her life of sin ; and a mother who has been deserted by a worthless son, follows him to London, and without knowing it though recognized by the son, serves as his drudge and pander. These two situations are practically the only ones in which Middleton even suggests the real pathos that underlay the life he was portraying. And even in these two instances the pathos is not emphasized, and may not have been noticed by the Elizabethans ; at most it is only suggested.

The principle involved in these plays, almost without exception, can be stated thus: the end plus a small amount of repentance, no matter how sudden, will justify the means and bring assured happiness to all. The only exceptions are that Proditor in *P* is banished for treason, the thieving boy and the bawd-gallant in *YFG* are whipped, and in several places men who have seduced women or lived with them unlawfully are compelled to marry them. But those who receive even such punishment are few and insignificant, in comparison with those who are forgiven for much worse crimes on promise of better behavior.

In connection with these peculiarities of theme and treatment, it should be distinguished that the result is unmoral rather than immoral. Seldom if ever does the language fall from the ordinary sixteenth century coarseness to obscenity. To the modern mind the humor is often vulgar and the expression direct, but it is never salacious. The worst cases occur in *FofL*, IV, 1, and V, 1; but quotations will not show the temper of these scenes, they must be read entire. It will then be seen that attention is all the time centered upon shrewd devices and keen repartee, not upon the sin, the alluring quality of which has not been suggested. It must be admitted, however, that these two cases are very near the danger point of twentieth century English morals, though they are quite in line with certain French comedy, such as *The Girl from Maxim's*. Moreover there is a noticeable absence of noise and horseplay like that in *The Comedy of Errors*. In no place is physical discomfort or suffering introduced solely for the sake of humor, as so frequently they are in the contemporary farce comedy. The nearest approach to this is when the cowardly Pursenet, in *YFG*, in attempting a robbery sets upon the wrong man and receives a drubbing for his pains; and when Curvetto, in *BMC*, becomes too assiduous in his attentions to Simperina, and receives a bucket of water from an upper window; or when Lazarillo, in the same play, receives somewhat similar treatment. On

the contrary, the fun is all worked out by the wits in devising comic situations and shrewd solutions. In these two things Middleton must have idealized the life to which he was otherwise so faithful.

Although Middleton for the most part seems to have gone directly to contemporary life for his material, it is not at all unusual to find rather surprising echoes of familiar Shakespearean lines and scenes. Compare *BMC*, I, 1, 194-196 :

Lady, bid him whose heart no sorrow feels
Tickle the rushes with his wanton heels :
I've too much lead in mine,

with *Romeo and Juliet*, I, 4, 35-36 :

Let wantons, light of heart,
Tickle the senseless rushes with their heels.

In at least three plays there are resemblances that extend to whole situations. In *FofL*, I, 2, 71 ff., Maria appears at the window and talks of her love for Gerardine, not knowing that he hears, in a manner that is strongly suggestive of Act II, scene 2, in *Romeo and Juliet*. Lethe in *MT*, I, 1, 257 ff., has a remarkable resemblance to Gobbo in *The Merchant of Venice*. In *BMC*, I, 2, 50 ff., IV, 3, 11 ff., and V, 3, entire, Blurt and his assistants show more than a chance resemblance to Dogberry in *Much Ado About Nothing*. For the present purpose it matters little which way the borrowing occurs; the important thing is the frequent resemblance to situations and lines in Shakespeare.

In brief, Middleton's characteristics in his early works are as follows: His prose is natural and colloquial; his verse is regular, smooth, padded in places, but seldom lyrical. The most sympathetically handled characters show him especially interested in the people of the lower ranks of society and the slums of London. The heroes and heroines do not win full sympathy, but they are decidedly interesting. Plots are carefully but inartistically constructed, and the

incidents are dramatically effective. Endless gulling is the main theme, aided by conventional romantic love and good-natured sin duly repented of. These are treated unmorally and thoughtlessly, not immorally and seductively. There is notable absence of pathos and burlesque comedy. Finally, there are frequent suggestions of Shakespearean lines and incidents.

II.

The only plays assigned in the early editions to William Rowley alone, are *A New Wonder; a Woman Never Vexed*, printed in 1632, *All's Lost by Lust*, printed in 1633, *A Match at Midnight*,¹ printed in 1633, and *A Shoemaker's a Gentleman*, printed in 1638. The last of these has not been accessible to me, so only the first three are considered in this study. Of these three, only *ALL* has been accepted by later critics as being undoubtedly by Rowley alone. The genuineness of *WNV* is not doubted by Mr. Thomas Seccomb,² or by Mr. A. W. Ward;³ but Mr. Fleay⁴ thinks that the original play was by Heywood. In regard to *MatM*, Mr. Bullen says, "I strongly favour Mr. Fleay's view that Rowley merely altered it (*circ.* 1622) for a revival, and that the real author was Middleton. It is written very much in the style of Middleton's early comedies of intrigue."⁵ Mr. A. W. Ward and Mr. Thomas Seccomb give no opinion; but the assertion by Mr. Bullen has been carefully considered by Miss P. G. Wiggin.⁶ She concludes that there is not sufficient reason to doubt the assertion of the first edition,

¹ These plays will hereafter be referred to respectively as *WNV*, *ALL*, and *MatM*.

² Article on *William Rowley*, in *The Dictionary of National Biography*.

³ *A History of English Dramatic Literature*; vol. ii, p. 543.

⁴ *Chronicle of the English Drama*; vol. ii, p. 103.

⁵ *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, edited by A. H. Bullen; vol. i, p. lxxix.

⁶ *An Inquiry into the Authorship of the Middleton-Rowley Plays*; Boston, 1897; pp. 7-13.

that Rowley wrote the play. For the present purpose, therefore, it will be assumed that *ALL* furnishes undisputed evidence, and that *WNV* and *MatM* furnish very strong contributory evidence as to the characteristics of Rowley's dramatic work.

These three plays show Rowley in three different styles of composition. *WNV* has a tragic main plot and comic sub-plot, with the tragic element resolved without disaster. *MatM* is a realistic comedy of London lower life. *ALL* is a tragedy of blood with a slight romantic element and a few comic scenes for contrast. The first two plays are, therefore, like the seven early Middleton plays in plot; the last belongs to an entirely different class of drama.

Considering the divergence of material and method in these plays, there is a remarkable agreement in style. Each play contains both prose and verse: *MatM* is all prose except about 130 lines, the other two plays are largely verse. The prose style is not marked by any distinguishing characteristics. It is colloquial and direct, well expressing the kind of people who utter it. The verse, however, is quite different; that has qualities of its own. Although there are a few rimed lines, they are not numerous, and lyric effects are practically unknown in these plays. On the contrary the blank verse is rugged, vigorous, often noisy; as though Rowley were trying to produce the Marlowesque effect without the poetical power to give resonance to the verse. When excited people try to "do it in King Cambyzes' vein," their verses usually trip them, as in *WNV*, act III, end:

MrsF. No, no, 'tis thine, thou wretch; and therefore
 Let me turn my vengeance all on thee; thou
 Hast made hot haste to empty all my warehouses,
 And made room for that the sea hath drunk before thee.

.
 May serpents breed,
 And fill this fated stream, and poison her forever.

OFos. O curse not; they come too fast!

Mrs.F. Let me curse somewhere, wretch, or else I'll throw
Them all on thee; 'tis thou, ungodly slave,
That art the mark unto the wrath of heaven:
I thriv'd ere I knew thee.

Such lines as these are frequent, in which smoothness of verse and rhythm are sacrificed to rather bombastic vigor.

In order to avoid needless repetition, comparison of Rowley's verse with that of Middleton will be omitted till after the study of Massinger's characteristics, when all three men will be considered together. The other characteristics of Rowley will be taken up in direct relation with those of Middleton. This direct comparison of the two men is made desirable because they dealt with such similar situations and worked with such similarity of method that the differences are often in degree rather than in kind. These differences, of course, can be illustrated only, not proved; but the illustrations can be made with similar passages, and therefore will carry some force as indications of method.

The difference in vulgarity can be seen by comparing the process by which Witgood gulls Hoard into marrying his courtesan, in Middleton's *TCO*, and a similar gulling process in *MatM*, where Tim Bloodgood marries a whore and his father barely escapes the same fate with a bawd. In *TCO*, but for the fact that the woman is called a courtesan, and is now and then spoken of as having been Witgood's mistress, the reader would hardly suspect her character. In the play itself she says and does nothing which the Chaste Maid in Cheapside might not have said and done. The absence of vulgar allusion and of suggestive details, and the constant keeping to the front of the shrewdness of the tricks by which the old men are gulled, are surprising if we consider the real character of the people concerned. Compare this phrasing with that of the situations in *MatM*. In the latter play the audience is never allowed to forget the character of the bawd and whore, although they have names to cover somewhat their character. Every time they appear they are

in their parts, from the time when they capture Tim at the tavern to the time when Mrs. Coote is taken in the chamber with Ear-lack, and then with Sue Shorthheels sent away to prison. Their language is constantly suggestive or salacious. The nearest to Sue and Mrs. Coote that Middleton has done, is the courtesan in *MW*. But there is a marked difference even here. Middleton draws the attention of the audience to the keen wit shown by the courtesan in deceiving the jealous husband and in getting rid of the troublesome suitors, not to the things that are actually going on. In Rowley's play attention is drawn to the vulgarity or indecency of the situation; in Middleton's, attention is centered upon the humor that attends the situation. This is a distinct difference in method, whatever it may be in morals.

This difference is fully borne out by certain scenes in *ALL*. In act I, Roderick considers it necessary to employ a bawd. She is brought upon the stage and examined as to her qualifications, with no other result than to make some vulgar jests. There is absolutely no development of character or furtherance of plot or real humor of situation. Again in the beginning of act II, she and Lothario amuse the pit with jests about their occupations in lines quite devoid of any kind of wit or humor; they have nothing but their ribaldry to excuse their existence. In short, Rowley seems to introduce vulgar situations for their own sake, but Middleton because they can be made the basis for genuine humor.

Another noticeable characteristic of Rowley is his constant punning. His manner of using puns to eke out action or in place of it is well shown by comparing two gambling scenes. One is in act II of *WNV*, and the other in act II, scene 3, of *YFG*. The entire action of the former scene is as follows: While the men are playing at dice and quarreling, the host of the tavern has to go below to quiet the bowlers. Soon after his return he has to quiet the card players above. Meanwhile the dicers keep on playing and commenting on their poor plays and quarreling. While the host is gone

the second time, the dicers fall to fighting over the false dice, whereupon the host and some friends of the hero come in and stop the fight. During the brawl the bowlers come in and steal the cloaks of the dicers. While the owners are in hot dispute with the host about the lost cloaks, in come some more friends of the hero, and the real action of the play is resumed. Thus 160 lines are used merely to catch the hero at dice, regardless of the fact that we all know him to be a confirmed gambler. The noise below and above, the fight, the cheating at play, the loss of the cloaks,—all of this has no other use than to let us find the hero in bad company in order that the action may begin. This passage has absolutely no value in itself, and is carried merely by tiresome and persistent punning. In the first thirty-six lines there are no less than nine plays upon words. Their quality may be judged by the following :

Steph. Seven still, pox on't ! that number of the deadly sins
haunts me damnably. Come, sir, throw.

Jack. Prythee, invoke not so : all sinks too fast already.

Hugh. It will be found again in mine host's box. [*The dice are thrown.*]

Jack. In still, two thieves and choose thy fellow.

Steph. Take the miller.

Jack. Have at them, i' faith.

Hugh. For a thief, I'll warrant you ; who'll you have next ?

Jack. Two quatres and a trey.

Steph. I hope we shall have good cheer, when two caters and a tray go to market.

The larger part of the conversation is just such a weak attempt to take up the words of the last speaker and turn them in some witty way. Apart from this word-play fully one half of the 160 lines have no reason to exist.

Although the scene in *YFG* is much longer it really seems less padded because it is all the time furthering the plot of the play. Every scrap of conversation and every bit of action help us to a better understanding of the moral character of the persons concerned, and accomplish this end in a witty or humorous manner. Whether or not such a plot is good,

is not the question here. For instance, in II, 3, 83-104, Bungler explains in a really humorous dialogue, how he has schooled himself to forget whom he would. Lines 50-62, in which Goldstone tries to steal the beakers and gets caught, would make excellent acting. Lines 141 and following, in which Goldstone and his servant manage to fleece the whole company by Goldstone's pretending to be angry that his servant should dare to offer to play with them, is effectively handled. So of all the other situations, notably of the last, in which Goldstone gets away with a large gold cup by not desiring to mistrust anyone there, but by preferring to pay the host his share of its value of it rather than have all the company searched.

The same difference between Rowley and Middleton is evident from the witty scenes in *ALL*. In this play, puns are the stock form of humor for the clown, and they are the principal form of conversation between Antonio and Dionisia. In the latter case they are supposed to represent polite conversation which is to result in the two participants falling in love with each other, as in act II :

- Dio.* Worthy sir,
My noble father entreats some words with you.
- Ant.* A happy messenger invites me to him.
How shall I quit your pains?
- Dio.* I'll take my travail for't sir.
- Ant.* 'Tis too little.
- Dio.* I think it too much, sir,
For I was loath to travel thus far, had not
Obedience tied me to't.
- Ant.* You're too quick.
- Dio.* Too quick, sir; why, what occasion have I given you
To wish me dead?
- Ant.* I cannot keep this pace with you, lady.
I'll go speak with your father?
- Dio.* I pray stay, sir, I'll speak with you myself.
- Ant.* Before your father?
- Dio.* No, here in private, by yourself.
- Laz.* I'll stop my ears, madam.
- Dio.* Why, are they running away from your head, sir?

Laz. I mean I'll seal them up from hearing, lady.

Dio. You may: no doubt they have wax of their own.

Such passages, and a good many of them, show pretty clearly that Rowley believed in punning as a legitimate means of humor, and that he allowed it to carry him quite away from the purpose of the scene.

Rowley's humorous scenes are also helped out in many places by rather noisy action if not by burlesque. In *MatM*, Captain Carvegut and Alexander Bloodhound are swash-bucklers when they dare act their purposes, as is well shown in the tavern scene or in the first visit of Alexander to the Widow. The Clown in *WNV* is exceedingly noisy in his objection to his mistress' marriage, and equally so in his final acceptance of his new master. Similarly in *ALL*, in the beginning of the last act, when the kingdom of Spain is tottering to its fall, in comes Lothario, the king's gentleman pander, with a rope around his neck, scared almost to suicide but lacking the courage to end his own life. He meets the Clown who refuses to help him out of the world, so they make horse-play fun for the audience, and retire. In a word, then, Rowley's humorous scenes contain weak punning, noise, and coarse jest, while Middleton uses real wit in humorous action.

In the matter of plot construction, the difference between Rowley and Middleton is one of conscious method rather than of result. Both men seem to have striven for effective situations at the expense of proportion or consistency of plot. In the tragic part of *WNV* there is a notable lack of causation. One cannot help wondering just why Brewen should be so willing to sell his half interest in the commercial venture when the ships have returned as far as Dover, and when his share of the profits is known to be worth twice what he sold for. It is a strange coincidence that the ships should all be lost at the Thames mouth just after the bargain was made. Next, one is surprised that the widow should be so anxious to marry a worthless fellow merely to be vexed once in her life ;

and then comes the startling information that the worthless fellow has become a most exemplary husband. Finally, one is a little surprised at the way the father casts off his son for helping the uncle ; but that is not a circumstance to the perversity with which the father refuses to believe that his son really wants to help him in his trouble, even when the son stands ready to offer the best of proof of his sincerity. The father is merely mad with anger at nothing except that, as in the other cases, the plot requires him to be so or the play will stop. In *MatM*, the scheme of gulling is better worked out for the most part, though it is a little hard to explain the relation of seven alternating appearances and exits of Randall on the one hand and of Captain Carvegut and Lieutenant Bottum on the other. At best these are a very clumsy stage device to explain a part of the play that is to follow. Otherwise the scenes work up well to the inevitable conclusion of such a play,—namely, the punishment of the wicked, the gulling of the father and old lover, and the marrying of the faithful girl and her young lover.

A slightly different phase of this tendency in Rowley to sacrifice consistency and unity of plot to effectiveness of situation is shown in *ALL*. As was said earlier, there is no apparent reason for Malina's appearance in the first act except that her vulgar jests will please the pit. There is reason against it in that it is out of keeping with the character of a king who has won the implicit confidence of such a general as Julianus. The same criticism holds of her appearance with Lothario in the beginning of the second act. Such a vulgarization of the rape of Jacinta is not consistent with the attitude of Julianus toward his king, and there is no reason why Julianus should not know the character of the king. To the same kind of carelessness is due the loose binding together of the two parts of the plot. Whether or not they are taken directly from the original story is not in point here ; the fact is that the plot is made up of two quite different stories, with a purely mechanical unification. The three points of contact

between the story of Antonio and his two wives and the story of Julianus and his ravished daughter are as follows: the two men go to the same war; both are present at the conference with a captain of the forces of a neighboring city at which Antonio, already married to a poor girl at home, falls in love with the captain's daughter; at the end of the play, Antonio comes upon the stage to die as the result of a wound given him by Julianus because he had upbraided Julianus with the fall of their kingdom. Thus only at one point, and that a very slight one, does one story influence the other.

A brief consideration of *BMC* will show how Middleton has woven a main plot and sub-plot together. In the main plot, Fontinelle, a war-prisoner of Camillo, falls in love with Violetta, the fiancée of Camillo, and marries her. In the sub-plot, Curvetto, an old courtier, and Lazarillo, an eccentric Spaniard, make love to Imperia, a courtesan, and her servant. Frisco is another servant of Imperia, and Hippolito is the brother of Violetta. Now Camillo and Hippolito try to use Imperia and Frisco to entrap Fontinelle, and so to cure Violetta of her love for him by showing his love for the courtesan. By this means Frisco is able to help Fontinelle to escape from prison and to marry Violetta. Then Lazarillo and Curvetto, who at first seem to serve only for the sport of the audience, bring about a situation where they call out the city guard just in time to prevent Camillo and Hippolito from forcibly entering Imperia's house in search of Fontinelle and Violetta, whom they intend to murder. Similarly in *P*, each part of the sub-plot bears directly upon the main plot. There is evidently a plan underlying both these plays, however unwise and inartistic. The difference between the two dramatists is indicated by the difference between *ALL* and *BMC*. The former is more mechanical in its putting together, but more plausible and clear on the stage; the latter is more carefully devised, but less clear on the stage. One was the result of stage experience and not much careful forethought; the other, of forethought but not much stage experience.

Middleton overcame his difficulty, as is shown in *TCO*; there is no evidence that Rowley ever worked out a better plot than that in *MatM*, which at best is a poor imitation of the play by Middleton just named.

In his vigorous attitude toward life, Rowley is quite different from Middleton. For instance, Sue Shorthells and Mrs. Coote are both sent off to jail in *MatM* after they have served their purpose in gulling the more respectable persons,—a thing not heard of in Middleton, where they would have repented in their last few lines. In *WNV*, also, there is a more intense feeling toward the wrongdoers. At times, to be sure, it becomes little better than coarse vituperation, yet it represents a vigor of mind not found in Middleton's early work. This difference is shown by comparing the language used by Hoard and Lucre in their quarrel in *TCO*, I, 3, 3-16, with that used by Mrs. Foster and Old Foster in *WNV*, act I, p. 104. This same virility produces pathos in some instances, as in *ALL*, act II:

Jac. Remember what my father does for you,
He's gone to brandish gainst your enemies,
He's fetching your honour home; while at home
You will dishonour him.

Rod. My purpose 'twas,
To send him forth the better to achieve
My conquest here.

Jac. Tyrannous, unkingly.

Rod. Tush, I have no cares.

Jac. He'll be revenged.

Rod. Pity, nor future fears—

Jac. Help, help, some good hand help!

Rod. There's none within thy call.

Jac. Heaven hears.

Rod. Tush, 'tis far off.

So far the scene is deeply pathetic; but then Rowley drops to the conventional rime-tags for the end of the scene and consequently becomes bathetic:

Jac. See heaven, a wicked king, lust stains his crown,
Or strike me dead, or throw a vengeance down.

Rod. Tush, heaven is deaf, and hell laughs at thy cry.

Jac. Be cursed in the act, and cursed die.

Rod. I'll stop the rest within thee. [*Exit dragging her.*]

All this vigor of feeling, whether in the form of bombastic vituperation, or pathos, or bathos, is quite different from the more elaborately and carefully expressed feeling of Middleton's early work.

To summarize: The differences between Middleton and Rowley in the plays where they used the same kind of materials and sought the same results, are substantiated by a consideration of Rowley's tragedy. Rowley's verse is less regular, less rhythmical than Middleton's; his treatment of vulgar themes is coarser and more salacious; thin punning and noise are made to help out the comedy in place of genuine wit and humor; the plots and characters show less thought, but are quite as plausible on the stage; finally, Rowley's greater vigor is shown in his more intense attitude toward life and the resulting pathos or rant as the case may be.

III.

The qualities of Massinger's dramatic style are so generally agreed upon that they can be illustrated from three typical plays with a few references to others. The three referred to are, *The Duke of Milan*, a tragedy, *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, a comedy, and *The Great Duke of Florence*, a tragi-comedy. Reference will now and then be made to *The City Madam*, a tragi-comedy, and to *The Maid of Honour*,¹ a tragi-comedy that ends rather seriously. Mr. A. W. Ward² and Mr. Robert Boyle³ think there is a suggestion of Fletcher in *NWD*, but do not feel at all certain that he helped Massinger in writing the play. There has also been some doubt about

¹ Hereafter these plays will be referred to respectively as *DofM*, *NWD*, *GDF*, *CM*, and *MofH*.

² *A History of English Dramatic Literature*; vol iii, p. 21.

³ Article on *Philip Massinger*, in the Dictionary of National Biography.

CM, but Mr. Ward¹ concludes that the play is all by Massinger. For present purposes, therefore, I shall assume that these plays are all by Massinger; they certainly are sufficiently alike to warrant that conclusion without a more careful investigation of all of Massinger's work than has yet been made.

The general characteristics of these plays may be stated as follows: the style is self-conscious, parenthetical, elaborate, Latinized, but for the most part accurate; all of the plays show more or less of a romantic tendency; the principal characters belong to the nobility, even in the comedy; the plots are carefully worked out, with a proper explanation of everything unusual; there is a good general understanding of human nature without the power to phrase it, hence the stiffness of some situations and the elephantine humor; there is clearly a didactic purpose, however unethical may be the means by which it is attained. Wherein these characteristics are like those of Middleton (in the seven early plays) and those of Rowley, and wherein they are unlike, will be noticed as these qualities are developed.

Massinger's sentences are accurately constructed, but they are such as no mortal ever spoke off the stage. A single sentence from *DofM* will illustrate a constant practice with him; act III, scene 3:

Therefore, madam,
(Though I shall ever look on you as on
My life's preserver, and the miracle
Of human pity,) would you but vouchsafe,
In company, to do me those fair graces
And favours, which your innocence and honour
May safely warrant, it would to the duke,
I being to your best self alone known guilty,
Make me appear most innocent.

Such sentences are plainly the product of the study, and show a better Latin than English idiom. The verse is also accurate in number of syllables, but lacking in feeling for

¹*A History of English Dramatic Literature*; vol. iii, p. 34.

rhythm. The most noticeable thing about the verse is the number of double endings, the prosaic quality, and the absence of incomplete verses. The verses quoted above show in a brief example how prosaic pretty regular verse can be, though in the next to the last verse the accents will not be placed so that any rhythm whatever can be felt. And yet, in spite of the lack of poetic feeling in some of the lines, most of them will read easily if the reader does not try to torture them into verse. They would make good rhythmical prose.

As in the case of Rowley, the consideration of Massinger's verse (he wrote practically no prose) in connection with Middleton's will be omitted for the present to avoid repetition.

The romantic element occupies practically all the action in *DofM*, in *MofH*, and in *GDF*. In the other two plays it is less prominent; yet the love episode of Allworth and the daughter of Sir Giles Overreach is carried on in a thoroughly romantic manner, with a feared rival who turns out to be a helpful friend, with the proper deception of an objecting father, and with a midnight-elopement, all of which occupy a large part of our interest and of the *dénouement*. Similarly in *CM*, although the whole plot is made to center upon the marriage of the two daughters of the City Madam, and although the main moral lesson comes from the conquered pride of the mother, the main interest is in the methods by which the father and two lovers overcome that pride in the mother and daughters. So that, although these are not really romantic plays, they have a strong romantic tendency. Since Middleton introduced only a slight romantic element into his early plays but developed a stronger romantic tendency in his later work, and since Rowley showed rather more of a romantic tendency than did Middleton, this cannot be taken as a hard and fast mark of distinction between the three men; but it is so much more prominent in Massinger, that it is safe to say that he was more inclined to use romantic material than Rowley, and Rowley more than Middleton.

As is likely to happen in romance, the people in Massinger's plays are of excellent social standing. In three of these plays, kings, dukes, lords, and noble women occupy practically all our attention. But even in the other two, we are not among the common people. *NWD* has its duke, noble lady and her son, an extortioner who is "Sir" Giles, and a prodigal carefully named Wellborn lest we mistake him for a common fellow. *CM*, intended to teach proper humility in the wife of a rich city merchant, very carefully knights the merchant, marries one of the daughters to the son of a lord, and marries the other to a landed gentleman of parts. This care to give each play a proper social standing (and most of the other plays do not differ from these) is a distinct point of difference from Middleton and Rowley. In his early plays Middleton's interest was plainly with the common people. Rowley seems about equally divided in interest; but Massinger is almost entirely concerned with the nobility, or at the lowest, with people of gentle birth.

That Massinger worked out his plots with care is a fact generally accepted by critics. Indeed they are sometimes too elaborate: they smell of the midnight lamp. Such a romance as that in *GDF* is more like a military campaign between two brilliant generals, than like the perverse ways of romantic Cupid. Every important incident is carefully thought out and logically provided for. What else could Sanazarro do, since his love for the duchess was only lukewarm, than fall in love with the peerless Lidia! Then after he had found that Lidia loved another, and that the duchess had saved him from the angered duke, he very naturally discovered that he could love the duchess. There is no reason to doubt such fickleness in romance; moreover, Massinger has provided all the reasons and circumstances that make it possible; yet somehow the phrasing of the parts is not convincing. The actions are logical enough in their general trend, but the speeches are not phrased to suit the action. The details do not make plausible the general

outline Massinger has planned. So too of Bertoldo, in *MofH*. He could not well help loving the beautiful and pure Camiola; but when she had refused him absolutely, and when he had been away from her for some months, and when he was persistently wooed by the superb Duchess of Sienna, what could he do but accept her love and her dukedom! But here again, as in *GDF*, although the larger parts of the incidents are provided for, the individual speeches do not ring true. Massinger seems rather to have argued out what they should say than to have felt what people must have said. He could outline human action, but could not phrase it in detail.

Massinger's care in plot-construction is sometimes frustrated by lack of emphasis in the presentation of motives. For instance, the reader is hardly prepared, and much less the audience, for the malicious hatred of Francisco for Sforza in *DofM*. Not till the first few lines of the fifth act, though the revenge has been in progress since the middle of the second act, do we know the real motive for this specially honored favorite becoming the secret enemy of his patron. Then it is fully explained that Duke Sforza has ruined and cast off the sister of Francisco, and that Francisco is avenging his family honor. The fact was mentioned before, but so obscurely that no one would suspect its connection with Francisco's action. It looks, therefore, as though Massinger had planned well enough, but had misjudged the effect of the speech which he so carefully inserted as the plot-causation.

It is probably because of such seeming confusion in method, but really inadequate phrasing, that one critic says, "He rewards his good people and punishes the bad with the most scrupulous care; but the good or bad person at the end of the play is not always the good or bad person of the beginning.¹" Of course, no one would expect him to be; so I suppose the critic means that we are often surprised at the end of the play to learn who it is that has come out bad, and who has come

¹ Massinger's Plays. Mermaid ed., vol. i, p. xviii.

out good. This is without doubt true ; but the good and bad at the end were all arranged for in the plan, and a careful search will usually discover the reason for their change. The fault, then,—and it appears again in a still different form in his character-presentation,—is one of execution, not of plan.

In this carefulness of plot-construction, Massinger is followed at a little distance by Middleton, and at a much greater distance by Rowley. The difference between Massinger and Middleton is, that Massinger knew what constituted a good plot but could not phrase it, while Middleton lacked judgment as to what constituted a good plot. Rowley, on the other hand, seems not to have had much of a plan in mind, but to have trusted to his characters and his own instinct to work out the plot as necessity required.

It is doubtless because of Middleton's inability to make inevitable phrases that his characters fail in plausibility in a crisis. The more passionate they become, the longer and more declamatory their speeches. Thought does not answer thought, and feeling flash out into lasting phrase, even as vitally as they do in real life, not to mention what we expect in imaginative work. For instance, when Sanazarro, in *GDF*, secures a private interview with Lidia with whom he is desperately in love, he turns away after eight lines of purely formal compliment, and speaks three long asides of five, thirteen, and eleven lines respectively balancing three long embarrassed speeches by her. Another good case is at the end of act II of *DofM*, where occurs the temptation of Marcelia by Francisco. As has already been said, it is logical in general outline but quite unnatural in detail. The speeches are about such as two disinterested persons might use if they were debating the opposite sides of the question ; but no shrewd man, seeking revenge, would try to seduce the devoted wife of his over-trustful patron with the words of Francisco, and no woman of Marcelia's character would reply with her words. He begins with general flattery, follows that speech with more specific compliment, then in his third speech makes a plain

statement of his love. It looks logical and natural ; but the words are impossible in the mouths of both people. Act II, scene 1 :

Farewell, circumstance !

And since you are not pleased to understand me,
But by a plain and usual form of speech ;
All superstitious reverence laid by,
I love you as a man, and, as a man,
I would enjoy you. Why do you start, and fly me ?
I am no monster, and you but a woman,
A woman made to yield, and by example
Told it is lawful : favours of this nature
Are, in our age, no miracles in the greatest ;
And therefore, lady—

After this astounding proposition, the woman, who has been so far pictured as passionately devoted to her husband, remains to argue the matter for five pages more with this man, and answers :

Keep off!—O you Powers!—

Libidinous beast ! and, add to that, unthankful !
A crime, which creatures wanting reason fly from.
Are all the princely bounties, favours, honours,
Which, with some prejudice to his own wisdom,
Thy lord and raiser hath conferred upon thee,
In three days' absence, buried ? Hath he made thee,
A thing obscure, almost without a name,
The envy of great fortunes ? Have I graced thee,
Beyond thy rank, and entertained thee, as
A friend, and not a servant ? and is this,
This impudent attempt to taint mine honour,
The fair return of both our ventured favours !

These speeches are entirely unnatural ; and yet one cannot but feel that the general situation was properly conceived. Mas-singer seems to understand the voluntary and involuntary motives of human action ; he seems to have a wide acquaintance with human life ; he understands the natural sequence of events ; but he is unable to conceive of the individual actuated by individualistic motives and to give plausible expression to the resulting action. Naturalness of expression, the inevitable word for the particular situation, is rare in Mas-

singer. One cannot help feeling that the previously prepared outline of the plot was more keenly in his mind than the characters, and that attention to details of plan killed spontaneity of speech. Besides trying to say what they feel, the characters are burdened with the plot.

The differences between Massinger, Middleton, and Rowley in character presentation, are: Rowley does not elaborate his speeches more than the immediate needs of the situation require. Middleton's comedy characters are realistic to quite as great an extent as Rowley's, but his serious characters are inclined to be stilted. Massinger's characters are persistently self-conscious and periphrastic. Though Massinger and Middleton are somewhat alike in their presentation of serious characters, there is greater plausibility of speech in Middleton's work.

Self-consciousness of expression goes through all of Massinger's plays, and naturally kills the humor. The cook, the steward, the foolish gallant, are all watching their words too closely to be really funny. They have no abandon, they cannot get away from the plot. Just as we think some genuine humor is coming, it is either turned to a moral purpose, as when Tapwell, in *NWD*, receives a merited beating for his malicious abuse of Wellborn; or it is made to promote the serious part of the play, as when Sylli, in *MofH*, becomes a sort of antic foil to Camiola, so that she is able to give the audience some necessary information without resorting to soliloquy. In comedy, then, more than in anything else, Massinger is incapable of the keen wit and delightful humor of Middleton, and the boisterous fun of Rowley.

That Massinger had a pretty definite moral to teach, he seldom leaves to chance to discover. For instance, of the ten plays in the Mermaid edition, eight announce the moral in so many words, as in *Believe as You List*:

May my story
Teach potentates humility, and instruct
Proud monarchs, though they govern human things,
A greater power does raise, or pull down, kings!

And the teaching of the other two cannot be very deeply hidden, since *The Virgin Martyr* is usually taken as strong evidence that Massinger was a Roman Catholic; and *GDF*, although it forgives all the wrongdoers in the last few lines, does so with this caution:

Yet let not others
That are in trust and grace, as you have been,
By the example of our lenity,
Presume upon their sovereign's clemency.

The moral tag is missed only by a hair. In this attention to the moral teaching, Massinger is quite like Rowley, but unlike Middleton. Middleton carefully deals out repentance or punishment,—usually repentance,—to every erring one in the plays, but he does not try to make a sweeping application of the lessons to life. Rowley, like Massinger, gives prominence to the moral lesson, by making it the name of one play, and by tacking it to the end of the other two. The difference is that Massinger and Rowley are verbally didactic, while Middleton is so pervasively.

IV.

All I have said heretofore about the verse of Middleton, of Rowley, and of Massinger, was based upon general impressions from reading their plays, and could be only illustrated by examples, not proved. In order to verify these impressions, I have made a careful analysis of the verse in several plays. The figures given below are the result of that analysis.

One hundred lines of verse were taken from each of nine plays: Middleton's *BMC*, *MT*, *P*, and *A Game at Chess*; Rowley's *MatM*, *WNV*, and *ALL*; and Massinger's *DofM*, and *NWD*. In *MatM*, I have used all of the verse but about twenty or thirty lines, some of which are doubtful. In the other eight plays, I arbitrarily decided to take the first twenty lines of verse in each act.

After marking the lines as it seemed to me they should be read, I made a note of the following facts: 1. Elision, except of *-e-* in *-ed* and such usual ones as *I'll*, *I've*, *e'en*, etc. Under elision I have counted only the loss of a vowel that did not carry with it a consonant, and the loss of *-e* in *the*; as in *char(i)ty*, *trul(y) intending*, *walk th(e) horses*, etc. 2. Resolution of syllables; this means the breaking of one syllable into two, sometimes because of a vocalic consonant, as *em-bl-em*, *he-re*, etc., where the verse needed an extra syllable. 3. Trochees; these are marked on the basis of word or thought accent, excepting the possibilities under Schmidt's rule,¹ and counting as regular iambic feet all those that are made up of two almost equally light accents, like *stance of* in "This is the instance of my scorn'd disgrace," though there may be a shade more of emphasis on *stance* than on *of*. 4. Anapæstic feet; these are admitted to exist only where the rules for elision can not be applied, as in "And wakes the dull eye e'en of a Pūritān." 5. Accent on light syllables, such as unemphatic conjunctions, prepositions, and the definite and indefinite articles. 6. Double endings. 7. Regular verses,—admitting light accents, and a trochaic foot at the beginning of the verse or after the cæsural pause. 8. Regular verses,—admitting light accents, and a double ending of not more than one syllable. 9. Incomplete verses. 10. Regular verses,—admitting light accents only. 11. Regular verses,—admitting light accents, trochees in the first foot or just after the cæsural pause, and double endings of not more than one syllable.

In applying these rules, there were found some cases that could easily have been decided either of two ways. But as most of them did not involve important differences, and as they will about balance one another, they need not be especially considered. There are some other cases, however, that this classification could not cover. They are the almost hopeless

¹ "Dissyllabic oxytonical adjectives and participles become paroxytonical before nouns accented on the first syllable."—*Lexicon*, p. 1413.

prose lines that occur now and then in both Massinger and Rowley. For instance, no statistics of irregularities of verse will indicate the rythmical value of such lines as Rowley's

"Virtue and valour, (those fair twins"

or

"In which he casts his actions. Such a discreet temperance;"

or of Massinger's

"To all you meet; I am this day the state-drunkard."

It can be noted merely that they occur with about equal frequency in both Massinger and Rowley.

Before comparing the figures arrived at, a few facts about the plays should be recalled: *BMC* was printed in 1602, probably not more than four or five years after Middleton began writing. It is, therefore, pretty certain to be his work, not much if any changed by another hand. *MT* and *P* were printed in 1607, and the title pages say they were played by the Children of Paul's. They are, therefore, open to more suspicion, but were probably not revised by anyone, since they would not be likely to have two runs at the theatre before that date. *A Game at Chess* was played only nine days in August of 1624, and was then stopped by order of the Court. Middleton was prosecuted as the sole author, and the play was printed in 1625. This too, then, is not likely to have been retouched and shows us clearly Middleton's later style. Rowley's *WNV* was printed in 1632; *MatM*, in 1633; and *ALL*, also in 1633. The first two of these have been suspected, and the last is not above suspicion; but they were printed while Rowley was probably yet alive, and have the balance of probability in their favor. *DofM* was printed in 1623, and *NWD* in 1633. They are both typical of Massinger's style, although the latter has been slightly suspected of Fletcher's influence. It is safe to say, then, that these eight plays will give an approximate idea of Middleton's (early), of Rowley's, and of Massinger's verse style.

TABULAR VIEW OF VERSE ANALYSIS.

	Elision.	Resolution.	Trochees.	Anapaests.	Light Accents.	Double Endings.	Reg. plus Trochees.	Reg. plus Double Endings.	Incomplete Verses.	Reg. plus Light Accents.	Reg. plus Light Ac. plus Trochees plus Doub. End.
Middleton:—											
<i>BMC</i>	7	1	34	4	30	7	22	4	1	60	86
<i>MT</i>	8	5	19	12	12	14	11	10	11	43	64
<i>P</i>	8	6	32	12	17	22	15	14	8	44	69
<i>GatC</i>	17	...	22	12	35	49	15	31	2	29	67
Rowley:—											
<i>MatM</i>	13	8	31	29	33	42	6	18	12	22	44
<i>WNV</i>	14	13	37	22	23	25	9	11	12	32	49
<i>ALL</i>	17	4	44	28	21	30	16	11	3	33	57
Massinger:—											
<i>DofM</i>	16	...	22	6	40	53	12	40	...	34	79
<i>NWD</i>	15	...	18	16	34	55	12	39	1	25	73

In this table there are some rather remarkable differences. First, in the matter of exceptional verse structure: Three of Middleton's plays require the reader to resort to the resolution of a syllable, and contain 12 instances in all. None of Massinger's plays require resolution. On the other hand, Rowley's plays have 25 instances of resolution. The percentages of resolved feet are: Massinger, 0 per cent.;¹ Middleton, 3 per cent.; Rowley, 8 per cent.² The anapaest also is unusual in blank verse. Of anapaestic feet, Middleton uses 4, 12, 12, and 12, respectively in his plays; Massinger, 6, and 16; Rowley, 29, 22, and 28. If we average these, and consider only Middleton's early work, the percentages are: Middleton,

¹ Strictly speaking, here, as elsewhere, this numeral is not a percentage but indicates the average number of instances in a hundred lines.

² In most cases fractions are disregarded.

9 per cent.; Massinger, 11 per cent.; and Rowley, 26 per cent. The use of incomplete verses is more frequent in Rowley than in Middleton, and much more frequent in these two men than in Massinger. The percentages are: Rowley, 9 per cent.; Middleton, $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; Massinger, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Although light accents are frequently resorted to by all poets, they are an irregularity that weakens the verse. In the use of these, Massinger is more frequent than Rowley, and Rowley than Middleton. The percentages are: Massinger, 37 per cent.; Rowley, 26 per cent.; and Middleton, 23 per cent. Finally the use of trochaic feet out of the usual positions, that is, other than at the beginning of a verse or after the cæsura,¹ is more marked in Rowley than in Massinger or in Middleton. Massinger uses 40 trochees in 200 lines. Of these, 4 are improperly used, making 2 per cent. out of the usual places. Middleton uses 107 trochees in 400 lines. Of these, 10 are improperly used, making an average of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. out of the usual places. Rowley uses 112 trochees in 300 lines. Of these, 35 are improperly used, making an average of 12 per cent. out of the usual places. It should also be noticed that Rowley uses a larger number of trochees than either Massinger or Middleton. The percentages of trochees used, are: Rowley, 37 per cent.; Middleton, 26 per cent.; and Massinger, 20 per cent.

Second, in the matter of regularity: Since double endings do not interrupt the rhythm, but only change it, and since they were a regularly admitted form of blank verse, I class them here. This table shows that although Middleton used a good many double endings in his later verse, he used less in his early verse than did Rowley, and Rowley used less than Massinger. The percentages are: Middleton (early), 14 per cent.; Rowley, 32 per cent.; and Massinger, 54 per cent.

¹ In order that I may have a standard by which to determine varying usage, I have assumed that a trochaic foot at the beginning of an iambic verse or after the cæsura is usual, without desiring to raise the question of verse forms.

Even counting in the late play, Middleton's average is only 23 per cent. If, however, we compare the number of double endings of more than one extra syllable, we get a somewhat different result. Rowley uses 7 per cent., Middleton 3 per cent., and Massinger $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ; this shows that Rowley is by far the most careless in their use. In the matter of perfectly regular blank verse, Middleton seems to have fallen off from his early period to his later. If trochees or double endings are not admitted, the regular verses in the nine plays respectively are as follows: Middleton, 60, 43, 44, and 29 ; Rowley, 22, 32, and 33 ; Massinger, 34 and 25. Thus Massinger and Rowley average the same, 29 per cent., but are both much below Middleton, whose average is 44 per cent. If, however, trochaic feet in the usual positions and double endings be admitted, the relative positions change somewhat, Massinger surpassing Middleton in regularity. Then the regular verses in the nine plays respectively are as follows: Middleton, 86, 64, 69, and 67 ; Rowley, 44, 49, and 57 ; Massinger, 79 and 73. Or averaging these, the percentages become: Massinger 76 per cent., Middleton 71 per cent. (early, 73 per cent.), Rowley 50 per cent. The influence of double endings on Massinger's verse will be clearly seen if we compare these percentages just obtained with the percentages of regular verses plus light accents and trochees in the usual positions. Of these verses, the percentages are: Middleton 60 per cent. (early, 65 per cent.), Massinger 42 per cent., and Rowley 39 per cent.

In brief, then, Massinger's verse is a little more regular than Middleton's, and Middleton's a good deal more regular than Rowley's, if we allow both trochees and double endings. But if we allow only trochees in the usual places and light accents, Middleton is much more regular than Massinger, who drops down nearer to Rowley. A large number of double endings indicates Massinger's work rather than Rowley's, and Rowley's rather than Middleton's early work ; but the use of more than one extra syllable indicates Rowley rather than

Middleton, and Middleton than Massinger. The use of resolved syllables, of anapæsts, and of trochees out of the usual places, indicates Rowley rather than either Middleton or Massinger. The use of incomplete verses indicates Rowley or Middleton rather than Massinger; and the use of light accents indicates Massinger or Rowley rather than Middleton.

In all this consideration, it is of course admitted that figures do not determine poetry; but a careful reading will show that the passages used are typical, and that the general impression is like the conclusions arrived at in these tables. It will therefore be safe to apply these verse tests in connection with the other characteristics already ascertained in determining the parts of *The Old Law* written by Middleton, by Rowley, and by Massinger.

V.

The title page of the oldest known quarto of *The Old Law* reads as follows: "The Excellent Comedy, called The Old Law, or A new way to please you.

by { Phil. Massinger.
 Tho. Middleton.
 William Rowley.

Acted before the King and Queene at Salisbury House, and at severall other places, with great Applause. Together with an exact and perfect Catalogue of all the Plays, with the Authors Names, and what are Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Pastoralls, Masks, Interludes, more exactly Printed than ever before. London, Printed for Edward Archer, at the signe of the Adam and Eve, in Little Britaine. 1656."

The significance of these statements must not be overestimated. The fact that this play is attributed to Massinger, Middleton, and Rowley, merely establishes a presumption that each man had some part in its composition. That Massinger had the greater share since his name comes first, does not follow. He may have been the last reviser, or the most

popular, or the most influential, or the printer may have arranged the names alphabetically. Moreover, excepting the fact that the play was "Acted before the King and Queene at Salisbury House," the title page gives us no information on three important questions, namely: the part each man had in the composition of the play; the manner of its composition; and the date of its composition. Since the answer to the first of these questions will materially aid in answering the other two, attention will first be given to the probable part each man had in the composition of *The Old Law*.

The following distribution of passages may seem dogmatic because incapable of exact proof. It certainly is a delicate matter to assert that the work of one man ends at a given line, and that the work of another follows, with no other evidence than the general dramatic characteristics of the two men to support the assertion. On the other hand, the difference between certain lines and certain others is indisputable. Somewhere between them the work of one of the men must end and that of the other begin. The assignment of passages that follows pretends only to indicate this probable point of division. For the sake of definiteness of statement, however, I have found it necessary to mark the places of division precisely, although I realize that the evidence supports only my general conclusions as to the distribution of parts in the play. As a still further recognition of the difficulty of too close distinctions in style and method, I have recognized two classes of passages: one, in which for several consecutive lines there is clear evidence of only one hand; the other, in which the work of one man is so closely interwoven with the work of another that any attempt to separate the lines would be impracticable if not impossible.

The first act of *The Old Law* shows the work of Middleton and Rowley divided as follows: Middleton, lines 106-110, 126-159, 260-274, 312-349, and 395-442; Rowley, lines 1-105, 111-125, 160-259, and 350-394; Middleton and Rowley, lines 275-311 and 442-488.

In these mixed passages Rowley's hand is felt in the more rapid dialogue, in the rough, prosaic lines, and especially in the rougher lines between more rhythmical ones where they could be omitted without affecting the sense. Lines 275-280 show such an interpolation :

Sim. The day goes away, sir.

Cleon. Why, wouldst thou have me gone, Simonides?

Sim. O my heart! Would you have me gone before you, sir,
You give me such a deadly wound?

Clean. Fine rascal! [*Aside.*

Sim. Blemish my duty so with such a question?
Sir, I would haste me to the duke for mercy : etc.

The second speech of Simonides and the aside of Cleanthes are not in the same style as the lines before and after, and give no added information. Omitted, they leave a passage quite in Middleton's style ; as they stand, the passage does not feel homogeneous. In lines 293-297 there is a similar passage. Besides the difference of style and taste, there is a curious confusion of pronouns in the quarto reading that might well have arisen from an interpolation. The quarto reads,

Sir, we have canvassed it from top to toe,
Turn'd it upside down; threw her on her side,
Nay, open'd and dissected all her entrails,
Yet can find none; there's nothing to be hop'd
But the duke's mercy.

Although the antecedent of the pronoun is somewhat remote, it is plainly *law*. If the writer of these lines had had a consistent figure in his mind when he wrote, he could hardly have referred to *law* with *it* in two cases and with *her* in the following three, all in three lines. Nor would a printer be any more likely to make such an error. If, now, the line and a half containing the feminine pronouns and the coarse Rowleyesque figure be removed, the improved verse and the finer taste are like Middleton's. Restored, it reads,

Sir, we have canvass'd it from top to toe,
 Turn'd it upside down ; yet can find none :
 There's nothing to be hoped but the duke's mercy.

Such retouching as Rowley probably did in these two passages, notwithstanding their rougher verse and coarser taste, gives more vigor to the lines, and is what we should expect from a comedy actor who was attempting to liven up an old play. Because of similar combinations of the verse of both men, lines 442-488 are also put into this group of mixed verses.

Of the lines assigned to Middleton, lines 106-110 are a unique case. Excepting the law itself, they are the only prose in this act. This fact alone would not assign them to Middleton, though it would be good evidence ; but the additional fact that this speech is a non-sequitur, makes it very suspicious. The apparent reason for its presence is that it brings us back to the main question from which the preceding speeches have taken us. Notice that there is nothing in the preceding speeches to account for the *why* and *you* of this speech, as there must have been when the speech was first written. Lines 90-110 will show the lack of sequence :

- Clean.* They shall be now, sir,
 And shall have large fees if they'll undertake
 To help a good cause, for it wants assistance ;
 Bad ones, I know, they can insist upon.
- First Law.* O sir, we must undertake of both parts ;
 But the good we have most good in.
- Clean.* Pray you, say,
 How do you allow of this strange edict ?
- First Law.* *Secundum justitiam* ; by my faith, sir,
 The happiest edict that ever was in Epire.
- Clean.* What, to kill innocents, sir ? It cannot be,
 It is no rule in justice there to punish.
- First Law.* O sir,
 You understand a conscience, but not law.
- Clean.* Why, sir, is there so main a difference ?
- First Law.* You'll never be good lawyer if you understand not that.
- Clean.* I think, then, 'tis the best to be a bad one.

First Law. Why, sir, the very letter and the sense both do overthrow you in this statute, which speaks, that every man living to four score years, and women to three score, shall then be cut off, as fruitless to the republic, and law shall finish what nature linger'd at.

This last speech implies that they have been discussing the possibility of finding a defect in the law so that its execution can be avoided; but the preceding nine speeches touch on no such topic. They concern the relation of lawyers to good and bad cases, the justice of this law, and the difference between conscience and law. Plainly Rowley has here cut out some of Middleton's work and inserted some of his own, without taking pains to make it fit perfectly. The next Middleton passage, lines 126-159, is so assigned merely because the law must have been a part of the old play, and there is no evidence later that the general form of the play has been changed. The last three Middleton passages are so assigned because of their uniformly better rhythm, the absence of double endings, and the longer, more formal, more serious speeches. The difference in style and verse is easily seen in four consecutive speeches, lines 383-404:

Leon. I'll tell thee one;
She counsels me to fly my severe country;
Turn all into treasure, and there build up
My decaying fortunes in a safer soil,
Where Epire's law cannot claim me.

Clean. And, sir,
I apprehend it as a safest course,
And may be easily accomplished;
Let us be all most expeditious.
Every country where we breathe will be our own,
Or better soil; heaven is the roof of all;

393 *And now, as Epire's statute by this law,
There is 'twixt us and heaven a dark eclipse.*

Hip. O then avoid it, sir; these sad events
Follow those black predictions.

Leon. I prithee, peace;
I do allow thy love, Hippolita,
But must not follow it as counsel, child;

I must not shame my country for the law.
 This country here hath bred me, brought me up,
 And shall I now refuse a grave in her?
 I'm in my second infancy, and children
 Ne'er sleep so sweetly in their nurse's cradle
 As in their mother's.

Query: does the break in construction in lines 393-394 show that Rowley tried to patch his lines to Middleton's at that place? The break in quality of verse is near there, plainly enough.

All the other passages in this act assigned to Rowley can be classed with lines 90-105 and 383-394 previously quoted, since they have the same marks of style and verse. They contain short, abrupt speeches that sacrifice rhythm to dramatic effect. The verse halts every now and then for a misplaced trochee, or for an anapaest, or for a resolved syllable. That this rough verse belongs to Rowley and not to Massinger, can be seen by comparing lines 160-175, for instance, with a passage in *WNV*, act III, (page 151) which shows the same tricks of Rowley's style. *The Old Law*, I, 1, 160-175:

- Clean.* A fine edlet, and very fairly gilded!
 And is there no scruple in all these words
 To demur the law upon occasion?
- Sim.* Pox! 'tis an unnecessary inquisition;
 Prithee, set him not about it.
- Sec'd Law.* Troth, none, sir;
 It is so evident and plain a case,
 There is no succour for the defendant.
- Clean.* Possible I can nothing help in a good case?
- First Law.* Faith, sir, I do think that there may be a hole,
 Which would protract—delay, if not remedy.
- Clean.* Why, there's some comfort in that: good sir, speak it.
- First Law.* Nay, you must pardon me for that, sir.
- Sim.* Prithee, do not;
 It may ope a wound to many sons and heirs,
 That may die after it.

A Woman Never Veiled, act III:

- Steph.* O nephew, are you come! the welcom'st wish
 That my heart has; this is my kinsman, sweet.

Wife. Let him be largely texted in your love,
That all the city may read it fairly;
You cannot remember me, and him forget;
We were alike to you in poverty.

Steph. I should have begged that bounty of your love,
Though you had scanted me to have given't him;
For we are one; I an uncle-nephew,
He a nephew-uncle. But, my sweet self,
My slow request you have anticipated
With proffered kindness; and I thank you for it.
But how, kind cousin, does your father use you?
Is your name found again within his books?
Can he read son there?

Rob. 'Tis now blotted quite:
For the violent instigation
Of my cruel stepmother, his vows and oaths
Are stamped against me, ne'er to acknowledge me,
Never to call or bless me as his child;
But in his brow, his bounty and behaviour
I read it all most plainly.

A comparison of these passages with a passage from Massinger's *DofM*, act IV, scene 3 (page 74), will make apparent the reason for assigning the first to Rowley:

Sforza. There's comfort yet: I'll ply her
Each hour with more ambassadors of more honours,
Titles, and eminence; my second self,
Francisco, shall solicit her.

Steph. That a wise man,
And what is more, a prince that may command,
Should sue thus poorly, and treat with his wife,
As she were a victorious enemy,
At whose proud feet himself, his state, and country,
Basely begged mercy!

Sforza. What is that you mutter?
I'll have thy thoughts.

Steph. You shall. You are too fond,
And feed a pride that's swollen too big already,
And surfeits with observance.

The verse of the two former passages is alike, and is rougher than that of the latter. Still further, there is nothing in the former passages like the first speech by Stephen for compli-

cated sentence structure. Finally, as still further corroboration of Rowley's hand in the act, there are a few touches of pathos, like the last line in lines 299-303 :

Then to his hopeless mercy last I go ;
 I have so many precedents before me,
 I must call it hopeless: Antigona,
 See me deliver'd up unto my deathsman,
 And then we'll part ;—five years hence I'll look for thee.

Unlike the first act, the first scene of the second act shows Rowley's revision affecting nearly all of the scene. The passages are assigned : Rowley, lines 1-78, 100-171 ; Middleton, lines 78-99, 172-211 ; Rowley and Middleton, lines 211-272. Thus there remain only about sixty lines and a few scattered speeches that are unmistakably by Middleton. The difference between the two kinds of writing in this scene is well shown by lines 72-85 :

Sim. Push ! I'm not for you yet,
 Your company's too costly ; after the old man's
 Dispatch'd, I shall have time to talk with you ;
 I shall come into the fashion, ye shall see too,
 After a day or two ; in the mean time,
 I am not for your company.

Evan. Old Creon, you have been expected long ;
 Sure you're above four score.

Sim. Upon my life,
 Not four-and-twenty hours, my lord ; I search'd
 The church-book yesterday. Does your grace think
 I'd let my father wrong the law, my lord ?
 'Twere pity a' my life then ! no, your act
 Shall not receive a minute's wrong by him,
 While I live, sir ; and he's so just himself too,
 I know he would not offer't :—here he stands.

These two speeches by the same character could hardly have been written by the same person at the same time. The former speech can be read as verse only with the greatest care ; the latter has a distinct rhythm. In the former, the word and thought accents do not correspond to the verse accents ; in the latter, they all agree.

It is hardly worth while, even if it were possible, to try to separate Rowley's work from Middleton's in lines 211-272. That the basis of this passage was by Middleton can hardly be doubted since the general thought is necessary to the latter part of the play. The fact also that the quarto prints four passages, lines 211-213, 217-220, 224-227, and 260-263, as prose seems to show a confusion in the manuscript, which would be more likely to occur in case of revision than in case of rewriting. A good instance of what seems to be by Middleton, because of the self-restraint and the excellence of the puns, is found in lines 229-241 :

Sim. There's least need of thee, fellow ; I shall ne'er drink at home, I shall be so drunk abroad.

But. But a cup of small beer will do well next morning, sir.

Sim. I grant you ; but what need I keep so big a knave for a cup of small beer ?

Cook. Butler, you have your answer. Marry, sir, a cook I know your mastership cannot be without.

Sim. The more ass art thou to think so ; for what should I do with a mountebank, no drink in my house ?—the banishing the butler might have been a warning to thee, unless thou meanest to choke me.

Cook. In the meantime you have choked me, methinks.

This is too apt and calm for Rowley. On the other hand, his coarse jest and noise seem apparent in lines 256-264 :

Sim. And when my bets are all come in, and store,
Then, coachman, you can hurry me to my whore.

Coach. I'll firk 'em into foam else.

Sim. Speaks brave matter :

And I'll firk some too, or't shall cost hot water.

[*Exeunt Simonides, Coachman, and Footman.*]

Cook. Why, here's an age to make a cook a ruffian,
And scald the devil indeed ! do strange mad things,
Make mutton-pasties of dog's flesh,
Bake snakes for lamprey-pies, and cats for conies.

The passages assigned entirely to Rowley, lines 1-78 and 100-171, are of the same general character as are those assigned to him in the first act. They are well represented by lines

72-78 quoted above, and by lines 100-110, which show a slightly different vein :

Ant. His very household laws prescribed at home by him
Are able to conform seven Christian kingdoms,
They are so wise and virtuous.

Sim. Mother, I say—

Ant. I know your laws extend not to desert, sir,
But to unnecessary years; and, my lord,
His are not such; though they show white, they're worthy,
Judicious, able, and religious.

Sim. I'll help you to a courtier of nineteen, mother.

Ant. Away, unnatural!

Sim. Then I'm no fool, I'm sure,
For to be natural at such a time
Were a fool's part indeed.

These are too rapid, irregular, and vulgar for Massinger or Middleton.

In the second scene of the second act, Rowley continues the same process of revision. To him belong lines 1-74 and 121-137; to Middleton, lines 75-111; to Rowley and Middleton, lines 111-121 and 137-204.

The two Rowley passages, besides bearing the stamp of his rough verse, coarse humor, and rapid dialogue, are suspicious because they introduce a superfluous character, and show Eugenia in a meaningless double attitude. In line 10, she plainly refers to herself as being nineteen, and the rest of the play supports this statement, except that in these lines and in lines 121-137 she apparently has a daughter old enough to "make spoon meat" for her father and to "warm three night-caps for him." It may be explained that this girl is a daughter of the former wife. If so, it is curious that she is not utilized anywhere else to defend her father, and to arouse our sympathies with the losing side. Why is she not brought into the second scene of the third act, where her presence would make still more pitiful the foolish trials of Lysander? or why not in act five to plead for her father's life? Instead she appears only in these two passages, and serves merely as an

excuse for Eugenia to make two speeches, in themselves thoroughly Rowleyesque in coarseness, and quite inconsistent with other speeches in the same act. Compare :

Would not this vex a beauty of nineteen now?
 Alas! I should be tumbling in cold baths now,
 Under each armpit a fine bean-flower bag,
 To screw out whiteness when I list—
 And some seven of the properest men i' the dukedom
 Making a banquet ready i' the next room for me;
 Where he that gets the first kiss is envied,
 And stands upon his guard a fortnight after.
 This is a life for nineteen! 'tis but justice:
 For old men, whose great acts stand in their minds,
 And nothing in their bodies, do ne'er think
 A woman young enough for their desire;
 And we young wenches, that have mother-wits,
 And love to marry muck first, and man after,
 Do never think old men are old enough,
 That we may soon be rid on 'em; there's our quittance.
 I've waited for the happy hour this two year,
 And, if death be so unkind to let him live still,
 All that time I have lost.

ll. 10-28.

with,

Excuse me, gentlemen; 'twere as much impudence
 In me to give you a kind answer yet,
 As madness to produce a churlish one.
 I could say now, come a month hence, sweet gentlemen,
 Or two, or three, or when you will, indeed;
 But I say no such thing: I set no time,
 Nor is it mannerly to deny any.
 I'll carry an even hand to all the world:
 Let other women make what haste they will,
 What's that to me? but I profess unfeignedly,
 I'll have my husband dead before I marry;
 Ne'er look for other answer at my hands, gentlemen.

ll. 99-110.

and with,

Gentlemen,
 You know my mind; I bar you not my house;
 But if you choose out hours more seasonably,
 You may have entertainment.

ll. 116-119.

This last is rather tame after the dashing effect of the first speech, and there is no apparent reason for the change.

Moreover, directly after this last mild speech, the daughter re-enters and gives occasion for other coarse comparisons between young and old husbands. It is probable, therefore, that these speeches are interpolated by Rowley.

Lines 75-111 are given to Middleton on the usual evidence of rhythm, which is corroborated by a phrase that would hardly have occurred to Rowley. Lines 85-93 utter a curse upon the young men who are courting Eugenia before Lysander is dead; they are followed by an apology for the rant into which the speaker has fallen :

I am too uncharitable,
Too foul; I must go cleanse myself with prayers.

Rowley would have left the curse ringing in our ears, and then have allowed Lysander to repent in private if the plot needed it, as it does not here. This touch is thoroughly like Middleton, showing his finer taste.

The mixed passages are assigned on the same grounds as the former ones. Detailed division would be as difficult as it would be needless.

In the first scene of the third act, there is found the unmistakably keen wit and the shrewd, unmoral, but genuine humor of Middleton. Massinger could not give to his humor the quick, natural turn here found, nor did he know such people as Gnotho, the Clerk, and the house servants of Simonides. Had Rowley written this or even revised it, there would have been some rough verses interspersed, and more thin punning and vulgarity. Only Middleton could write those shrewd suggestions by which Gnotho leads up to the change of the date in the parish register; he alone was capable of the perfect ethical abandon of the humor in lines 321-341 :

Gno. You have but a month to live by the law.

Aga. Out, alas!

Gno. Nay, scarce so much.

Aga. O, O, O, my heart!

[Swoons.

Gno. Ay, so! if thou wouldst go away quietly, 'twere sweetly done, and like a kind wife; lie but a little longer, and the bell shall toll for thee.

Aga. O my heart, but a month to live!

Gno. Alas, why wouldst thou come back again for a month?—

I'll throw her down again—O, woman, 'tis not three weeks; I think a fortnight is the most.

Aga. Nay, then I am gone already! [Swoons.

Gno. I would make haste to the sexton now, but I'm afraid the tolling of the bell will wake her again. If she be so wise as to go now—she stirs again; there's two lives of the nine gone.

Aga. O, wouldst thou not help to recover me, husband?

Gno. Alas, I could not find it in my heart to hold thee by the nose, or box thy cheeks; it goes against my conscience.

Despicable as Gnotho really is from a purely moral viewpoint, his humor is irresistible. Like that of Tangle and of Falso in *P*, it is almost Shakespearean.

The second scene of the third act is in a very confusing condition. One long passage and two shorter ones are pretty clearly by Rowley, lines 56–196, 258–268, and 309–318. One passage, lines 1–55, shows the characteristics of Rowley and Middleton both. Two other passages, lines 197–257 and 269–308, show characteristics of Massinger and Middleton.

The Rowley passages, lines 56–196, 258–268, and 309–318, are distinctly marked with his rough verse, rapid conversation, coarse jests, and noisy humor. These qualities are especially noticeable in lines 138–196, where Lysander bests the three young courtiers in dancing, fencing, and drinking. Lines 56–138 are practically in the same spirit, and in fact are mostly a preparation for the contests, so there is little doubt that Rowley wrote all these lines. The other two shorter passages are not only quite unlike Middleton or Massinger, but they could easily be omitted. Their only value lies in their coarse humor. For instance, lines 256–268 read:

[Exit Lysander.

Clean. I see't has done him good; blessing go with it,
Such as may make him pure again.

Re-enter Eugenia.

Eugen. 'Twas bravely touch'd, i' faith, sir.

Clean. O, you 're welcome.

Eugen. Exceedingly well handled.

Clean. 'Tis to you I come; he fell but i' my way.

Eugen. You mark'd his beard, cousin?

Clean. Mark me.

Eugen. Did you ever see a hair so changed?

Clean. I must be forc'd to wake her loudly too,
The devil has rock'd her so fast asleep.—
Strumpet!

Eugen. Do you call, sir?

Clean. Whore!

Eugen. How do you, sir?

Clean. Be I never so well,
I must be sick of thee; thou 'rt a disease
That stick'st to th' heart,—as all such women are.

By omitting all from "Re-enter Eugenia" to her last speech, we leave the sense and verse complete, and have thrown out some bad verse and coarseness. Considering the fact, also, that Eugenia is away during all of Cleanthes's lecture to Lysander except the first six lines, we obviate the necessity of explaining Eugenia's words, "Excellently well handled." How did she know? She was off the stage.

The passage given to Rowley and Middleton together, lines 1-55, is so assigned because, although it contains some instances of Rowley's rough verse and fun, it also shows in places a refinement of humor quite away from Rowley's bent, if not out of his power. The first hundred lines or so are probably as planned by Middleton, and remind us at once of Maria's and Sir Toby's trick on Malvolio, in *Twelfth Night*. The situations are surprisingly similar: the people that are the cause of the action stand one side and laugh at Lysander's foolish antics, then later join the scene themselves. The difference is that the introduction is more expanded in *The Old Law*, the people that caused the action did not plan it, and the antics of Lysander are much coarser than those of Malvolio. It is difficult to pick out Middleton's lines here, unless 37-43 are his:

I'm sure his head and beard, as he has order'd it,
Look not past fifty now: he'll bring 't to forty
Within these four days, for nine times an hour at least

He takes a black-lead comb, and kembs it over :
Three-quarters of his beard is under fifty ;
There's but a little tuft of fourscore left,
All of one side, which will be black by Monday.

This has a better quality of verse and of humor than the rest, and is too much restrained in mirth for Rowley ; but the double endings are suspicious. Probably, therefore, the whole passage has been so thoroughly revised by Rowley that Middleton's influence in the first part of the scene is felt in the general trend of it rather than in passages of any length.

The most difficult parts of this scene to account for are lines 197-257 and 269-308. The difficulties in assigning these are numerous. In regularity of verse, in length and didactic quality of the speeches, they might be by either Middleton or Massinger, but not by Rowley. In frequency of double endings, 32 in 60 lines in the first passage and 18 in 40 lines in the next passage, they suggest Massinger rather than Rowley or Middleton. In directness of statement, that is in the absence of complicated sentences and periphrastic phrases, they suggest Middleton rather than Massinger. The natural conclusion is, therefore, that the originally simple sentence structure of Middleton has been retained by Massinger in his revision, which nevertheless has changed the form of many lines. Just how great that change was in all cases it is impossible to state ; but in lines 269-292 it seems easiest to separate the work of the two men. Of these, lines 275-282 contain practically all the double endings, they needlessly detail what is told in general either before or after, and can be omitted without affecting the rest of the passage, by reading "How he" in place of "So he" in line 283. I quote lines 270-288, enclosing the Massinger lines in marks of parenthesis, to show the difference :

What a dead modesty is i' this woman,
Will never blush again ! Look on thy work
But with a Christian eye, 'twould turn thy heart
Into a shower of blood, to be the cause

Of that old man's destruction ; think upon 't,
 (Ruin eternally ; for, through thy loose follies,
 Heaven has found him a faint servant lately !
 His goodness has gone backward, and engender'd
 With his old sins again ; has lost his prayers,
 And all the tears that were companions with 'em :
 And like a blindfold man, giddy and blinded,
 Thinking he goes right on still, swerves but one foot,
 And turns to the same place where he set out ;
 So) How he, that took his farewell of the world,
 And cast the joys behind him, out of sight,
 Summ'd up his hours, made even with time and men,
 Is now in heart arriv'd at youth again,
 All by thy wildness : thy too hasty lust
 Has driven him to this strong apostacy.

Otherwise, the only certain feeling is that both Middleton and Massinger were concerned in these speeches.

The first scene of the fourth act is easy to assign. Like all the humor of low characters, it is quite out of Massinger's power, and possible only to Middleton and Rowley. In lines 1-45 the naturalness and self-control and good-natured satire are almost certainly Middleton's. From about line 45 to line 90 there linger a few of Middleton's touches, as in lines 55-62 :

Gno. No dancing with me, we have Siren here.

Cook. Siren! 'twas Hiren, the fair Greek, man.

Gno. Five drachmas of that. I say Siren, the fair Greek, and so are all fair Greeks.

Cook. A match ! five drachmas her name was Hiren.

Gno. Siren's name was Siren, for five drachmas.

The nice point in Gnotho's last speech is quite in Middleton's finer vein. The excessive punning, however, that follows, like that in lines 66-75, is much more like Rowley :

Cook. That Nell was Helen of Greece too.

Gno. As long as she tarried with her husband, she was Ellen ; but after she came to Troy, she was Nell of Troy, or Bonny Nell, whether you will or no.

Tail. Why, did she grow shorter when she came to Troy ?

Gno. She grew longer, if you mark the story. When she grew to be an ell, she was deeper than any yard of Troy could reach, by a quarter; there was Cressid was Troy weight, and Nell was avoirdupois; she held more, by four ounces, than Cressida.

"This miserable trash, which is quite silly enough to be original," is thoroughly in the vein of Rowley; but I cannot agree with Gifford when he continues, it "has the merit of being copied from Shakespeare." There are two very different qualities of humor here within a few lines of each other. This latter passage is the same kind of humor as that in *ALL*, quoted on page 21. From line 90 to the end of the scene Middleton practically disappears, leaving only the burlesque, the coarse jest, and the vulgar allusion of Rowley. It is possible that a few exceptions should be made, as in lines 113, 129, and 157:

Gnotho to Agatha. I'll not leave her [the courtesan]: art not ashamed to be seen in a tavern, and hast scarce a fortnight to live?

Darest thou call my wife [the courtesan whom Gnotho plans to marry as soon as Agatha is dead], a strumpet, thou preter-pluperfect tense of a woman!

Go, go thy ways, thou old almanac at the twenty-eighth day of December, e'en almost out of date!

These all have the shrewd satirical wit of Middleton, that goes clear up to the vulgar line but does not pass unless necessary. A few such phrases seem to have been retained by Rowley.

The second scene of the fourth act shows Massinger's characteristics of verse, construction, and phrasing almost throughout. The main exception is in the last thirty lines. These last lines, 254-284, are like several other humorous passages that could easily be omitted. The scene ends harmoniously at line 270, if we omit lines 254-266, which add nothing but some coarse jests on Simonides' cowardice. The lines following line 270 merely continue this theme with the addi-

tional fact that Simonides has cut his finger on his own sword. It is thus just about the sort of thing a comedian might add to a play he was trying to liven up.

The rest of the scene bears many traces of Massinger. First, the short speeches are almost invariably so arranged that there are no incomplete lines. For example, lines 56-65 (Bullen erroneously numbers them as nine lines):

Leon. What was 't disturbed my joy?
Clean. Did you not hear,
 As afar off?
Loon. What, my excellent comfort?
Clean. Nor you?
Hip. I heard a— [A horn.
Clean. Hark, again!
Leon. Bless my joy,
 What ails it on a sudden?
Clean. Now? since lately?
Leon. 'Tis nothing but a symptom of thy care, man.
Clean. Alas, you do not hear well!
Leon. What was 't, daughter?

Next, there is an unusual number of double endings. In the first speech of 24 lines there are 11; in the 100 lines from 101 to 200, for example, there are 51 double endings. These typical passages compared with earlier passages assigned to Middleton will show the difference. In act I, scene 1, lines 397-437, there are 13 double endings; in act II, scene 1, lines 78-98, there are 7 double endings; in lines 170-210 of the same scene, there are 11 double endings. Thus in 100 lines by Middleton there are only 31 double endings as compared with 51 in 100 lines here assigned to Massinger. This agrees with the statistics given earlier. Still further, there are three or four sentences with Massinger's peculiarly complicated sentence structure. For example, lines 5-14, and 104-113:

For in these woods lies hid all my life's treasure,
 Which is too much never to fear to lose,
 Though it be never lost: and if our watchfulness
 Ought to be wise and serious 'gainst a thief

That comes to steal our goods, things all without us,
 That proves vexation often more than comfort;
 How mighty ought our providence to be,
 To prevent those, if any such there were,
 That come to rob our bosom of our joys,
 That only makes poor man delight to live !

But finding it
 Grow to a noted imperfection in me,
 For anything too much is vicious,
 I come to these disconsolate walks, of purpose,
 Only to dull and take away the edge on't.
 I ever had a greater zeal to sadness,
 A natural propension, I confess, my lord,
 Before that cheerful accident fell out—
 If I may call a father's funeral cheerful,
 Without wrong done to duty or my love.

That there are not more of these complicated sentences may well happen since Massinger would naturally use the original verse as a basis, and would so be somewhat influenced by the simpler style, except when he left the original entirely, as he seems to have done in the first speech. Finally, these passages show Massinger's method of didactic harangue, and his lack of power to phrase at a crisis. For instance, the first 24 lines are a clumsy preparation for the entrance of Leonides; then when Leonides comes out, instead of greeting his son and the son's wife he talks about the sweet sound of woman's voice. Cleanthes replies to this with a set speech, lines 37-49:

I hope to see you often and return
 Loaden with blessings, still to pour on some;
 I find 'em all in my contented peace,
 And lose not one in thousands; they're disperst
 So gloriously, I know not which are brightest.
 I find 'em, as angels are found, by legions:
 First, in the love and honesty of a wife,
 Which is the first and chiefest of all temporal blessings;
 Next, in yourself, which is the hope and joy
 Of all my actions, my affairs, my wishes;
 And lastly, which crowns all, I find my soul
 Crown'd with the peace of 'em, th' eternal riches,
 Man's only portion for his heavenly marriage !

Nothing could be more like Massinger. This is the very thing a man might moralize out of the scene after it was over, but not at all what he would say while he was there. Again, at another crucial moment, when Leonides has been found by the duke's followers and brought out to be taken to execution, when Cleanthes must realize that he has himself been found guilty of treason, his passion labors out as follows, lines 170-179:

Father! O father! now I see thee full
 In thy affliction; thou'rt a man of sorrow,
 But reverently becom'st it, that's my comfort;
 Extremity was never better grac'd,
 Than with that look of thine; O, let me look still,
 For I shall lose it! all my joy and strength [Kneels.
 Is e'en eclips'd together. I transgressed
 Your law, my lord, let me receive the sting on't;
 Be once just, sir, and let the offender die:
 He's innocent in all, and I am guilty.

There can be little doubt that most of this scene was phrased by Massinger.

The last act is the most confusing part of the play. All three men seem to have had a hand in it in one place or another. Excepting the passages assigned to Middleton, I feel less certain of the divisions here than of any others. They are assigned, however, as follows: Middleton, lines 39-78, 106-124, 148-262, and 417-531; Massinger, lines 1-38, 79-105, and 125-147; Rowley and Middleton, lines 263-416;¹ Middleton, Rowley and Massinger, lines 532-713.

The Middleton passages, lines 39-78, 106-124, 148-262, and 417-531, contain both serious and comic matter. The serious matter in the first three passages is in Middleton's smooth blank verse, with very few double endings or irregularities of any kind. The difference between Middleton's

¹ In considering the amount of work done by each, it must be kept in mind that Bullen has made a mistake in numbering the lines, so that between the line numbered 301 and that numbered 400 there are only eight lines.

verse and that of the reviser can be seen in such a passage as lines 100-111 :

Sim. Ay, and gave me
Those elbow-healths, the hangman take him for't !
They had almost fetched my heart out : the Dutch venny
I swallow'd pretty well ; but the half-pike
Had almost pepper'd me ; but had I took long-sword,
Being swollen, I had cast my lungs out.

A Flourish. Enter Evander, and Oratilus.

First Court. Peace, the duke !

Evan. Nay, back t' your seats ; who's that ?

Sec'd Court. May't please your highness, it is old Lysander.

Evan. And brought in by his wife ! a worthy precedent
Of one that no way would offend the law,
And should not pass away without remark.
You have been look'd for long.

Lysan. But never fit
To die till now, my lord. My sins and I
Have been but newly parted ; much ado etc.

The difference in style between the verses of Simonides and those that follow is unmistakable. It is equally easy to detect Middleton's humor between lines 148 and 262. It has a mildly satirical tone, and is pointed toward the law courts, one of Middleton's favorite themes, as in lines 157-159 :

Evan. All our majesty
And power we have to pardon or condemn
Is now conferr'd on them.

Sim. And these we'll use
Little to thine advantage.

In other words, the judgment of the court is made before the trial begins. And again in lines 195-202 is a bit of genuine Middleton humor :

Sim. Know then, Cleanthes, there is none can be
A good son and bad subject ; for, if princes
Be call'd the people's fathers, then the subjects
Are all his sons, and he that flouts the prince
Doth disobey the father : there you're gone.

First Court. And not to be recover'd.

- Sim.* And again—
Sec'd Court. If he be gone once, call him not again.
Sim. I say again, this act of thine expresses
 A double disobedience.

That Middleton was solely responsible for the very comic scene from 432 to 531,—lines 417–432 are his, but are not comic,—is shown by the absence of Rowley's marked characteristics, and by the fact that Massinger could not do such work. The noisy good nature of Gnotho in his repeated "Crowd on, I say," must not be confused with the vulgar noise and horseplay of Rowley. Then, too, this passage contains the subtle, almost Shakespearean humor that was also found in Falso in *P*, and in Blurt and his assistants in *BMC*. Notice lines 444–453 :

- Leon.* Good sir, a few words, if you will vouchsafe 'em;
 Or will you be forc'd ?
Gno. Forced ! I would the duke himself would say so.
Evan. I think he dares, sir, and does ; if you stay not,
 You shall be forced.
Gno. I think so, my lord, and good reason too ; shall not I stay, when
 your grace says I shall ? I were unworthy to be a bridegroom
 in any part of your highness's dominions, then : will it please
 you to taste of the wedlock-courtesy ?

Falstaff himself has hardly bowed to authority and slapped it on the shoulder at the same time with better wit. It is the good-natured, unethical, slightly satirical, shrewd mother wit found frequently in Middleton's early plays. There can be almost no doubt who wrote this.

The Massinger passages, lines 1–38, 79–105, and 125–147, have the usual characteristics,—the double endings, the regular verse even in broken lines, and the careful explanations ; still more, they lack the dignity and rhythm, and the humor of Middleton, and they lack the dash and noise of Rowley. Notice the clumsy humor of lines 88–105 :

- Eug.* Now, servants, may a lady be so bold
 To call your power so low ?

- Sim.* A mistress may ;
She can make all things low ; then in that language
There can be no offence.
- Eug.* The time's now come
Of manumissions ; take him into bonds,
And I am then at freedom.
- Sec'd Court.* Is't possible these gouty legs danc'd lately,
And shatter'd in a galliard ?
- Eug.* Jealousy
And fear of death can work strange prodigies.
- Sec'd Court.* The nimble fencer this, that made me tear
And traverse 'bout the chamber ?

These lines are too stiff and formal for Middleton, and too tame for Rowley to write at the climax of the play ; they can be by no one but Massinger, especially since they closely resemble his other work.

The only passage that retains Rowley's characteristics at all clearly is in lines 263-416, where it is in close proximity to portions of the law that would probably be by Middleton, and with some verses that are rather by Middleton than by Rowley. Compare lines 258-275 :

- Evan.* These are thy judges, and by their grave law
I find thee clear, but these delinquents guilty.
You must change places, for 'tis so decreed :
Such just pre-eminence hath thy goodness gain'd,
Thou art the judge now, they the men arraign'd. [*To Clean.*
- First Court.* Here's fine dancing, gentlemen.
- Sec'd Court.* Is thy father amongst them ?
- Sim.* O a pox ! I saw him the first thing I look'd on.
Alive again ! 'sight, I believe now a father
Hath as many lives as a mother.
- Clean.* 'Tis full as blessed as 'tis wonderful.
O, bring me back to the same law again !
I am fouler than all these ; seize on me, officers,
And bring me to my sentence.
- Sim.* What's all this ?
- Clean.* A fault not to be pardon'd,
Unnaturalness is but sin's shadow to it.
- Sim.* I am glad of that ; I hope the case may alter,
And I turn judge again.
- Evan.* Name your offence.

It will be noticed that if all the rough and incomplete verses and coarse expressions, which destroy the dignity of this trial, are omitted, the remaining lines, which are thoroughly like Middleton's, will still make good sense and good verses. It looks, therefore, as though the speeches of the First and Second Courtiers, of Simonides, and the last one of Cleanthes, had been interpolated. For the same reasons, the comments upon the law in lines 289-409 do not seem like Middleton. Instead, he would be much more likely to read the whole law through, and then sentence the guilty. Although he himself is inclined to make sport of the law courts, he does not allow the guilty to do so in the presence of a serious judge. He would not allow such jests as occur in these two passages while the law is being administered by the duke. Compare *P*, act V, scene 1, lines 210-229 :

Jew. Wife. Who would not love a friend at court? what fine galleries and rooms am I brought through! I had thought my Knight durst not have shown his face here, I.

Pho. Now, mother of pride and daughter of lust, which is your friend now?

Jew. Wife. Ah me!

Pho. I'm sure you are not so unprovided to be without a friend here: you'll pay enough for him first.

Jew. Wife. This is the worst room that ever I came in.

Pho. I am your servant, mistress; know you not me?

Jew. Wife. Your worship is too great for me to know; I'm but a small-timbered woman, when I'm out of my apparel, and dare not venture upon greatness.

Pho. Do you deny me then? know you this purse?

Jew. Wife. That purse? O death, has the Knight serv'd me so? Given away my favours?

Pho. Stand forth, thou one of those
For whose close lusts the plague ne'er leaves the city.
Thou worse than common! private, subtle harlot!

These scenes are quite similar in theme and characters, but the Jeweler's wife does not dare be familiar with the young prince, as are Eugenia and Simonides with Evander. The

trial scene in *The Old Law* lacks the dignity that Middleton puts into his serious presentations of courts of law.

The characteristics of all three men are so closely combined in lines 532-713, that the only safe thing to do is to point out a few places where these characteristics jostle one another closest. The lines seem to have been too much revised to allow of anything like probable assignment of more than brief passages. For instance, Gnotho for the most part keeps the satirical, dry humor originally given him by Middleton, as in lines 549-553 :

Ye are good old men, and talk as age will give you leave. I would speak with the youthful duke himself; he and I may speak of things that shall be thirty or forty years after you are dead and rotten. Alas! you are here to-day, and gone to sea to-morrow.

This is followed by some prosaic verse which is quite unlike Middleton and equally unlike that which Evander uses in other places; for example, compare lines 554-559 and 569-572, with 424-431 :

In troth, sir, then I must be plain with you.
The law that should take away your old wife from you,
The which I do perceive was your desire,
Is void and frustrate; so for the rest:
There has been since another parliament
Has cut it off.

Your old wives cannot die to-day by any
Law of mine; for aught I can say to 'em
They may, by a new edict, bury you,
And then, perhaps, you pay a new fine too.

Of sons and wives we see the worst and best.
May future ages yield Hippolitas
Many; but few like thee, Eugenia!
Let no Simonides henceforth have fame,
But all blest sons live in Cleanthes' name—
Ha! what strange kind of melody was that?
Yet give it entrance, whatso'er it be,
This day is all devote to liberty.

The last passage is entirely different in tone and verse from the other two; it is rhythmical and dignified, while the others have the roughness of Rowley with the clumsy humor of Massinger. Only a little farther on comes such a noisy, coarse, punning passage as lines 585-604. Omitting some of the worst, I will quote 591-594 to show their quality:

Avaunt, my venture! it can ne'er be restor'd,
Till Ag, my old wife, be thrown overboard:
Then come again, old Ag, since it must be so:
Let bride and venture with woful music go.

Another passage, in which Gnotho has been robbed of some of his boisterousness, is found in lines 613-627. It is very badly printed in the quarto, as though from a bad place in the manuscript, where the reviser had been at work,—I give Bullen's restoration:

All hopes dash'd; the clerk's duties lost,
[My] venture gone; my second wife divorc'd;
And which is worst, the old one come back again!
Such voyages are made now-a-days!
I will weep two salt [ones out] of my nose, besides these
two fountains of fresh water. Your grace had been more
kind to your young subjects—heaven bless and mend
your laws, that they do not gull your poor country-men
[in this] fashion: but I am not the first, by forty, that
has been undone by the law. 'Tis but a folly to stand
upon terms; I take my leave of your grace, as well as
mine eyes will give me leave: I would they had been
asleep in their beds when they opened 'em to see this day!
Come, Ag; come, Ag.

The four verses are like Rowley; the rest of the passage has a suggestion of both Rowley and Middleton, but is wordy enough to be the work of Massinger. It is probably Massinger's dilution of Rowley's boisterous Gnotho, with just a slight touch of Middleton's wit in a few places. A little further on we have Middleton's dignified closing of the play with a speech by Cleanthes; lines 675-686:

Here's virtue's throne,
 Which I'll embellish with my dearest jewels
 Of love and faith, peace and affection!
 This is the altar of my sacrifice,
 Where daily my devoted knees shall bend.
 Age-honour'd shrine! time still so love you,
 That I so long may have you in mine eye
 Until my memory lose your beginning!
 For you, great prince, long may your fame survive,
 Your justice and your wisdom never die,
 Crown of your crown, the blessing of your land,
 Which you reach to her from your regent hand!

But after this comes a passage of twenty-six rather ragged verses, containing nine double endings, and closing with a moral tag, thoroughly after the manner of Massinger. Thus is woven together, in these last hundred lines, some of the rhythmical verse and keen wit of Middleton, some of the noise and coarse humor of Rowley, and some of the wordiness and didacticism of Massinger.

My analysis of the authorship of *The Old Law* may be summarized as follows:

Middleton, I, 1, 106-110, 126-159, 260-274, 312-349, 395-441;

II, 1, 78-99, 172-211;

II, 2, 75-121;

III, 1, 1-356;

IV, 1, 1-45;

V, 1, 39-78, 106-124, 148-262, 417-531:

Rowley, I, 1, 1-105, 111-125, 160-259, 350-394;

II, 1, 1-78, 100-171;

II, 2, 1-74, 121-137;

III, 2, 56-196, 258-268, 309-318;

IV, 1, 46-177;

IV, 2, 254-284:

Massinger, IV, 2, 1-253;

V, 1, 1-38, 79-105, 125-147:

Middleton-Rowley, I, 1, 275-311, 442-488 ;

II, 1, 211-272 ;

II, 2, 137-204 ;

III, 2, 1-55 ;

V, 1, 263-416 :

Middleton-Massinger, III, 2, 197-257, 269-308 :

Middleton-Rowley-Massinger, V, 1, 532-713.

VI.

If this distribution of passages is approximately correct, there can be but one conclusion as to the method of composition. Collaboration is out of the question, and revision by more than one of the men at a time is improbable. It must, therefore, be concluded that the play was written by one of the men, was later revised by another, and still later revised by the third.

A careful consideration of the passages assigned to Massinger will show that he was clearly a reviser ; he appears only in the third, fourth, and fifth acts. That Rowley also was a reviser, and that Middleton was the writer of the original play, are apparent from the following facts : Rowley has little to do with the present form of the fifth act, but is prominent in all of the others ; the main story of the feigned law and the main portion of the Gnotho story are by Middleton ; passages that resemble Middleton are like his early work ; Middleton wrote two other plays, *P* and *BMC*, with the same plot scheme, namely, a tragi-comedy main plot and a sub-plot from the lower London life ; and the climax of the play, still retaining many of Middleton's characteristics of style, allows everybody to repent and escape punishment in the genuine Middleton manner.

It has already been shown (page 2) that *The Old Law* is probably an early play, *circa* 1599. The date of the revisions

can only be surmised. Mr. Thomas Seccombe¹ and Mr. Fleay² assert that in 1614 the Prince of Wales' Company, with Rowley as the leading comedian, was united with the Lady Elizabeth's Company, for which Middleton was writing. The same authorities assert that in 1616 the companies separated, Rowley and Middleton following their old companies. During the amalgamation of the two companies there was an opportunity for the two men to work together; but I doubt if the play was revised at that time. The revision by Rowley of a play originally by Middleton, when both men were working for the same company, could hardly have occurred except by collaboration. That collaboration is highly improbable is shown by the fact that there are no less than six, possibly seven, places where it is practically impossible to separate Rowley's work from Middleton's. Had they been working together, we should expect to find a division of the play, either by acts and scenes, or by comic and tragic situations. It is more likely, therefore, that when the properties were divided at the separation of the two companies, the manuscript of *The Old Law* fell into the hands of Rowley. If so, the revision is likely to have been made after 1616.

There is, however, another possibility. Mr. Seccombe and Mr. Fleay assert also that in 1621 Rowley was with the Lady Elizabeth's Company, for which Middleton used to write. At this time he may have got possession of the old manuscript and made the revision. The chief objection to this theory is that Rowley (on the authority of Mr. Seccombe and Mr. Fleay) is supposed to have retired as an actor soon after, and his work on *The Old Law* shows youth rather than old age. Then, too, an early date, soon after 1616, agrees better with the possible date for Massinger's revision, since it puts the two revisions farther apart.

¹ Article on *William Rowley* in *The Dictionary of National Biography*.

² *Chronicle of the English Drama*; F. G. Fleay, vol. ii, p. 98.

That Massinger was the last reviser is pretty evident from some otherwise curious passages in the fifth act. Lines 79-105 and 125-147, both assigned to Massinger, come at a point where Eugenia and Simonides might well make considerable sport if they are to keep up their parts as Rowley began with them. Instead, they are restrainedly humorous in the true Massinger style. In lines 263-416 these two characters become more noisy with less reason for it; here they more nearly resemble what Rowley would be likely to make of them. Then in lines 532-713, just as Gnotho gets well started in a fine piece of burlesque, the manuscript becomes confusing to the printer, and Massinger's style appears. It is not at all difficult, therefore, to infer that Massinger was revising Rowley, and deemed it wise to cut out the coarsest of the noisy burlesque. This explanation will help to make clear the insertion by Massinger of nearly all of the second scene of the fourth act. In the hands of Rowley, this might well have been very low comedy, in all but a small part of the scene in the woods where Leonides is discovered. As such it would naturally lead up to a climax of low comedy in the last act. Even as it is, there remains a curious little tag end of inharmonious low comedy in the last few lines of the fourth act. We are rather surprised to see Simonides hide behind Eugenia to escape the wrath of Cleanthes, and then cut his finger on his own sword. This is plainly Rowley's Simonides, not Massinger's. There can be little doubt, therefore, that Massinger was the last reviser.

The facts just mentioned not only show who did the last work on the play, but they indicate a method of revision that helps to a possible date. Massinger seems to be expurgating the lowest comedy, to be making it more dignified, and to be glorifying royalty. This latter fact is shown by the addition to Middleton's ending of the play at line 686. All that follows is in praise of the duke for his royal wisdom and his magnificent entertainment of the old courtiers whom

he had imprisoned for a short time. Was this play, then, revised by Massinger for his company to perform in Salisbury House before the King and Queen, as part of the coronation ceremonies in 1625? Such an inference, although it is purely conjectural, is certainly possible. Without some further evidence, this can be only a guess; but it has the merit of explaining the method of revision consistently with the fact, deemed of importance by the printer, that the play was "Acted before the King and Queene at Salisbury House."

EDGAR COIT MORRIS.

II.—CATO AND ELIJAH:

A STUDY IN DANTE.

The appropriate and frequently quoted words of Orazio Bacci, "E speriamo che anche del Catone non si ritorni a parlare troppo presto,"¹ have taken their place among those maxims

Le qua' fuggendo tutto 'l mondo onora.

The copious stream of Cato literature has flowed on undiminished, and the end is apparently no nearer than before. If, then, a new recruit is to join the procession of those who seem to honor Bacci's precept more in the breach than in the observance, it behooves him to declare at the outset that he does so only because he has material to offer which he believes to be new and of a nature to expedite the ultimate solution of the problem.

To facilitate reference, let us begin by quoting the passage² in which Cato first appears:—

Lo bel pianeta che ad amar conforta
Faceva tutto rider l'oriente,
Velando i pesci ch' erano in sua scorta.
Io mi volsi a man destra, e posi mente
All' altro polo, e vidi quattro stelle³
Non viste mai fuor che alla prima gente.
Goder pareva il ciel di lor fiammelle.
O settentrional vedovo sito,
Poichè privato sei di mirar quelle!

¹ *Bullettino della Società dantesca italiana*, Nuova Serie II, p. 75.

² *Purg.* I, 19-111. It will be remembered that Dante and Virgil have just emerged from hell, and find themselves, at early morn, on the shore of the island of purgatory. Venus and Pisces are in the eastern sky.

³ Whether or not these four stars are the Southern Cross, they certainly represent allegorically the four cardinal virtues: justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude. Compare *Purg.* VIII, 89-93, where three stars symbolize the three theological virtues: faith, hope, and charity.

Com' io dal loro sguardo fui partito,
 Un poco me volgendo all' altro polo,
 Là onde il carro già era sparito,
 Vidi presso di me un veglio solo,
 Degno di tanta riverenza in vista,
 Che più non dee a padre alcun figliuolo.
 Lunga la barba e di pel bianco mista
 Portava, e i suoi capegli simigliante,
 De' quai cadeva al petto doppia lista.
 Li raggi delle quattro luci sante
 Fregiavan sì la sua faccia di lume
 Ch' io 'l vedea come il sol fosse davante.¹
 "Chi siete voi, che contro al cieco fiume
 Fuggito avete la prigione eterna?"
 Diss' egli, movendo quell' oneste piume.
 "Chi v' ha guidati? O chi vi fu lucerna,
 Uscendo fuor della profonda notte
 Che sempre nera fa la valle inferna?
 Son le leggi d'abisso così rotte?
 O è mutato in ciel nuovo consiglio,
 Che dannati venite alle mie grotte?"
 Lo Duca mio allor mi diè di piglio,
 E con parole e con mano e con cenni,
 Riverenti mi fe' le gambe e il ciglio.
 Poscia rispose lui: "Da me non venni;
 Donna scese del ciel, per li cui preghi
 Della mia compagnia costui sovvenni.

 Mostrato ho lui tutta la gente ria;
 Ed ora intendo mostrar quegli spirti
 Che purgan sè sotto la tua balia.²
 Come io l'ho tratto, saria lungo a dirti:
 Dell' alto scende virtù che m' aiuta
 Conducerlo a vederti ed a udirti.
 Or ti piaccia gradir la sua venuta:
 Libertà va cercando, che è sì cara
 Come sa chi per lei vita rifiuta.
 Tu il sai; chè non ti fu per lei amara
 In Utica la morte, ove lasciasti
 La vesta che al gran dì sarà sì chiara.³

¹ Cf. Daniel xii, 3, and Matthew xvii, 2.

² This line shows clearly that Cato has charge of purgatory proper, as well as the shore that lies outside.

³ The epithet *chiara*, applied to Cato's body resurrected on the day of Judgment, is, according to A. Bartoli (*Storia della lett. ital.* vi, i, p. 203)

Non son gli editti eterni per noi guasti:
 Chè questi vive, e Minos me non lega;
 Ma son del cerchio ove son gli occhi casti
 Di Marzia tua,¹ che in vista ancor ti prega,
 O santo petto,² che per tua la tegni:
 Per lo suo amore adunque a noi ti piega.
 Lasciane andar per li tuoi sette regni:³
 Grazie riporterò di te a lei,
 Se d'esser mentovato laggiù degni."
 "Marzia piacque tanto agli occhi miei,
 Mentre ch' io fui di là," diss' egli allora,
 "Che quante grazie volse da me, fei.
 Or che di là dal mal fiume dimora,
 Più mover non mi può per quella legge
 Che fatta fu quando me n'uscii fuora."⁴
 Ma se donna del ciel ti move e regge,
 Come tu di', non c' è mestier lusinghe:
 Bastiti ben che per lei mi richegge.
 Va dunque, e fa che tu costui ricinghe
 D'un giunco schietto, e che gli lavi il viso,
 Sì che ogni sucidume quindi stinghe.

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and F. Cipolla (*Quattro lettere intorno al Catone di Dante*, in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, Serie VII, Tomo IX, p. 1111), a reminiscence of the *claritas* which St. Thomas (*Summa Theologia*, Suppl. II, Qu. lxxxv, Art. 1) attributes to the glorified bodies of the just.

¹ Marcia, Cato's wife, is still in Limbo, the outermost circle of hell, the abode of virtuous pagans. This little episode of Marcia was perhaps introduced here to satisfy a desire lurking in Dante's mind to develop an allegory which he had outlined in *Conv.* IV, xxviii: according to this allegory, the return of Marcia to Cato (Lucan, *Pharsalia* II, 326-348) symbolizes the return of the human soul to God. In the above lines Dante may have intended to convey the doctrine that God, since the departure of Christ from earth, has been and always will be indifferent to the fate of the damned. Cf. Luke xvi, 26. It is possible that Dante had in mind also the words of Jesus in John ii, 4.

² Cf. *Conv.* IV, v, "O sacratissimo petto di Catone," a translation of "tua pectora sancta," *Phars.* IX, 561.

³ This verse proves that Cato rules over the whole of purgatory. Cf. the directions given by him in his next speech.

⁴ These lines, if naturally and rationally interpreted, can mean only that Cato was formerly confined in Limbo and has been subsequently rescued from it. Cipolla (*Quattro lettere*, etc., p. 1112) thinks that the use of the word *legge* was suggested by Virgil's *Georgics* IV, 486-487, where *legem* indicates Proserpine's decree given when Eurydice returned to earth.

Poscia non sia di qua vostra reddita ;
 Lo sol vi mostrerà, che surge omai,
 Prender lo monte a più lieve salita.”
 Così sparì;¹ ed io su mi levai
 Senza parlare, e tutto mi ritrassi
 Al Duca mio, e gli occhi a lui drizzai.

“Il veglio onesto” appears once more,² to reprove the laggard spirits that are listening to Casella. Even the wise Virgil is abashed at his rebuke.³

The allegorical significance of Dante's Cato has been satisfactorily explained by A. Bartoli,⁴ whose opinion has been generally though not universally accepted.⁵ Cato's suicide was an assertion of his independence, and by it as well as by all his previous life he became the type of spiritual freedom—of the liberated will, which, rid of the ties of sin, can return to God. He represents also the soul illumined by the four cardinal virtues, not yet in possession of the theological virtues, but destined to attain them. His final salvation is clearly prophesied.

Impressive and appropriate as this figure appears at the threshold of the realm where sinful but repentant souls are engaged in winning back the lost freedom of the will, it presents several strange and hitherto unexplained inconsistencies. Its outward appearance is not that which one would naturally ascribe to Cato. Moreover, the hero of Utica was a pagan and a suicide, and as such belongs in the lower

¹ It is very unusual for Dante's spirits to vanish in this fashion. The phrase should be noted.

² *Purg.* II, 118-123.

³ *Purg.* III, 7-11.

⁴ *Storia della lett. ital.* VI, i, Ch. v (published in 1887).

⁵ Cf. A. Bartolini, *Studi danteschi* II (1891); G. Crescimanno, *Figure dantesche* (1893); B. Bartoli, *Figure dantesche* (1896). In the *Giornale dantesco* IX, vii, 121, is to be found an interesting and ingenious (but, to me, unconvincing) article by L. Filomusi Guelfi, *Il simbolo di Catone nel poema di Dante*, in which a different allegorical interpretation is attempted. Cf. also G. B. Zoppi, *Sul Catone dantesco* (1900), discussed by M. Pelaez in the *Bullettino della Società dantesca italiana* VIII, 75.

world, not in heaven nor in purgatory. To investigate the reason of these incongruities is the purpose of the present article.

Dante's "veglio" has the aspect of great age, whereas the real Cato was only forty-nine at the time of his death. Even if this exact number was unknown to the poet, he must have inferred from Cato's conduct in Africa—described in the ninth book of the *Pharsalia*, which Dante knew almost by heart—that the sturdy Roman was still in the prime of life. Lucan does, to be sure, speak of Cato's uncut hair and beard,¹ but not as a token of advanced years; he tells us that this disregard of personal appearance was a protest against the civil war. P. Chistoni, in a recent essay,² tries to prove that Dante has here confused the two Catos and ascribed to the younger the venerable countenance of the Censor; his own paper, however, furnishes evidence that such a mistake was most unlikely, for he calls attention to the fact that Dante was constantly using works of Orosius and Cicero³ in which the two are plainly distinguished. We must seek another explanation. Meanwhile let us observe that the long white hair and beard are suggestive of a patriarch or prophet.

The guardian of purgatory, while alive, was not a Christian. As a pagan, he should be lodged in Limbo. Thither he went at first, but afterwards was taken out and given authority over the island which he now inhabits; his ultimate abode will be heaven. His rescue can hardly have occurred on any other occasion than the descent of Christ into hell, when the good people of the Old Testament were removed to paradise. Cato alone, among all the virtuous Greeks and Romans, was permitted to leave hell with the Hebrew patriarchs. The *Commedia* offers, however, two other examples of worthy pagans

¹ *Phars.* II, 373–375.

² *Le fonti classiche e medievali del Catone dantesco*, in *Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad Alessandro D'Ancona* (1901), p. 97.

³ Especially *De Officiis*, *De Senectute*, *De Finibus*: see p. 111 of Chistoni's article.

who have won salvation : Trajan,¹ who was allowed to return to earth, resume his body, and embrace Christianity ; Ripheus,² who received grace to foresee Christ long before the Savior's advent. Presumably Cato is likened to one of these ; but, as his home is not yet in heaven, it is to be supposed that he has not attained complete blessedness. In fact, he occupies an altogether abnormal position in Dante's universe, being outside of hell, purgatory, and paradise—neither saved, nor damned, nor doing penance. His exceptional state has been remarked by V. Cian.³

But Cato is not only a pagan : he is also a suicide ; hence we might suppose his proper place to be with Pier della Vigna in the second *girone* of the seventh circle of hell. Dante, elsewhere so strictly orthodox, would hardly venture to set at defiance the Church doctrine on suicide. That doctrine is simple and severe ; it is based on the commandment "Non occides."⁴ The principal authority on the subject is St. Augustine, who is sternly logical, condemning expressly the suicide of Cato,⁵ which he attributes to impatience, and also that of Lucretia,⁶ which he lays to false pride. Lactantius, too, singles out Cato's act for reprobation⁷ : the great Roman was a homicide ; he killed himself less to avoid Cæsar than to follow the precepts of the Stoics and to leave behind him a great name. "Hic tamen," he adds, "aliquam moriendi causam videbatur habuisse, odium servitutis." Razis, the "manful" suicide of Maccabees,⁸ who threw himself from the walls of the city to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, may, according to St. Augustine,⁹ have died "nobiliter

¹ *Par.* xx, 106-117.

² *Par.* xx, 118-129.

³ Cited by F. Cipolla, *Quattro lettere*, etc., pp. 1117-1120. Cipolla does not agree with Cian.

⁴ Exodus xx, 13.

⁵ *De Civitate Dei* I, xxiii, and ix, iv, 4.

⁶ *De Civitate Dei* I, xix.

⁷ *Divine Institutiones* III (*De falsa sapientia philosophorum*), xviii.

⁸ 2 Macc. xiv, 37-46.

⁹ *Epistolæ*, Classis III, Epistola ccciv, 6-8.

et viriliter," but did not die "sapienter;" his end is merely narrated, not praised, in the Bible; his act was great, but not good, for it was caused by pride. His example is given to us "judicandum potius quam imitandum." The same opinion of Razis is expressed by Rabanus Maurus¹ and by St. Thomas Aquinas.² The suicide of Judas is condemned by St. Jerome.³ As we pass in review the Church writers, it seems increasingly strange that Dante should have selected a suicide for one of the most important functions in his poem.⁴

This function is, as we have seen, the custodianship of the island of purgatory, which consists of a ring of low-lying shore, steep mountain sides, and a flat, circular summit containing the terrestrial paradise. The seaside where the guardian dwells, outside of purgatory proper, seems to correspond to the Antinferno, the vestibule of hell, and Eden, the vestibule of heaven.⁵ Cato would then correspond, in a way, to Charon and Matilda, who preside over the other vestibules. His office is a necessary one in the scheme; but could not

¹ *Commentaria in Libros Machabæorum* II, xiv.

² *Summa Theologia, Secunda Secundæ*, Qu. lxiv, Art. 5.

³ *Commentaria in Amos Prophetam* II, v, Vers. 18-20.

⁴ In an article in the *Bullettino della Società dantesca italiana* VIII, 1, M. Scherillo notes that Dido, Lucretia, Empedocles, Cleopatra, Lucan, and Seneca are not treated by Dante as suicides, and concludes that the poet regarded self-slaughter as less culpable for a pagan than for a Christian. This opinion is contrary to the views expressed by St. Augustine and Lactantius. Moreover, Dido and Cleopatra are punished in the place befitting their most conspicuous and characteristic fault; Lucretia can be accounted for, as will presently be shown; as to the other three, Dante may have forgotten the manner of their death.

⁵ In an excellent *Breve trattato del paradiso di Dante* (*Giorn. dant.* IX, viii, 149) G. Federzoni maintains that the vestibule of heaven consists of the spheres of the moon, Mercury, and Venus. But as these spheres form an integral part of paradise, and are not separated from the rest as the Antinferno and Antipurgatorio are divided from hell and purgatory, the terrestrial paradise would seem to correspond more closely to the other vestibules. Just as the desire to reform is the necessary prelude to purgation, so the life of innocent activity is the natural predecessor of religious contemplation.

Dante have chosen some one else to fill it? If so, why did he prefer Cato, and how did he contrive to excuse Cato's misdeed?

In the description of Eden and its surroundings Dante is more influenced than anywhere else by legend. Almost every feature of his terrestrial paradise and the approaches to it can be matched in mediæval popular or ecclesiastical tradition.¹ For instance it was commonly related that the home of our first ancestors was on the top of a mountain, or on an island, or on both. Ephraim the Syrian² says that Eden is on a high summit, circular, surrounded by the sea, and divided into an inner—most sacred—and an outer part. This division we find, in a form closer to Dante's, in the *Navigatio S. Brendani*,³ where the two parts are separated by a mysterious river. The beautiful trees and birds, so striking in Dante's description, are common to nearly all the legends. The terrestrial paradise of tradition is often surrounded by a region of horror, and is sometimes—as in Frate Alberico's vision and in St. Patrick's Purgatory—in close proximity to purgatory or hell.⁴ In an Old French version of the legend of Seth purgatory and Eden are contiguous.⁵ Moreover, we frequently find the earthly paradise enclosed by a wall of fire: so it is in Tertullian, Lactantius, St. John Chrysostom, St. Isidore, and in many later writers.⁶

Now, who are the inhabitants of this legendary Eden? There are two regular dwellers, Enoch and Elijah. Sometimes, to be sure, we meet other patriarchs; in the *Apocalypse of St. Paul*, for example, are to be found, in addition to the two just mentioned, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah,

¹ See A. Graf, *La leggenda del Paradiso terrestre* (1878); *Il mito del Paradiso terrestre in Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo* (1892), I. Also E. Coli, *Il Paradiso terrestre dantesco* (1897).

² Coli, *Par. terr. dant.*, p. 46.

³ C. Schröder, *Sanct Brandan* (1871), p. 35.

⁴ Graf, *Mito*, pp. 21–22.

⁵ Coli, *Par. terr. dant.*, pp. 144–145.

⁶ Graf, *Mito*, pp. 18–19.

Ezechiel, and Noah.¹ The usual tradition, however, is that which appears in a very popular early Italian tale,² in which the visitors discover only Enoch and Elijah, "li quali pose Dio nel Paradiso deliciano a ciò che vivessero infin alla fin del mondo, per render testimonianza della morte di Gesù Cristo." Similarly in an Old Venetian version of *St. Brendan*,³ Enoch and Elijah are in the "paradiso delitiarum," still alive, destined to go forth to fight against the Antichrist on the last day. In fact, these two elders—Enoch, who was taken by God,⁴ and Elijah, who was carried up in a chariot of fire⁵—were generally supposed to have been translated not to heaven but to some happy spot on earth, usually the garden of Eden, where they are still living in the flesh, to come out and meet their death and salvation on the day of Judgment. They were identified with the two nameless witnesses of the Apocalypse.⁶ Of these two figures, Elijah is of course the more important: he plays a leading part in the Old Testament, while Enoch is barely mentioned; in the New Testament it is Elijah who, at the Transfiguration, appears in company with Moses conversing with Christ.⁷ Enoch may, indeed, be regarded almost as a mere appendage to Elijah.

The legend of Elijah and Enoch was recognized by the Church. St. Augustine says:⁸ "Plerique exponunt Apocalypsim Joannis de duobus illis prophetis, de quibus, tacitis eorum nominibus, loquitur, quod isti duo sancti [Elijah and Enoch] cum suis tunc corporibus apparebunt, in quibus nunc vivunt, ut etiam ipsi quemadmodum cæteri martyres pro

¹ H. Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli* (1885), p. 18.

² D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale della lett. ital.* I, p. 562.

³ F. Novati, *La 'Navigatio S. Brendani' in antico veneziano* (1892), Ch. xxxviii.

⁴ Gen. v, 24: "Ambulavitque cum Deo, et non apparuit: quia tulit eum Deus."

⁵ 2 Kings ii, 11: "Ecce currus igneus, et equi ignei diviserunt utrumque: et ascendit Elias per turbinem in cælum."

⁶ Rev. xi, 3-12.

⁷ Mat. xvii, 3; Luke ix, 30.

⁸ *Epistolæ*, Cl. III, Ep. cxciii, Cap. iii, 5.

Christi veritate moriantur." Elsewhere¹ he speaks of Elijah alone: "Et quod Joannes [John the Baptist] ad primum adventum, hoc erit Elias ad secundum adventum. Quomodo duo adventus iudices, sic duo præcones." In another work² he declares that Elijah will come before the Judgment, and by his preaching and his revelations of the secrets of the Scriptures will convert the Jews to Christ. In still another place³ he raises the question whether Elijah and Enoch are now in the animal or the spiritual body; the place where they are living is known—it is the spot where Adam and Eve sinned: "Ibi erant illi, quo translati sunt isti; et illic vivunt isti, unde ut morerentur ejecti sunt illi."

In Elijah we have, then, the traditional and, so to speak, the official keeper of the terrestrial paradise; his majestic figure would have well become the place allotted to Cato. Familiar as Dante was with legendary and Church literature, he must at some time have entertained the idea of making Elijah guardian of the island. How early he abandoned it we cannot tell; but the assignment was so obvious, apparently so inevitable, that Dante must at least have considered it. Furthermore, we can gather from the whole poem circumstantial evidence that Elijah has been crowded out of the position originally reserved for him. Our poet, in his first conception of the *Commedia*, must have placed the great prophet somewhere; he had him in mind while writing the *Inferno*, for he mentions him there in a simile.⁴ Yet Elijah is not in heaven, since St. John tells Dante that none but Christ and Mary are dwelling in paradise in the flesh.⁵ He is not to be found in the minutely described garden of Eden. He is surely not in hell nor in purgatory proper. It is barely possible that he has been turned out of the earthly

¹ *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus* IV, Cap. i, 5.

² *De Civitate Dei* XX, XXIX.

³ *Contra Julianum* VI, XXXIX.

⁴ *Inf.* XXVI, 34-39.

⁵ *Par.* XXV, 127-128.

paradise to make room for Matilda, but far more likely that his rightful place has been usurped by Cato.

If we can assume that the figure of Cato has been superposed, in Dante's mind, upon an earlier image of Elijah, some obscure features will at once become clear. In the first place, the great age ascribed to the custodian may be regarded as a remnant of Dante's mental picture of the prophet. Secondly, the scandal of an approved suicide disappears from the original design of the *Purgatorio*. More explicable, too, is the association of Cato with the patriarchs of the Old Church who were rescued from Limbo. Furthermore, the anomalous situation of the guardian—outside of earth, hell, and heaven, doing no penance, but sure of salvation—a situation which we can hardly imagine Dante making to order for Cato, he found ready made for Elijah. According to St. Augustine,¹ the prophet occupies just such an intermediate station:—

“Neque enim arbitrandum est Eliam vel sic esse jam sicut erunt sancti, quando peracto operis die denarium pariter accepturi sunt (Mat. xx, 10); vel sic quemadmodum sunt homines qui ex ista vita nondum emigrarunt, de qua ille tamen non morte sed translatione migravit (iv Reg. ii, 11). Jam itaque aliquid melius habet, quam in hac vita posset; quamvis nondum habeat quod ex hac vita recte gesta in fine habiturus est. . . . Nam si Enoch et Elias in Adam mortui, mortisque propaginem in carne gestantes, quod debitum ut solvant, creduntur etiam redituri ad hanc vitam, et, quod tamdiu dilatum est, morituri (Malach. iv, 5; et Apoc. xi, 3-7), nunc tamen in alia vita sunt, ubi ante resurrectionem carnis, antequam animale corpus in spirituale mutetur, nec morbo nec senectute deficiunt.”²

If we admit that Dante thus altered his original plan, the question remains, why did he alter it? Doubtless the poet desired a single person for the office in question, and it might have been hard to separate Elijah from Enoch; this, however, is not a sufficient reason. The obvious similarity in character

¹ *De Genesi ad Litteram* ix, vi, 11.

² The author goes on to say that if man had not sinned, he never would have suffered death, but would have been regularly transferred, like Enoch and Elijah, after life to a better state.

between Elijah and Cato may have facilitated the substitution, but can scarcely have suggested it.

Among the numerous mediæval accounts of the terrestrial paradise which Dante may have used in the composition of his *Purgatorio*, there is one with which he seems to have been particularly familiar. Between the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*¹ and the *Commedia* there are resemblances so close as almost to exclude the possibility of chance coincidence or indirect influence. A parallel to Dante's neutral angels is found, in the legend, in those neutral souls that are discovered on an island in the form of birds; their punishment is to be deprived of the sight of God.² One of St. Brendan's islands is strikingly similar to the island of purgatory: "Viderunt ripam altissimam sicut murum et diversos rivulos descendentes de summitate insule fluentes in mare."³ The absence of atmospheric change in Dante's purgatory and Eden reminds us of that island in the *Navigatio*, unchanged since the beginning of the world, in which it is always day without darkness.⁴ The wonderful carvings in the first circle of purgatory are matched in the Venetian version of the *Brendan*: "E si e tante belle figure e ben intaiade, ch' ele par pur eser vive."⁵ The "terra repromissionis sanctorum" of the Latin legend is full of fruit trees,⁶ and in the Venetian text we have most elaborate descriptions of trees and birds.⁷ This promised land is divided in the middle by a mysterious river, beside which a young man appears: "Ecce juvenis occurrit illis obviam osculans eos cum magna leticia et singulos nominatim

¹ See C. Schröder, *Sancti Brandan* (1871) for the Latin text; F. Novati, *La 'Navigatio S. Brendani' in antico veneziano* (1892) for a 13th century Italian version. This Venetian work contains considerable amplifications.

² Schröder, p. 12: "Penas non sustinemus. Hic presentiam Dei non possumus videre."

³ Schröder, p. 7.

⁴ Schröder, p. 4.

⁵ Novati, Ch. xxxiv. Cf. *Purg.* xii, 67-69.

⁶ Schröder, p. 35.

⁷ Novati, Ch. xxxi and xxxvii.

appellabat.”¹ In the Venetian the youth is called beautiful, and approaches singing sweetly²—a veritable male Matilda!

Now, at the beginning of the *Navigatio* there is a figure that can hardly have failed to affect Dante’s conception of the guardian. Barinthus is relating his journey to St. Brendan, and has just told of his disembarking on the shore of the promised land: “Subito apparuit vir quidam magni splendoris³ coram nobis, qui statim propriis nominibus nos appellavit atque salutavit.”⁴ He does not disclose his name, but gives the travellers information about the island. Then he accompanies them to their boat: “ascendentibus autem nobis in navim raptus est idem vir ab oculis nostris.” Here we find a mate to the curious phrase “così spari,” at the end of the interview with Cato.⁵ The custodian of the *St. Brendan* is not Elijah; in the Italian version both Elijah and Enoch appear in another place. With this “vir magni splendoris” may have been fused, in Dante’s mind, another impressive figure from the *Navigatio*—that of “Paulus eremita,” who is discovered on a desolate island and declares: “Michi promissum est expectare diem iudicii in ista carne.”⁶ Thus *St. Brendan’s Voyage* furnishes a means of easy transition from Elijah to a new guardian.

The first suggestion of Cato for this office probably came, as has often been conjectured, from that line of the *Aeneid*⁷ which describes the good souls in the other world, apart from the wicked:—

Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem.

Very likely Virgil had in mind the Censor, as Servius tells us; but there was nothing to prevent Dante from taking him to mean Cato Minor. To the fitness of Cato Uticensis for such a trust the ancients bear abundant testimony. Some of

¹ Schröder, p. 35.

² Cf. *Purg.* I, 37–39.

³ *Purg.* I, 109.

⁷ *Aen.* VIII, 670.

² Novati, Ch. xlii.

⁴ Schröder, p. 4.

⁶ Schröder, p. 34.

their most significant utterances have been collected by G. Wolff.¹ The same writer points out that the *Distichs* of Dionysius Cato, attributed to Cato of Utica as well as to the Censor, were used in the middle ages as a text-book, perhaps by Dante himself; their style is almost biblical, "God" is used in preference to "the Gods;" so they were calculated to enhance the sacredness with which their supposed author was already invested.² Brunetto Latini, in his *Trésor*, translates from Sallust's *Catiline* the speech of Cato; and further on he adds selections from the *Disticha Catonis*.³

A strong incentive to follow this suggestion must have been Dante's own desire to make a fit place for Cato in his poem. Cato Uticensis was Dante's hero. In the *Convivio* and *De Monarchia* he speaks of him as of no other human being.⁴ "E quale uomo terreno," he asks, "più degno fu di significare Iddio, che Catone? Certo nullo."⁵ Cato was one of those divinely ordained to prepare Rome for the dominion of the world. Dante did not wish to condemn him to hell—"quello glorioso Catone, di cui non fui di sopra oso di parlare"⁶—nor did he venture to place him in heaven; purgatory proper was not an appropriate location. The intermediate position prepared for Elijah seemed best to fit him.

Doubtless more potent than any of the foregoing considerations was the need of a type of free will who should at the same time represent the cardinal virtues. It is evident that to Dante's mind the suicide of Cato, to escape tyranny, was, anagogically interpreted, an example of spiritual freedom, just as the departure of Israel from Egypt⁷ stood for the "exitus animæ sanctæ ab hujus corruptionis servitute ad æternæ gloriæ

¹ *Cato der Jüngere bei Dante*, in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Dante-Gesellschaft* II, pp. 227-229.

² Wolff, pp. 230-231.

³ Wolff, p. 230. See *Trésor* VIII, 34, and VIII, 45, 54, 66.

⁴ *Conv.* IV, v, lines (Oxford Dante) 140 ff.; vi, 95-96; xxvii, 31-33; xxviii, 97 ff. *De Mon.* II, v.

⁵ *Conv.* IV, xxviii.

⁶ *Conv.* IV, vi.

⁷ Psalm cxiii, 1 (Vulgate).

libertatem.”¹ “Accedit,” he says elsewhere,² “et illud inenarrabile sacrificium severissimi libertatis tutoris Marci Catonis.” His death is a symbol of the “libertas arbitrii” of all mankind. “Si legge di Catone, che non a sè, ma alla patria e a tutto il mondo nato essere credea.”³ As an embodiment of the four cardinal virtues—prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude—no fitter character could have been found in all history. The very fact that his name consisted of four letters was perhaps not without significance in Dante’s eyes. Indeed, with a little ingenuity, we may discover a mystic affinity between that name and the virtues in question :—

Cautio
Aequitas
Temperantia
Obstinatio

Fantastic as this may seem, it is no more so than the interpretations of Adam’s name which are common in Church writers⁴ and must have been known to Dante.⁵

One important question remains. How could so good a churchman as Dante bring himself to include Cato, a heathen and a suicide, among the ultimately blessed? The fact that Cato was a pagan is not an unsurmountable obstacle. “In omni gente,” says St. Peter,⁶ “qui timet eum, et operatur justitiam, acceptus est illi.” We have already seen that Trajan and Ripheus were saved, and their example shows what Dante’s idea was concerning Cato: either God inspired him, before his death, with a belief in the coming Christ; or, after he had died a pagan and had dwelt in Limbo for some eighty years, Christ, on liberating him with the patriarchs, clad him with his body and allowed him to work out his salvation on the brink of purgatory. The former explanation is offered by

¹ *Letter to Can Grande* vii.

² *De Mon.* II, v.

³ *Conv.* IV, xxvii.

⁴ See Appendix at the end of this article.

⁵ Cf. *Vita Nuova*, Ch. xiii, lines 13–14 (Witte); Ch. xxiv, lines 19–30.

⁶ Acts v, 35.

Dante's son Pietro :¹ "Christus eum liberavit a limbo ; cum possibile sit et verisimile Deum, qui fecit eum tantum virtuosum, inspirasse et credulitatem Christi filii venturi et contritum decessisse et sic salvatum." If, however, he had died a Christian, there would have been no reason for his going to Limbo at all ; and when we consider that Elijah, his probable prototype, was generally pictured as abiding in the flesh, the second supposition seems by far the more likely.

But was Cato—even if we overlook for the moment his violent end—worthy of such a favor ? His name does not occur often in the Church writers, but when he is mentioned, it is generally in terms of praise. Tertullian, to be sure, blames the transfer of Marcia to Hortensius ;² but this act is excused³ and apparently commended⁴ by St. Augustine. The latter author devotes a chapter⁵ to a comparison of Cato and Cæsar, much to the advantage of the first. Even Tertullian exclaims :⁶ "Quis ex illis diis vestris gravior et sapientior Catone ?" Of the unstinted praise bestowed upon Cato by the ancients, and of Dante's boundless admiration for him, we have already spoken.

Cato of Utica was, nevertheless, a suicide ; and the Church was relentless in its condemnation of self-slaughter. In his work *De Monarchia*⁷ Dante quotes freely from Cicero a passage in which the Roman philosopher justifies Cato's act as the only one that could accord with his life and character, and as different from an ordinary suicide :—

"In iis vero quæ de Officiis,⁸ de Catone dicebat : ' Non enim alia in causa Marcus Cato fuit, alia cæteri qui se in Africa Cæsari tradiderunt ; atque

¹ Quoted by A. F. Ozanam, *le Purgatoire de Dante* (1862), p. 42. Cf. A. Bartoli, *Storia della lett. ital.* VI, i, 205.

² *Apologeticus adversus gentes* xxxix.

³ *De Fide et Operibus* vii, 10.

⁴ *Epistolæ*, Cl. II, Ep. xci, 4.

⁵ *De Civitate Dei* v, xii.

⁶ *Apologeticus adversus gentes* xi. Cf. *Conv.* iv, xxviii : "E quale uomo terreno più degno fu di significare Iddio, che Catone ?"

⁷ *De Mon.* II, v, end.

⁸ *De Officiis* I, xxxi.

cæteris forsan vitio datum esset, si se interemissent, propterea quod levior eorum vita, et mores fuerunt faciliores. Catoni vero quum incredibilem natura tribuisset gravitatem, eamque perpetua constantia roborasset, semperque in proposito susceptoque consilio permansisset, moriendum ei potius quam tyranni vultus adspiciendus fuit.' ”

This, however, is the opinion of a pagan writer ; and although that pagan was regarded with the greatest reverence as a philosopher, his views on a theological question would naturally be inconclusive. Our only hope is to find an outlet through the Church doctrine.

Such a loophole St. Augustine furnishes :¹ “ Quasdam vero exceptiones,” he says, “ eadem ipsa divina fecit auctoritas, ut non liceat hominem occidi.” And he proceeds to explain that killing is right when performed at the direct bidding of God. Further on² he declares that “ quædam sanctæ feminae tempore persecutionis,” who killed themselves to preserve their honor, if (as the Church assumes) they did right, must have acted “ non humanitus deceptæ, sed divinitus jussæ.” With these holy women Dante seems to have classed Lucretia, whom he assigns to Limbo and not to the suicides’ wood.³ St. Augustine’s teaching is followed and quoted by Rabanus Maurus,⁴ Abelard,⁵ and St. Thomas.⁶ A frequently cited example is that of Abraham and Isaac.⁷ Dante was perhaps thinking of this instance when he wrote :⁸ “ Chi dirà di Torquato giudicatore del suo figliuolo a morte per amore del pubblico bene, senza divino aiutorio ciò avere sofferto ? e Bruto predetto similmente ? ”

A test case of suicide is offered by Samson. His voluntary death⁹ could not be dismissed, like that of Razis, as the mis-

¹ *De Civitate Dei* I, xxi.

² *De Civitate Dei* I, xxvi.

³ *Inf.* iv, 128.

⁴ *Commentaria in Libros Machabæorum* II, xix.

⁵ *Sic et Non* clv.

⁶ *Sum. Theol., Secunda Secundæ*, Qu. lxiv, Art. 5.

⁷ See, for instance, St. Augustine : *Quæstiones in Heptateuchum* III, lvi ; *De Civitate Dei* I, xxi ; *Contra Gaudentium* I, xxxi, 39.

⁸ *Conv.* iv, v, lines 118-122 (Oxford Dante). ⁹ Judges xvi, 29-30.

taken deed of an otherwise worthy man. Samson was a sacred character: his birth was announced by an angel;¹ as St. Thomas points out,² "connumeratur inter sanctos;"³ according to Rabanus Maurus he is the symbol of Christ.⁴ St. Augustine solves the problem⁵ by assuming that Samson's suicide was immediately inspired by God: "Nec Samson aliter excusatur, quod se ipsum cum hostibus ruina domus oppressit, nisi quia spiritus latenter hoc jusserat, qui per illum miracula faciebat." Abelard repeats St. Augustine, and adds:⁶ "De Samson aliud nobis fas non est credere; cum autem Deus jubet seque jubere sine ullis ambagibus intimat, quis obedientiam in crimen vocet? Quis obsequium pietatis accuset?"⁷ St. Thomas, too, follows St. Augustine.⁸

If such an explanation can be advanced for Samson's suicide, why (Dante may well have thought) cannot Cato's be excused on the same principle? "O sacratissimo petto di Catone," he cries,⁹ "chi presumerà di te parlare? Certo maggiormente parlare di te non si può, che tacere, e seguitare Jeronimo, quando nel Proemio della Bibbia, là dove di Paolo tocca, dice che meglio è tacere che poco dire. Certo manifesto essere dee, rimembrando la vita di costoro e degli altri divini cittadini, non senza alcuna luce della divina bontà, aggiunta sopra la loro buona natura, essere tante mirabili operazioni state. E manifesto essere dee, questi eccellentissimi essere stati strumenti, colli quali procedette la divina Provvidenza nello Romano Imperio, dove più volte parve le braccia di Dio essere presenti." Cato is not like other suicides. We may note, in passing, that he is not to be found in Virgil's lower world¹⁰ among those

¹ Judges xiii, 3.

² *Sum. Theol., Sec. Sec., Qu. lxiv, Art. 5.*

³ Hebrews xi, 32-33.

⁴ *Commentaria in Librum Judicum I, xx.*

⁵ *De Civitate Dei I, xxi.*

⁶ *Sic et Non clv.*

⁷ Cf. Cicero, *De Senectute* xx, 73: "Vetatque Pythagoras injussu imperatoris, id est dei, de præsidio et statione vitæ decedere."

⁸ *Sum. Theol., Sec. Sec., Qu. lxiv.*

⁹ *Conv. IV, v, lines 140 ff. (Oxford Dante).*

¹⁰ *Aen. VI, 434 ff.*

qui sibi letum
Insontes peperere manu.

He is an instrument of Providence, and took his life at the direct command of Heaven, thus at the same time removing an obstacle to the empire and furnishing mankind with an example of free will. His fitness to receive a personal message from God was doubtless suggested by the words which Lucan puts into the mouth of Labienus:¹—

Nam cui crediderim superos arcana daturus
Dicturosque magis quam sancto vera Catoni?
Certe vita tibi semper directa supernas
Ad leges sequerisque deum. Datur ecce loquendi
Cum Jove libertas.

Cato of Utica—"ille deo plenus," as Lucan calls him² immediately after the passage cited—simply executed God's behest. He has no guilt to purge away: all he lacked in life was Christian faith, which, by heavenly favor, he is now permitted to acquire. And when, on the day of Judgment, his great office shall be abolished, he will take, among the just, the place befitting his virtues and foreordained to him by divine mercy.

C. H. GRANDGENT.

APPENDIX.

ON THE MYSTIC INTERPRETATIONS OF THE NAME OF ADAM.

In a little work *De Montibus Sina et Sion*, formerly attributed to St. Cyprian, we read:³—

"Hebraicum Adam in Latino interpretatur terra caro facta, eo quod ex quatuor cardinibus orbis terrarum pugno comprehendit, sicut scriptum est: 'Palmo mensus sum cœlum, et pugno comprehendi terram, et finxi homi-

¹ *Phars.* ix, 554–558.

² *Phars.* ix, 564.

³ Paragraph 4.

nem ex omni limo terræ: Ad imaginem Dei feci illum.' Oportuit illum ex his quatuor cardinibus orbis terræ nomen in se portare Adam. Invenimus in scripturis, per singulos cardines orbis terræ esse a conditore mundi quatuor stellas constitutas in singulis cardinibus. Prima stella orientalis dicitur ἀνατολή, secunda stella occidentalis δύσις, tertia stella aquilonis ἄρκτος, quarta stella meridiana dicitur μεσημβρία. Ex nominibus stellarum numero quatuor, de singulis stellarum nominibus tolle singulas litteras principales, de stella Anatole, *a*, de stella Dysis, *d*, de stella Arctos, *a*, de stella Mesembria, *m*: in his quatuor litteris cardinalibus habes nomen Adam. Nam et in numero certo per quatuor litteras Græcas nomen designatur Adam: ita *a*, μία, id est unum; *δ*, τέσσαρα, id est quatuor, *a*, μία, id est unum; *μ*, τεσσαράκοντα, id est quadraginta. Fac et invenies numerum quadragenarium senarium. Hic numerus XLVI passionem carnis Adæ designat, quam carnem in se figuralem Christus portavit, et eam in ligno suspendit."

Forty-six years (the text continues) were spent in building, or rebuilding, Solomon's temple,¹ which symbolizes the body of Christ, the "second Adam." St. Augustine repeats both these interpretations.² In another place³ he says the name *Adam* indicates that the descendants of the first man will occupy the four regions of the earth⁴ and that the elect will be gathered from the four winds.⁵ Similarly Bede tells us, at some length, that the four Greek letters which spell *Adam* stand for the dispersal and gathering of man; he adds that the forty-six years occupied in the construction of the temple represent the forty-six days during which Christ's body was in process of formation in his mother's womb.⁶ Bede's statement is repeated, word for word, by Alcuin.⁷

C. H. G.

¹ John ii, 19-21.

² In Joannis Evangelium, Tractatus ix, xiv; x, xii.

³ Enarratio in Psalmum XCV, 15.

⁴ Gen. ix, 19.

⁵ Mark xiii, 27.

⁶ In S. Joannis Evangelium Expositio ii, Vers. 20.

⁷ Commentaria in Joannem II, iv, Vers. 20.

III.—PRACTICAL PHILOLOGY.¹

The people of this country are commonly supposed to be in a high degree practical, and the word is often used in praise of Americans as possessing a clear vision of the hard facts of life and as governing their conduct accordingly, so as to get the best results possible. The typical American is supposed to be a practical man, not an idealist or a misty theorizer absorbed in meditations that lead to nothing. But the same word may also be used to imply a reproach, not the less real for being covert; it may suggest that ours is a civilization which looks upon material prosperity as the highest good and cares but little if at all for whatever is intangible. That our colleges and universities attract a large number of students of capacity and industry is good evidence that the young men of this country do not all understand success in life to be synonymous with the acquisition of wealth. But it cannot be said that we have in our universities all the students we want. There is still room for a great increase in their numbers before we need feel that there is any risk for us of an intellectual proletariat.

We certainly do not wish to increase the number of students by having our universities become practical in any low sense of the word. But if we have definite work to do and definite aims in our work, there must be a choice in methods; some are better than others, and a recognition of the conditions under which we live and have to do our work is implied in the word practical. It is this that I have in mind when I speak of practical philology. If philology is to maintain or improve its position among university studies, if it is to do all that it can do and to do it in the best

¹ An address delivered in Cambridge by Professor Sheldon, as President of the Association, on the 26th of December, 1901.—ED.

possible way, it must be practical in this sense. I do not mean by saying that philology should be practical, that it should be so studied and taught that the student may be able when he leaves the university to use it as a means of gaining a livelihood.

It is my purpose to speak in the first place of some misconceptions or misunderstandings of philology on its purely linguistic side which may hamper us in the work of teaching. If I speak of these misunderstandings and contrast with them the views of modern philology as I understand these latter, it is because, in spite of all that has been written on linguistic science, they are still very prevalent among educated people. It is quite possible that in some details not all philologists would agree entirely with me, but I hope such disagreement would be only in details. In the second place I intend to say a few words about the final work of candidates for the degree of doctor of philosophy, and I shall then add some remarks on the study of literature in its relations to linguistic science.

Before taking up the purely linguistic matters a general observation may be permitted, one that applies not to teachers of philology alone, but to all university teachers. It is obvious that it is not for our interest to put any unnecessary obstacles in the path of the votary of learning. The attractions of the scholar's career are real enough and strong enough to draw an increasing number of students to our universities if we will allow those attractions a fair chance. Let not the scholars of any branch of learning set themselves apart as a chosen few who look askance at new comers. Anything like an attempt to create or revive a spirit of caste, an aristocracy of learning, is in this country at least out of place. On the contrary, if a clearer understanding of the nature of our work will bring about a legitimate increase in the number of our students or otherwise help us, then we should further that clearer understanding.

Among the misconceptions which embarrass us, especially at the outset, in our teaching is the narrow view often taken

of the relation of grammar to language and of the dictionary to language. People are accustomed to look upon grammar as containing the rules to which they must conform in the use of language, whether the language be Greek, Latin, German, French, or English, and they are only too apt to think that the larger English dictionaries contain all the words that anybody has the right to use in speaking or writing English, and that any word in the dictionary may be so used. This view of grammar as a code of laws is almost inevitable in the study of a dead language with a highly developed inflexional system, such as classic Latin, and it may be admissible as a matter of convenience for teaching the facts of any language to schoolboys. But it would be of some assistance to us if the views of philologists on grammar, dictionary, and language were better known. We should then hardly need to explain that we look upon grammar simply as the description of the structure of a language, of its condition during some definite period in its constantly changing history, and that to us a dictionary is a more or less incomplete list of the words and phrases used in a language in some period of its life, with definitions (often inexact) of these words and phrases.

If merely a theoretical question of definition of the words grammar and dictionary were at issue, no great harm would be done by this difference in the understanding of these words. Unfortunately the not wholly unjustifiable notion of grammar which I have mentioned as common is bound up with and is in part the cause of certain other misconceptions which are the harder to correct because they are not all entirely and absolutely wrong, and because they concern the question of the standard of correctness in speech. I am thinking of the opinions of educated people in general about what is right and what is wrong in language, opinions which are sometimes pretty firmly held, but which often must be unlearned or modified before the student can take the proper view of questions of linguistics.

For example, the student has to learn to distinguish between the state of things in English speaking and writing among the educated, where we all try to conform to a standard, the standard of good usage, and the state of things in philological work, where ordinarily and properly no attempt is made to set off certain existing linguistic usages as right and others as wrong. The investigator may be reproached with not using right methods, that is, with not conforming strictly to the proper philological methods, but the objects of his investigation, the phenomena of language, are to him in general all equally right, or, rather, the question what is right and what is wrong does not arise at all.

So far as the student's notions of correct English recognize good usage as the standard we meet no serious difficulty. But sometimes, more or less consciously, a different standard is set up. For the purposes of linguistic science the normal form of language is not the written language, but the spoken language, and it is also the natural, careless, unconscious, colloquial speech which furnishes the philologist with his best illustrative and explanatory material, because this is freest from intrusive artificial influences. In our vocabulary we recognize the important division into learned and popular words, a division which is of such importance in the Romance languages, and we find that in English as in those languages the popular or familiar words have obeyed with great strictness certain laws of phonetic change, while the learned words are not thus regular, and they even seem to the philologist to be barbarous intrusions which interfere with the regular and harmonious development of the language. Just so it is the colloquial pronunciations which the student of linguistics must observe and which to him seem most important as being most regular. To him the pronounced word *is* the word, its written form is only of secondary importance, though the latter may also be of value and even of great value to him. When these two forms, the written and the spoken, disagree, it is the latter which is or should be in his

eyes the more important. Of course this applies to popular words primarily, and the more learned a word is the less important its pronunciation is to him in his study of the natural growth and changes of the language.

Here now arises opportunity for a misunderstanding, and the philologist himself, if he is not on his guard, may be to blame for it, at least in part. We all, philologists as well as others, must accept the principle that in the use of language, whether it be a question of syntax that arises or one about the proper pronunciation of a word, good usage is decisive. The question of the right pronunciation of a word is not one for the philologist as such to decide, for it is a question not what the facts of pronunciation are, but what usage is accepted as the best, and his knowledge on that point may or may not be of value. But if a person is known to be a philologist he may be asked to give his opinion as one who is an expert in the historical study of the language and who can accordingly tell what pronunciation ought to be adopted. Let him not accept this erroneous view of his functions as a philologist. He can perhaps tell what would be the regular pronunciation if phonetic laws were observed without any interference of disturbing influences, but it does not follow that that regular pronunciation is really the correct one. Good usage is the tribunal to be appealed to, not the philologist, however learned he may be. The philologist must be careful not to put philology in a false position.

Good usage can sometimes be alleged on both sides of a question of pronunciation, and in this case the philologist is perhaps justified in casting the weight of his opinion in favor of one side or the other. But even then he must be cautious, and it will often if not usually be best to recognize both sides as right, or at least not to assume that either is wrong. Sometimes a basis in the history of the language can be found for different pronunciations, as in the case of words containing an *r* final or before a consonant, such as *star*, *cord*, *word*. Those Americans who do not pronounce this *r* in the same

way as an *r* at the beginning of a word, but substitute for it a vowellike murmur or nothing at all can defend their pronunciation on historical grounds just as those other Americans also can do who pronounce the *r* alike in all places where it occurs in the written word. Neither side need call the other wrong; we may leave it to the future to decide which, if either, will ultimately be recognized as the only right pronunciation.

Most Americans, when in doubt what pronunciation has the sanction of the best usage, consult a dictionary, and I see no occasion for blaming them for accepting that as the best authority within their reach. If they accept it as an absolutely final or infallible authority they are in error and may be blamed. Now it seems to me that the dictionaries do not give sufficient attention to good colloquial usage, but rather indicate a pronunciation which would sometimes sound a little affected in ordinary conversation, or which is perhaps a little archaic. It would be well if they gave, in case the facts of good colloquial usage justify it, at least two pronunciations for words frequently used in conversation; one that which they give now, the other representing something like the colloquial English which Sweet has tried to represent in his *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch* and in his *Primer of Spoken English*. That this would not be an easy task may be granted, that Sweet's pronunciation sometimes seems to us Americans a little vulgar may also be granted, but that the thing he has attempted is desirable for this country, and perhaps for different parts of this country, as well as for England, seems to me clear. I believe it might even be done in such a way as to have a conservative influence in both countries, and that it would not necessarily encourage diversity of usage. Something of this sort is, to be sure, attempted in dictionaries, but it is at best hardly more than a beginning that has been made. Let me illustrate. In the admirable Oxford dictionary I find *annunciation* with the *c* pronounced like *s*, but *enunciation* with *c* like *sh*.

It seems evident that both pronunciations exist in good usage for each of these nouns in England as well as in America, but only one is recognized for each, and that one is not the same in the two cases.¹ In the preface to the first volume of the same work (p. x) we are told that the editor heard at a meeting of a learned society the adjective formed from *gas* (*gaseous*) "systematically pronounced in six different ways by as many eminent physicists." Presumably, then, all six could claim the support of some reputable usage. If the proper function of a dictionary is to register certain facts of language of which pronunciation is one, may we not fairly ask for the facts of pronunciation, at least those of presumably good usage, as well as those of spelling and of the meanings of words? Without them the history of the word is incomplete, and until the facts of actual usage are known can anyone be trusted to tell what is the best usage without very great risk of errors? In this particular case the Oxford Dictionary gives two pronunciations for the word in its alphabetical place, one American dictionary also gives two, one of them not in the other work, and another gives one, and that not a new one. The pronunciation most familiar to me is not recognized by any of these three dictionaries, but in spite of that I think it is probably in good colloquial usage in both England and America. Such cases as these may serve to show how difficult and also how desirable the task here spoken of is.²

One feature of English colloquial pronunciation may be dwelt on here particularly. That is the alteration of initial or final sounds of words in the flow of speech, for the spelling gives no hint of the facts and many are hardly aware of the phenomena. Perhaps not all the following examples will

¹ The American dictionaries I have consulted recognize both pronunciations. That different persons are responsible for the letters *Λ* and *Ξ* in the Oxford dictionary seems to show plainly the division of usage in England.

² It is perhaps necessary to say that no slur is intended to be cast on the great dictionary mentioned above. Its very excellence tempts one to ask of it more than can perhaps be justly demanded.

be universally accepted as representing really good colloquial usage, but I hope no one will reject them offhand. In *this year* pronounced slowly no such effect is noticed, but if it is pronounced as the phrase naturally would be in ordinary conversation, you observe that instead of the final *s* in *this* there is produced, under the influence of the following *y*, nearly or quite the sound we commonly write *sh*. So in *that year, don't you*, as naturally pronounced, you may hear what we should write *ch*. If instead of *s* and *t* we have *z* or *d* as the final sound—as in *here is your brother* (the *s* in *is* means *z*), *did you*—we get a similar result; in one case we hear the sound badly expressed by *s* in *pleasure*, in the other that of *j* in *judge*. The phenomenon is the same as that seen and universally accepted in such words as *aversion* (nobody says *aversyon*), *question*, *vision*, *soldier*, and we may doubtless add the colloquial forms at least of such words as *nature* and the other words in *-ture*, *verdure*, *gradual*. Obviously the phrases mentioned above are pronounced in this way because of the close connection in sense between the words, which brings the final and the initial consonants as closely together as if they were actually in the same word. I do not add this as the true reason for using these pronunciations; it is only an explanation of what has happened. These pronunciations are not right because they are in accordance with philological principles; they are right (or I think them so) because they are in accordance with good usage.

I might add something in a similar line on the pronunciation of *at* followed by *all* (*at all*), and on the pronunciation of the written *a great deal* like *a gray deal*, and I might ask whether any thing could be said in favor of such and other similar pronunciations. But what has been said may suffice, and indeed some may question whether all this does not amount to recommending a vulgar kind of colloquial English as strictly correct. Such is of course not my purpose. I mean to recommend nothing that is not in perfectly good usage. It is true that really vulgar colloquialisms may have

an interest for the philologist ; that is because he views them from the purely philological standpoint. But in the matter we have been considering the question is one of right and wrong for us nowadays, and in such a question the philologist as such has no standing. Good usage must be decisive, whether this usage be logical or not, whether it have a historically satisfactory basis or not. Colloquial English does not necessarily mean vulgar English. It may not always be easy to tell what good usage sanctions, but that does not compel us to give up the recognition of good colloquial English to be used as well as a more formal English, each in its proper place. For ordinary conversation or for the much neglected art of reading aloud (in most cases), whether in the family circle or among friends, it is the former that is preferable and that will be used, even if ideal correctness in its use is not attained.

The relation between spelling and pronunciation has already been touched upon, but the importance of the subject and the common feeling that the spelling is right and that therefore it should determine the pronunciation make it well to say something here on that subject. We may observe also how our bad spelling hampers observation of linguistic processes.

It is well known that French words taken into our language during the Middle English period have since been to a large extent refashioned, so as to resemble more closely the classical Latin words from which they came. This later and, as we may say, unhistorical spelling has in several instances affected pronunciation, especially in words not the most familiar, though some are not wholly unpopular. Thus the words *recognize* and *recognizance* have taken and kept a *g* under the influence of Latin (or of a French spelling now abandoned and itself in imitation of Latin), and in the former word the *g* is regularly sounded, though in the latter the lawyers at least have not yet adopted the new pronunciation. So too in *fault* and *assault* the *l* was originally an etymological blunder, but we pronounce it in both words. We now

write *falcon* for older *faucon*, but the *l* has not yet acquired so firm a hold on the pronunciation that the older sound is quite lost. But the new one with audible *l* will probably drive it out entirely before long, for the word is hardly popular. Or, observe the Old French word for "body," spelt *cors*.¹ This gave us the word *corse*, now only poetical, while the originally learned *corpse* came from the late French spelling *corps* (with silent *p*), and this word now has in English a pronounced *p* and is decidedly more popular than *corse*.

Such instances show that a bad spelling may come to affect pronunciation, even in pretty popular words. Artificial influences of this sort are displeasing to the student of linguistic science, but for languages in their modern stages they must be reckoned with as new and, if you choose, unnatural, but still real factors in linguistic growth. But, though we must recognize their results after they have become established, we need not welcome any new ones of the same sort, and we are, on the contrary, inclined to reject all such arbitrary interference with the language. As philologists we cannot sympathize with the idea that because a word is spelt in such and such a way therefore it should be pronounced accordingly. If our natural pronunciation has no *l* in *falcon* we need not change it on account of the spelling, and if we naturally pronounce *haunt* with the vowel sound of *a* in *father* we need not change because *au* generally means the sound heard in *awe*, just as we do not feel obliged to pronounce the word *victuals* in accordance with its bad spelling.

It has been observed that our spelling sometimes hampers us in linguistic studies. Let us return for a moment to the phrase *this year*, where we saw the sound of *sh* resulting from *s* followed by *y*, just as in the word *aversion*, while *t* followed

¹ It is curious that there is a spelling *corps* in the oldest known French poem belonging in the ninth century. But we may feel pretty sure that ever since the Norman conquest at least no *p* has been pronounced in this word in French.

by *y* produced our *ch*, as in *don't you* and *question*. There is a whole group of words, namely, almost all those in *-tion*, such as *nation*, *abbreviation*, etc., which seem to form a striking exception, for they show *t*, not *s*, and yet the sound is *sh*, not *ch*. If you will look at the history of such words you will see that the spelling is an obstacle to the easy perception and explanation of the truth. The pronunciation of words of this class was determined by the large number of them that came into our language from French centuries ago. The Old French had, as learned words, many of these, and it commonly wrote them with a *c*, this *c* having at first the sound of *ts* and later of *s*. In English these words were naturally enough written with a *c*, and as the French sound of the *c* became simply *s* (as in modern French) so this *c* meant *s* in English. Historically, then, this *-tion* is a bad spelling for *-sion*, and these words are not the exceptions they at first seemed to be.

Indeed we may say in general that etymological spelling inevitably hampers the student of linguistics more or less, because it gives no hint of the actual changes through which the language has passed in the last centuries; it ignores, or rather it conceals a great part of the history of the language.

Does this mean that English orthography ought to be reformed completely? Not necessarily. That is a question which concerns many others besides philologists. It is enough here to point out that for students of the history of our language our present spelling is not really a help but rather a hindrance, and that this would still be the case even if the etymological principle of spelling were carried through without error.

Perhaps enough has now been said to illustrate the importance of having the bases of the linguistic side of philology made as generally intelligible as possible. I pass now to the student's own work in preparation for the doctor's degree, and particularly to that part of it which usually marks the close of his student life at the university, the writing of his

dissertation. That he has been trained to strict intellectual honesty is assumed, and it is to certain minor but still important matters that I would direct his attention and that of the instructors who have been guiding him on his way.

In writing his dissertation let him not be regardless of literary form. Not that the graces of style are to be expected in all dissertations, but let the language at least be correctly used, and, above all, let the meaning be always clear; not simply intelligible after careful reading and perhaps rereading, but if possible unmistakable at the first reading. Prolivity should be avoided, but there is an even worse fault, that of excessive brevity, which causes obscurity and makes too great demands on the reader's time. It is dangerous to try to pack as much meaning into as few words as possible; it does not always mean a saving of time. With the same end in view, namely, clearness, let every reference and every quotation be verified, let the punctuation be looked after with care, and finally let the proof-reading be done with the most scrupulous exactness. That scholars of good repute have been guilty of some of the negligences against which these cautions are uttered is no excuse for the young writer to do likewise. Practical work in philology and other subjects as well must take serious account of such matters as these, and no one can afford to scorn them as of little importance.

Thus far we have considered mainly linguistic matters. But language and literature are usually combined in our higher institutions of learning, and this will doubtless always be the case. If it is desirable not to be unpractical in studying and teaching linguistics, is it not also well to be equally careful as regards literature, lest time be wasted in ill-directed or unintelligent study?

As a proper branch of study in a university literature must be studied with definite aims and methods. Thus, new truth must be sought for, and the processes of growth and development, or, it may be, of decay must be studied in order that they may be understood. This means, among other things,

that reading and study must not be confined to the great masterpieces in any literature. That would be a very inadequate way to study the subject, and it is one wholly unworthy of a university in these modern times. Not that we undervalue the subtle refining influence of the best literature, nor that we do not desire that influence to have its full effect on mind and character, but to set up the study of the best literature as the whole purpose of our work devoted to literature would encourage the common vague conception of literary study, and would discourage at least one kind of serious study, which, to be sure, involves the reading of some productions of small merit, but which by giving us a better knowledge of the origin and sources of the great masterpieces enables us to understand and appreciate them better than before. Let us also tell young men or women who wish to study literature that a sound linguistic training is necessary, that they must learn to weigh the meanings of words and of grammatical constructions most carefully, must acquire a feeling for the force of the subjunctive mood in Latin and in French, and in general must form the habit of close and accurate observation of apparently trifling things. Without such a training, though they may appreciate much, they will inevitably miss something of the finer touches in the great authors they read. Of course they need not forget, while acquiring this linguistic equipment, that their ultimate purpose is not linguistic study, but a certain modicum of thorough linguistic training is essential for their later studies.

It would be a mistake to allow all students to imagine that the study of literature is in itself something higher and nobler than linguistic studies, that the latter are really only valuable as leading up to this higher and nobler work. Some study of literature is doubtless higher and nobler than some linguistic study, but the converse is also true. The preparation for the study of any period of literature in any modern language is quite as arduous as that for similar work in linguistics, for it involves not only some training in linguistic

methods, it requires also some acquaintance with literature in more languages than one and in more periods of time than one. Both linguistics and literature are proper university studies, and each will attract the proper type of mind. Not every student ought to study either as his most important subject, and the friends of neither should disparage the other. Which of the two will prove of the greater benefit to humanity we need not ask; it is hardly a practical question for us, since we can feel sure that both are useful and will long continue to be useful. Moreover the two are not mutually exclusive; on the contrary, each, if studied as it should be, involves some acquaintance with the other. The student of linguistics may and often does read less of good literature than is desirable, and he may pursue his studies in a narrow spirit, never, for example, thinking of the light that the history of words throws on the history of civilization, or of the historical study of syntax as illustrating the workings of the human mind dealing with the problems of expression. But narrow minds are not the minds to judge by in estimating the worth of university study, and we may hope that in our universities both these branches of study will continue to flourish, each doing its work with its utmost skill and each coöperating constantly with the other. There should be no dissensions in the camp of philology.

E. S. SHELDON.

IV.—FATE AND GUILT IN SCHILLER'S *DIE BRAUT VON MESSINA*.

The "dramatic guilt" or the "tragic fate" differs, it is well known, from fate and guilt in the common sense of the terms. Fate is the equivalent of blind destiny, or of the whimsical decree or the general envy or malice of the gods towards men. This Fate foredooms the victim to some crime which brings a punishment in its train, or to a wholly undeserved calamity, which the Greeks were fond of representing as foretold but unavoidable. The ill-will of the gods had perhaps been incurred by an ancestor of the victim, but was wreaked upon the remote descendant to the third and fourth generation. In this curse of the gods we may see a poetical conception of an hereditary evil. Or on the other hand, in heredity we may see a modern and very real equivalent of the Greek decree of the gods, the "moira."

Guilt scarcely needs definition. It means conscious and deliberate sin, entailing more or less logically a calamity as sequence and punishment.

"Tragic fate" and "dramatic guilt" in a drama express the relation between the character and conduct of the persons and the calamity that befalls them. It is the philosophy of the catastrophe, the theory of the cause or source of the catastrophe, and may, in the case of blind destiny, embrace even the case when there is no relation between the conduct of the victim and the calamity that overtakes him.

The last mentioned case, where there is no connection between conduct and catastrophe, constitutes a "Schicksals-tragödie," and it is not customary to speak of such a play as having any "dramatic guilt." Dramas of Destiny may be written with a pessimistic purpose of showing that there is no justice in the government of the Universe, that there is no connection between men's conduct and their fortunes; or they

may be written with the design of showing the power and inscrutable wisdom of God and the impotence of man. The former was probably the spirit of most of the "Schicksals-tragödien" of the last decade of the 18th century and the first decade of the 19th; the latter may have been the motive of the writers in the case of a few of the Greek tragedies. It is not the purpose of this paper to pursue the history and analysis of the tragedy of destiny.

When there is some logical connection between the conduct and character of the personage and the calamity that befalls him, we may speak of a "dramatic guilt." That trait of character, that course of conduct, that action or neglect of action which leads naturally and more or less inevitably to the calamity, is the "dramatic guilt" of the personage thus related to the calamity.

The "dramatic guilt" covers all shades of responsible causes, from a simple error of judgment to wilful and deliberate sin. At this latter end of the gamut direct ethical guilt and "dramatic guilt" become coincident, but at other points of the scale "dramatic guilt" does not necessarily imply moral guilt. There may, indeed, be various degrees of guilt or wrong intent, or the person involved by his "dramatic guilt" in the catastrophe may be wholly innocent of any evil intent ethically.

To discuss with Aristotle the general character most suitable for a tragic hero would lead too far aside from my purpose. But it may be observed that Aristotle's exclusion, from the category of suitable cases, of the thoroughly bad man—if any such there be—does not *ipso facto* exclude the case of one who is deliberately and wilfully guilty of wrong in the action of the plot. A man otherwise amiable and excellent may fall into a mortal sin under strong temptation. Or, whatever his general character, there may be mitigating circumstances connected with his specific evil action in the play.

The tragic guilt which consists of more or less conscious wrong-doing has always furnished the themes for much the

greatest number of dramas. The case of conscious guilt succeeded by a consequent calamity is more easily followed by the average mind and more fully satisfies the general sense of justice.

The Greek dramatists were especially fond of dealing with a dramatic guilt that consisted in such unethical defects of character as impetuosity, presumptuousness, distrust, conceit, etc.

Schiller, too, in his later dramas, made the dramatic guilt to consist in a subjective wrong or error: in *Wallenstein*, the dalliance with the possibility of evil; in *Maria Stuart*, lack of self-control; in *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, the relaxation of a consecrated purpose.

Let us proceed to examine *Die Braut von Messina* with respect to this same element, the dramatic guilt. And at the very start, we have to determine a question that does not meet us in Schiller's other dramas: who is the leading personage of the play? Whose character and conduct have we especially to examine in connection with the dramatic guilt?

As to the leading personage of the play, Schiller himself indicated by his alternative title, *Die feindlichen Brüder*, that he was somewhat in doubt whether this was Beatrice or the two brothers. Moreover, the part of the mother, Isabella, is quite as prominent and important as either of these. Indeed, it might fairly be claimed that the real personage involved in the calamity is the ruling family of Messina, rather than any individual member of it. But if we consider only those upon whom the calamity of death falls, the brothers are the ones whose conduct we are to examine. Yet death is by no means the worst calamity, and it would be superficial not to recognize that the final condition of the sister, and still more that of the mother, is more deplorable than that of either brother; "er ist der glückliche: er hat vollendet." All four members of the family are brought to grief by the series of events and situations which develop the plot, and hence we

must examine in how far each of them has contributed by his responsible action to the ensuing calamity.

We discover directly that there are different degrees of responsibility for the various personages, and, furthermore, that there are various opinions of this responsibility expressed in the drama itself.

From the noble final couplet alone,

Das Leben ist der Güter höchstes nicht,
Der Uebel grösstes aber ist die Schuld,

it has been inferred by Heskamp and Hoffmeister that actual moral guilt and its punishment is the essential theme of the play, and Bormann has even gone so far as to attribute conscious moral turpitude to every leading person: to Isabella in consenting to her forced marriage (adultery?), and in blasphemous questioning of the will of the Most High; to Beatrice in violating the rules of modesty and propriety and finally in an illicit union with Don Manuel; to Don Manuel in hating his brother and in this immoral relation with Beatrice; to Don Cesar for hating and finally slaying his brother; and, behind this, to all three of the children for being the offspring of an adulterous (?) father.

But Isabella's lines, 2506-8:

Dies alles
Erleid' ich schuldlos. Doch bei Ehren bleiben
Die Orakel, und gerettet sind die Götter,

show that the point of view just mentioned is not held by at least one of the leading persons. And furthermore a consideration of the final couplet in connection with the lines and the action just preceding suggests the plausibility of the notion that the Chorus in this utterance has in mind only the conduct and death of Don Cesar:

Erschüttert steh' ich, weiss nicht ob ich ihn
Bejammern, oder preisen soll sein Los.
Dies e i n e fühl' ich und erkenn' ich klar:
Das Leben ist der Güter höchstes nicht,
Der Uebel grösstes aber ist die Schuld.

It is Don Cesar who has just surrendered his life. The only sense of *Schuld* which applies in this apothegm is "guilt," conscious moral guilt, and not, of course, "dramatic guilt." Don Cesar is the only one of the characters who has committed an overt crime. His ethical guilt is indeed his "dramatic guilt" also. But surely Don Cesar is not the central personage of the play. And while his outward act is a terrible crime, it is done in the heat of misunderstanding of circumstances which, as he regards them, would palliate if not excuse his guilt, and for which the conduct of others is to blame.

It is true, no one else performs or wills an act of deliberate wrong toward another within the limits of the play. But is there no unwisdom or indiscretion on the part of others, which induces the catastrophe?

If we have not been impressed throughout the First Act with the secretive character of Don Manuel, our attention is called to this trait and its probable evil consequences by the Chorus, ll. 954 ff.: "Aber sehr missfällt mir dies Geheime," etc. When once we have been aroused to this point, we may reread the First Act and discover even there that secretiveness is a dominant characteristic of both Isabella and her son Don Manuel. This impression is greatly strengthened throughout the two following acts. In ll. 1450 ff., Isabella expressly emphasizes the quality as an inheritance in Don Manuel from his father, although she does not point out the fact that she, too, whether from contact with her husband or by birth, is prompted by the same over-caution. But both her sons recognize this quality in her actions, and reproach her for it as early as ll. 1292 ff.

But if there were no other passage in the play to the same effect, one so explicit as Don Cesar's utterance, ll. 2470 ff.:

Und verflucht sei deine Heimlichkeit,
Die all dies Grässliche verschuldet,

would be conclusive for the poet's purpose to throw at least a considerable measure of the responsibility for the catastrophe upon Isabella's secretiveness.

However, this passage is supported by many others, in which the secretive course of the mother is recognized as unwise and as the more or less direct source of the calamities that befall the family.

It will be found on closer examination that secretiveness is not merely the dramatic guilt of the mother, but that secrecy is the keynote and the very atmosphere of the drama. I have collected in the appended notes the passages in which the words *heimlich*, *Geheimnis*, etc., *verhehlen*, *verschweigen*, *verbergen*, *Verstellung*, *verschleiern*, *Stille*, *dunkel*, *Verdacht*, and other words of similar meaning occur, some hundred in all. A small proportion of them have no particular significance in interpreting the character of any person or action, though even these contribute to thicken the general air of secrecy.

Viewed in the light of this darkness, even those points in the technique of the drama which have been most severely criticised, the failure to say and do the obviously rational and natural thing under the circumstances, become less objectionable, if not even inevitable. Inheriting the instinct or trained to it, the mother begins by consulting an oracle in opposition to the one accepted by her husband, and follows it up by saving and secreting her daughter. Forced throughout her daughter's childhood to conceal her knowledge of the latter's existence and at the same time to maintain communication with her by stealth, having thus "practised dissimulation her life long," it is not so wholly absurd that she has forgotten how to face the daylight, that she delays bringing the daughter to light for some time after the outward and obvious necessity for concealing her has passed away. It is true, a person with another disposition might have found a hundred opportunities to allay the superstitious distrust of the father and bring the daughter to his arms in safety, or might at least have maintained personal, face to face communication with her, but the

disposition of this woman is once for all secretive. While her course is happily not a normal one, he must have seen life in narrow limits who declares it to be impossible. Isabella's conduct is not meant to be normal in this respect, else there would be no "dramatic guilt."

Don Manuel's character is essentially the same as his mother's. While he comes by it honestly from his father, as the mother points out (*l. 2.*), he may have inherited a share of it from her also, or at least have received it through prenatal influence. His stealthy visits to the cloister, his willingness to dispense with fuller knowledge regarding his mistress, his abduction of her without sufficient cause, his concealment of her in the city and leaving her without attendant, are again things—some of them—which a more straightforward nature, for instance Don Cesar, would not have done, but they are not even improbable in one thus endowed with a genius for the furtive.

As for Beatrice herself, the same instinct has been cultivated in her, though it is manifested in the main only in passivity. Her one overt act of secretiveness, the visit to her father's funeral contrary to the wish of her lover, was natural enough, although she blames herself severely for it and seems to have a presentiment of the fact that it was to lead to catastrophe. Her silence during the impetuous wooing of Don Cesar is exasperating enough to us who know how a few natural remarks would avert the calamity, but one who knows the hour-long cowering of the fledgling quail when affrighted will understand her behavior.

Even the trying scene (II, 6) in which word is brought of the disappearance of the sister; when Don Cesar rushes out before obtaining the indispensable information of her former whereabouts; when Don Manuel, even after showing that he understands the need of this information conveniently goes off without it, and Isabella so conveniently seems to withhold deliberately the knowledge which she should hasten to impart, and yet, Don Manuel gone, imparts it so readily

to the returning Don Cesar—even this scene does not seem absurd if we bear in mind the dominant secretiveness of Isabella and Don Manuel. I conceive of this scene as filled with agitation. The half-hysterical mother may be excused if she does not immediately grasp the necessity of revealing a secret which long habit has taught her to guard automatically. And even without R. Franz's suggested dash at the end of line 1637:

Verborgner nicht war sie im Schoss der Erde—

we may suppose that Isabella was really on the point of describing her daughter's retreat when she was interrupted by Diego with his confession. This so occupies Don Manuel's mind with a more engrossing consideration that his final withdrawal without the necessary clue is intelligible.

It is a notable point that the words signifying secrecy, etc., are wholly absent from the last 300 lines of the drama, after Don Cesar's declaration that his mother's secretiveness has caused all the horrors that have been witnessed.

While the evidence seems to be sufficient to show that secretiveness is the "dramatic guilt" of *Die Braut von Messina*, and was so recognized by Schiller, it is not fair to ignore the fact that there are many expressions showing that the personages of the play regard their misfortunes as the result of a blind Fate or of a hostile divinity. Such expressions are found in the passages beginning ll. 24, 409, 1226, 1551, 1695, 2085, 2182, 2226, 2441, 2487, 2747. Of course, this latter interpretation is not wholly inconsistent with the other. The characteristics of the father of the hostile brothers, as well as the circumstances that seem to impel the mother to her course of dissimulation, may be looked at as the product of a hostile destiny by those who regard all the world's details teleologically. It is in this light that I understand Schiller's remark, quoted by Böttiger, that it is "precisely in this closing of the mouth at the critical moment, . . . that the unevadable and demonic power

of evil-brooding destiny manifests itself most clearly." In a word, the two age-old points of view, of free-will and predestination, are represented in these two seemingly different interpretations of the catastrophe. And like all differences that turn on this dispute, they merge into one image if the mirror revolves swiftly enough.

The attribution of the calamity to an ancestral curse, which is also clearly expressed in not a few passages, notably those beginning ll. 964, 1695, 2400, 2698, 2797, attaches closely to the notion of destiny, though a destiny somewhat less blind and arbitrary. In the thought of the identity of family life, the suffering of a descendant for the sins of an ancestor was not so utterly unjust as in the case of suffering "snowed in from without." Yet here too the execution of the curse depends upon the endorsement of the gods. We are probably not warranted in suspecting here, for Greeks or for 18th century Germans, the subtlety of an alteration of character induced by the working of a knowledge of the curse upon the mind of the victim.

The victims of the catastrophe in *Die Braut von Messina* are the entire princely house, and, in the order of their sufferings: Isabella, Don Cesar, Don Manuel, Beatrice. The immediate cause of the catastrophe, and the only pronounced ethical guilt, is the murder of Don Manuel by Don Cesar. But in this Don Cesar is largely a victim of circumstances for which Isabella and Don Manuel are primarily responsible. And this responsibility is an excess of caution, a deviation from the normal course of human conduct so great as to constitute a true "dramatic guilt," filling the reader and the spectator with "pity and fear," pity because the victims "do not deserve to be unfortunate," and fear because "they resemble ourselves," that is, incur the misfortunes through just such errors of judgment as we are liable to commit any day.

QUOTATIONS.

"SCHWEIGEN UND GEHEIMNIS" IN SCHILLER'S

BRAUT VON MESSINA.

II. 1-5:

Isabella.

Der Not gehorchend, nicht dem eignen Trieb,
Tret' ich, ihr greisen Häupter dieser Stadt,
Heraus zu euch, aus den *verschwiegenen*
Gemächern meines Frauensaals, das Antlitz
Vor euren Männerblicken zu *entschleiern*.

II. 6-9:

Denn es geziemt der Wittwe, . . .
Die schwarzumflorte Nachtgestalt dem Auge
Der Welt in stillen Mauern zu *verbergen*.

II. 23-25:

. . . . doch mit ihnen wuchs

Aus *unbekannt verhängnisvollem* Samen
Auch ein unsel'ger Bruderhass empor.

II. 105-10:

Verpfändet hab' ich deiner treuen Brust
Mein schmerzlich süßes, heiliges *Geheimnis*.
Der Augenblick ist da, wo es ans Licht
Des Tages soll hervorgezogen werden.
Zu lange schon erstickt' ich der Natur
Gewalt'ge Regung. . . .

II. 570 ff.:

Don Cesar.

Entdeckt' ich dir, was mich von hinnen ruft. . . .

Don Manuel.

Lass mir dein Herz! Dir bleibe dein *Geheimnis*.

Don Cesar.

Auch kein *Geheimnis* trenn' uns ferner mehr,
Bald soll die *letzte dunkle Falte* schwinden.

If here, where the mischief of secrecy is hinted at, there had been complete and frank utterance, Don Manuel would have recognized that Don Cesar's messenger had found the former's own betrothed, and the whole catastrophe would have been averted.

II. 585 ff.:

Don Cesar.

Nicht Wurzeln auf der Lippe schlägt das Wort,
 Das unbedacht dem schnellen Zorn entflohn;
 Doch von dem Ohr des *Argwohns* aufgefangen,
Kriecht es wie Schlingkraut, endlos treibend fort.
 So trennen endlich in Verworrenheit
 Unheilbar sich die Guten und die Besten.

II. 617 ff.:

Don Manuel.

Ich sehe diese Hallen, diese Säle,
 Und denke mir das freudige Erschrecken
 Der überraschten, hoch erstaunten Braut.

.
 Dem Fremdling,
 Dem Namenlosen hat sie sich gegeben.
 Nicht ahnet sie, dass es Don Manuel,
 Messina's Fürst ist, der die goldne Binde
 Ihr um die schöne Stirne flechten wird.

While none of the fateful words are used in this passage, it shows in Don Manuel the inherent instinct for secrecy that has already been revealed in his mother.

II. 633 ff.:

Chor.

Ich höre dich, o Herr, vom langen *Schweigen*
 Zum erstenmal den stummen Mund entsiegeln.
 Mit Späheraugen folgt' ich dir schon längst,
 Ein seltsam wunderbar *Geheimnis* ahnend;
 Doch nicht erkühnt' ich mich, dir abzufragen
 Was du vor mir in *tiefes Dunkel* hüllst.

II. 646 ff.:

Warum *verschleierst* du bis diesen Tag
 Dein Liebesglück mit dieser neid'schen *Hülle*?
 Was zwingt den Mächtigen, dass er *verhehle*?
 Denn Furcht ist fern von deiner grossen Seele.

II. 650 ff.:

Don Manuel.

Geflügelt ist das Glück und schwer zu binden,
 Nur in *verschlossener* Lade wird's bewahrt;
 Das *Schweigen* ist zum Hüter ihm gesetzt,
 Und rasch entfliegt es, wenn Geschwätzigkeit
 Voreilig wagt, die Decke zu erheben.

The whole passage is saturated with this sentiment, as shown in the phrases :

das lange *Schweigen* brechen.

Nicht mehr *verstohlen* werd' ich zu ihr schleichen.

Wherein, to be sure, Don Manuel recognizes the danger of secrecy, but confesses how he has been dominated by it.

II. 668 ff. :

Chor.

So nenne sie uns, Herr, die dich im stillen
Beglückt, dass wir dein Los beneidend rühmen
Und würdig ehren unsers Fürsten Braut.
Sag' an, wo du sie fandst, wo sie *verbirgst*,
In welches Orts *verschwiegener Heimlichkeit*?

Doch keine Spur hat uns dein Glück verraten,
So dass ich bald mich überreden möchte,
Es *hülle* sie ein Zaubernebel ein.

II. 678-9 :

Don Manuel.

Den Zauber lös' ich auf, denn heute noch
Soll, was *verborgen* war, die Sonne schauen.

[1. 703 :

So stehen wir *schweigend* gegeneinander,
No significance to the word here.]

II. 731 ff. :

Geflochten still ward unsrer Herzen Bund,
Nur der allsehnde Aether über uns
War des *verschwiegnen* Glücks vertrauter Zeuge.

1. 745 :

Sich selber ein *Geheimnis* wuchs sie auf.

II. 757 :

Nie wagt' ich's einer Neugier nachzugehn,
Die mein *verschwiegenes* Glück gefährden konnte.

II. 767-8 :

Chor.

. . . . Also *fürchtest* du
Ein Licht zu schöpfen das dich nicht erfreut?

II. 769-70 :

Don Manuel.

Ein jeder Wechsel schreckt den Glücklichen,
Wo kein Gewinn zu hoffen, droht Verlust.

- II. 771-2: *Chor.*
Doch konnte die *Entdeckung*, die du *fürchtest*,
Auch deiner Liebe günst'ge Zeichen bringen.
- II. 777: *Don Manuel.*
Schon seit den letzten Monden liess der Greis
Geheimnisvolle Winke sich entfallen, . . .
- II. 787-8: In dieser Nacht raubt' ich die Jungfrau weg
Und brachte sie *verborgen* nach Messina.
- II. 793-4: Unfern vom Kloster der Barmherzigen,
In eines Gartens *abgeschiedner Stille*,
Der von der Neugier nicht betreten wird,
Trennt' ich mich eben jetzt von ihr. . . .
- II. 858-60: Was ihr vernahmt,
Bewahrt's in eures Busens tiefem Grunde,
Bis ich das Band gelöst von eurem Munde.
- II. 951 ff.: *Chor.*
Noch hab' ich das Ende nicht gesehen,
Und mich schrecken ahnungsvolle Träume!
Nicht Wahrsagung reden soll mein Mund;
Aber sehr missfällt mir *dies Geheime*,
Dieser Ehe segenloser Bund,
Diese *lichtscheu krummen Liebespfade*,
Dieses Klosterraubs verwegne That;
Denn das Gute liebt sich das Gerade. . . .

In these lines is fairly to be seen the key to the Dramatic Guilt, announced thus in anticipation by the Chorus. It is here not simple, indeed, but secrecy is foremost.

To this significant utterance are added the following lines in the same scene :

11. 970 ff.: Es endet nicht gut,
Denn gebüsst wird unter der Sonnen
Jede That der *verblendeten* Wut.
Es ist kein Zufall und *blindes Los*
Dass die Brüder sich wütend selbst zerstören
Denn verflucht ward der Mutter Schoss—
. . . Aber ich will es *schweigend verhüllen*,
Denn die Rachgötter schaffen *im Stillen*.

l. 986:

Beatrice.

Es schreckt mich selbst das wesenlose *Schweigen*.

ll. 1023 ff.:

Und frühe schon hat mich ein fremdes Los
 (Ich darf den *dunkeln Schleier* nicht erheben)
 Gerissen von dem mütterlichen Schoss.
 Nur einmal sah ich sie, die mich geboren,
 Doch wie ein Traum ging mir das Bild verloren.
 . . . Und so erwuchs ich *still* am *stillen* Ort
 In Lebens Glut den Schatten beigesellt.

ll. 1052 ff.:

Nicht kenn' ich sie und will sie nimmer kennen
 Die sich die Stifter meiner Tage nennen,
 Wenn sie von dir mich, mein Geliebter, trennen.
 Ein *ewig Rätsel* bleiben will ich mir;
 Ich weiss genug: ich lebe dir!

ll. 1085-7:

Als ich aus des Klosters Hut
 In die fremden Menschenscharen
 Mich gewagt mit frevlem Mut.

ll. 1099-1101:

Nimmer, nimmer kann ich schauen
 In die Augen des Geliebten,
 Dieser *stillen Schuld* bewusst.

Here is a piece of secretiveness on the part of Beatrice,
 which contributes its share to the catastrophe.

[ll. 1115:

Verbarg dich diese lange Zeit;

1120:

Nicht *verborgen*, etc.;

1134:

An allen offenen und *verborgnen* Orten,

are without especial significance for the speaker's character.]

l. 1148:

Don Cesar.

Nicht forschen will ich, wer du bist.

is one of the fatal neglects of curiosity where it should have
 been exercised.

ll. 1162 ff.:

Dein Staunen lob' ich und dein sittsam *Schweigen*,
 Schamhafte Demut ist der Reize Krone,
 Denn ein *Verborgenes* ist sich das Schöne!

II. 1216-20:

Beatrice.

Jetzt versteh' ich das Entsetzen,
Das geheimnisvolle Grauen,
Das mich schauernd stets gefasst,
Wenn man mir den Namen nannte
Dieses furchtbaren Geschlechtes.

II. 1254-7:

Chor.

Aber jetzt folgt mir, zu bewachen den Eingang
Und die Schwelle des heiligen Raums,
Dass kein Ungeweihter in dieses *Geheimnis*
Dringe. . . .

II. 1276 ff.:

Isabella.

So flieht der alte Hass mit seinem nächtlichen
Gefolge, dem *hohläugigten Verdacht*,
Der scheelen Missgunst und dem bleichen Neide,
Aus diesen Thoren murrend zu der Hölle.

II. 1286 ff.:

Ja meine Söhne, es ist Zeit, dass ich
Mein *Schweigen* breche und das Siegel löse
Von einem lang verschlossenen *Geheimnis*.

II. 1292-3:

Don Cesar.

. . . . Eine Schwester lebt uns
Und nie vernahmen wir von dieser Schwester?

Here and in the following we find the reproach and the reproof of the unwise and uncalled-for course of the mother.

II. 1298-9:

Don Manuel.

. . . . Sie lebt, und du *verschwiegest* uns?

Isabella.

Von meinem *Schweigen* geb' ich Rechenschaft.

II. 1327-9:

. . . . Ich vereitelte

Den blut'gen Vorsatz und erhielt die Tochter
Durch eines treuen Knechts *verschwiegnen* Dienst.

II. 1352 ff.:

. . . Im Innersten *bewahrt'* ich mir dies Wort;
Dem Gott der Wahrheit mehr als dem der Lüge
Vertrauend.

11. 1360 ff.: So liess ich an *verborgner* Stätte sie,
Von meinen Augen fern, *geheimnisvoll*
Durch fremde Hand erziehen, . . .
. . . den strengen Vater scheuend
Der, von des *Argwohns* ruheloser Pein
Und *finster grübelndem Verdacht* genagt,
Auf allen Schritten mir die Späher pflanzte.

11. 1368-71 : *Don Cesar.*
- Drei Monde aber deckt den Vater schon
Das stille Grab . . . Was wehrte dir, o Mutter,
Die lang *Verborgne* an das Licht hervor
Zu ziehn und unsre Herzen zu erfreuen ?

Isabella.

Was sonst als euer unglückselger Streit?

This is an inconsequent excuse which puts cause before effect. The daughter was to heal the strife. Nothing but ineradicable secretiveness could account for the mother's failure to see this, and for her pursuing such an illogical, unreasoning course.

11. 1396 ff. : *Don Manuel.*
Vernimm, o Mutter, jezt auch mein *Geheimnis*.
Eine Schwester giebst du mir . . . Ich will dafür
Dir eine zweite liebe Tochter schenken.

- II. 1445 ff.: Nur heute, Mutter, fordre *nicht den Schleier*
Hinwegzuheben, der mein Glück *bedeckt*.
Es kommt der Tag, der alles lösen wird,
Am besten mag die Braut sich selbst verkünden,
Des sei gewiss, du wirst sie würdig finden.

Isabella.

Des Vaters eignen Sinn und Geist erkenn' ich
In meinem erstgebornen Sohn! Der liebte
Von jeher, sich *verborgen* in sich selbst
Zu spinnen und den Ratschluss zu bewahren
Im unzugangbar fest verschlossenen Gemüt!

11. 1458-9 : Don Cesar.

Nicht meine Weise ist's, *geheimnisvoll*
Mich zu *verhüllen*, Mutter!

- II. 1487 ff.: Es war des Vaters ernste Totenfeier;
Im Volksgedräng *verborgen*, wohnten wir
Ihr bei, du weisst's, in unbekannter Kleidung;
So hattest Du's mit Weisheit angeordnet;
Dass unsers Haders wild ausbrechende
Gewalt des Festes Würde nicht verletze.
- II. 1533-5: Es war ihr tiefstes und *geheimstes* Leben,
Was mich ergriff mit heiliger Gewalt.
- II. 1549-50: *Don Manuel.*
Den Schleier hat er glücklich aufgehoben
Von dem Gefühl, das *dunkel* mich beseelt.
- II. 1558-60: *Isabella.*
So unterwerf' ich mich . . .
Der unregiersam stärkern Götterhand,
Die meines Hauses Schicksal *dunkel* spinnt.
- II. 1564-5: Wo ist mein Kind? . . . Sie wissen alles! Hier
Ist kein *Geheimnis* mehr!
- II. 1601-2: *Don Cesar.*
Wie konnten Räuber aus des Klosters Mitte
Die Wohlverschlossne *heimlich* raubend stehlen?
- I. 1636: *Don Manuel.*
In welcher Gegend hieltst Du sie *verborgen*?
- I. 1637: *Isabella.*
Verborgner nicht war sie im Schoss der Erde.
- II. 1642-3: *Diego.*
Ich habe dir's *verhehlt*, Gebieterin,
Dein Mutterherz mit Sorge zu verschonen.
- II. 1651 ff.: Ich Unglückseliger, liess mich bewegen,
Verhüllte sie in ernste Trauertracht,
Und also war sie Zeugin jenes Festes.
Und dort, . . .
Ward sie vom Aug' des Räubers ausgespäht.
Denn ihrer Schönheit Glanz *birgt* keine *Hülle*.

- II. 1664-8: Ich hielt es für des Himmels eignes Werk,
 Der mit *verborgen ahnungsvollem* Zuge
 Die Tochter hintrieb zu des Vaters Grab!
 Der frommen Pflicht wollt' ich ihr Recht erzeigen
 Und so, aus guter Meinung, schafft' ich Böses!

- I. 1681: *Don Cesar.*

Das Kloster nenne mir, das sie *verbarg*.

- II. 1682-5: *Isabella.*

Der heiligen Cäcilia ist's gewidmet,

 liegt es *versteckt*,
 Wie ein *verschwiegner* Aufenthalt der Seelen.

- II. 1769-72: *Don Manuel.*

Auch in der Unschuld *still verborgnem* Sitz
 Bricht euer Hader friedestörend ein? . . .
 Weiche zurück! Hier sind *Geheimnisse*
 Die deine kühne Gegenwart nicht dulden!

- II. 1795-6: Was ist Dir? So *verschlossen* feierlich
 Empfängst Du mich?

- II. 1814 ff.: Lerne mich endlich kennen, Beatrice!
 Ich bin nicht der, der ich dir schien zu sein,
 Der arme Ritter nicht, der unbekannte,
 Der liebend nur um deine Liebe warb.
 Wer ich wahrhaftig bin, was ich vermag,
 Woher ich stamme, hab' ich dir *verborgen*.

- II. 1833-6: Kennst Du mehr
 Als nur den Namen bloss von meinem Hause?
 Weiss ich dein ganz *Geheimnis*? Hast du nichts,
 Nichts mir *verschwiegen* oder vorenthalten?

- I. 1841: *Beatrice.*

Du kennst sie . . . kennst sie und *verbargest* mir?

- I. 1842: *Don Manuel.*

Weh dir und wehe mir wenn ich sie kenne!

- II. 1863-4: *Beatrice.*

O unglückselge, *traurige Entdeckung*!
 O hätt' ich nimmer diesen Tag gesehen!

I. 1870: Gott! Diese Stimme! Wo *verberg'* ich mich?

II. 1882 ff.: *Don Manuel.*

Was ahnet mir! Welch' ein Gedanke fasst
 Mich schauernd? . . .

 Du warst . . . bei meines Vaters Leichenfeier?

II. 1890 ff.; *Beatrice.*

Vergieb mir! Ich gestand dir meinen Wunsch!
 Doch, plötzlich ernst und finster, liessest du
 Die Bitte fallen, und so *schwieg* auch ich.
 Doch weiss ich nicht welch bösen Sternes Macht
 Mich trieb mit unbezwinglichem Gelüsten.

 Ich war dir ungehorsam, und ich ging.

II. 1997-9: *Chor.*

Aber nichts ist verloren und verschwunden
 Was die *heimnisvoll* waltenden Stunden
 In den *dunkel schaffenden* Schoss aufnahmen.

II. 2032-3: *Isabella.*

Wie ist mein Herz geängstigt, Diego!
 Es stand bei mir dies Unglück zu verhüten.

II. 2036-7: Hätt' ich sie früher an das Licht gezogen,
 Wie mich des Herzens Stimme mächtig trieb!

While the test-words are not found here, the consciousness of the fatal error in conduct is very clear.

II. 2076 ff.: Nichts Kleines war es, solche *Heimlichkeit*
Verhüllt zu tragen diese langen Jahre,
 Den Mann zu täuschen, den umsichtigsten
 Der Menschen, und ins Herz zurückzudrängen
 Den Trieb des Bluts, der mächtig wie des Feuers
Verschlossener Gott, aus seinen Banden strebte!

II. 2088-9: Schilt oder lobe meine That, Diego!
 Doch dem Getreuen will ich's nicht *verbergen*.

- II. 2103-4: das aufgelöste Spiel
Des *unverständlich krummgewundenen Lebens*.
- II. 2115-6: Sag' an, und weder Schlimmes *hehle* mir
Noch Gutes.
- I. 2124: *Bote.*
Die *Tiefverborgne* fand dein ältester Sohn.
- II. 2191-3: *Isabella.*
Diego! Das ist meine Tochter. . . . Das
Die *Langverborgne*, die Gerettete,
Vor aller Welt kann ich sie jetzt erkennen!
- I. 2246: *Beatrice.*
Weh, weh mir! O *entsetzensvolles Licht*!
- I. 2251: Unglückliche, wo habt ihr ihn *verborgen*?
- I. 2252: *Chor.*
Weh, wehe!
- Isabella.*
Wen verborgen?
- I. 2309: Was soll ich hören? Was *verbirgt* dies Tuch?
- II. 2471 ff.: *Don Cesar.*
Verflucht der Schoss, der mich
Getragen! . . . Und *verflucht sei deine Heimlichkeit*
Die all dies Grässliche verschuldet! Falle
Der Donner nieder, der dein Herz zerschmettert,
Nicht länger halt' ich schonend ihn zurück.
- II. 2551 ff.: Lass mich im Irrtum! Weine im *Verborgnen*!
Sieh nie mich wieder. Niemals mehr. Nicht dich,
Nicht deine Mutter will ich wieder sehen,
Sie hat mich nie geliebt! Verraten endlich
Hat sich ihr Herz. Der Schmerz hat es geöffnet.
Sie nannt' ihn ihren bessern Sohn! . . . *So hat sie*
Verstellung ausgeübt ihr ganzes Leben!

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V.—THE RELATIONS OF *HAMLET* TO CON-
TEMPORARY REVENGE PLAYS.¹

The revenge tragedy, a distinct species of the tragedy of blood, may be defined as a tragedy whose leading motive is revenge and whose main action deals with the progress of this revenge, leading to the death of the murderers and often the death of the avenger himself.

This type, as thus defined, probably first appeared on the Elizabethan stage in the *Spanish Tragedy* and the original *Hamlet*.² Of these two plays the old *Hamlet* is not extant

¹ The reader may be referred to my investigation of a similar influence on Shakspeare: *The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspeare*. Worcester, O. B. Wood, 1901. Some of the discussions there may seem to lend support to the conclusions of this article.

² The MS. of this article was sent to the printer before it was possible to obtain Professor Boas's edition of Kyd in this country. It has consequently been found impossible to give references to his texts and introduction or to profit—except in a few particulars—from his important discussions of the *First Part of Jeronimo*, the *Spanish Tragedy*, and the *Ur Hamlet*. A knowledge of these discussions would have added to the thoroughness of my investigation but would have not affected its main argument. Some of the points at which I dissent from his conclusions are considered in a review of Professor Boas's book about to be published in the *Modern Language Notes*.

and can only be reconstructed conjecturally; the *Spanish Tragedy* represents, therefore, the origin of the type. Just what the ultimate sources of the type may have been, is not a question which enters our discussion. In the *Spanish Tragedy* the influence of Seneca is marked as in much early English tragedy,¹ and there may be some indebtedness to contemporary French and Italian drama of the Senecan sort.² We are not, however, to examine the *Spanish Tragedy* in connection with the influence of Seneca but in connection with a long succession of Elizabethan revenge plays; and for such an investigation it serves well enough as a starting point. Thomas Kyd was the author of this play and probably, as Dr. Sarrazin³ has shown, of the old *Hamlet*. He may safely be taken as the introducer of the revenge tragedy upon the English stage, and his work may be considered one of the many dramatic innovations of the Elizabethan period.

The revenge motive appears, to be sure, in other old plays; in *Titus Andronicus*, for instance, and *Alphonsus of Germany*,⁴ where revenge for a father plays an important part in the plot. The *Spanish Tragedy* and the old *Hamlet*, however, were both very popular for years after their first production and undoubtedly influenced later dramatic work more than all other early revenge plays. This long continued popularity, in addition to the fact that these two plays are the most distinct examples of the type, further justifies us in regarding them as the main sources of all later developments.

From 1599 to 1604 there occurred, as we shall later see,

¹ Cf. J. W. Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on the Elizabethan Drama*, London, 1893. R. Fischer, *Zur Kunstentwicklung der englischen Tragödie*, Strassburg, 1893.

² Cf. Nash's Epistle to Greene's *Menaphon*: the allusion to Italian sources. Kyd translated Garnier's *Cornelia*. Note also Hieronimo's acquaintance with French and Italian tragedies. *S. T.*, Act V. Hazlitt's Dodsley, vol. 5, p. 152.

³ G. Sarrazin, *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, Berlin, 1892.

⁴ Fleay is almost certainly right in ascribing this play to about 1590 and to some other author than Chapman.

a revival and development of this type which is of importance in any study of *Hamlet* from a historical point of view. Mr. Fleay has already shown proof that "revenge for a father" plays were popular on the stage during these years and that Marston, Chettle, Tourneur, and Jonson, as well as Shakspeare, were engaged in supplying the stage demand.¹ It will be necessary, however, for us to reëxamine his evidence and gather what new evidence we may.

It was during these years that Shakspeare brought *Hamlet* to its final form. There is little doubt that he worked on the basis of the old *Hamlet*. How much he was indebted to it and how much the final play was affected by it, have been pointed out most effectively, perhaps, in the essays of Dr. Sarrazin² and Mr. Corbin.³ There is also a probability that the first quarto of *Hamlet* represents an incomplete revision by Shakspeare and is intermediate between the original play and the final *Hamlet*, represented by the second quarto.

In investigating the relations of Shakspeare's *Hamlet* to the demands of the stage and to contemporary plays of this revenge type, we are not to look upon Shakspeare as an imitator, but as an Elizabethan play-wright, using an old play for the basis of his work, writing in response to current demands, accepting much that was already familiar on the stage, and vitalizing all, and permeating all with his own individuality. We need not obscure in the least our appreciation of his work or our admiration of his powers, but we must also look upon him as likely to work in much the same way and to be influenced by the same conditions as his fellow Elizabethan dramatists. We must keep to this point of view, then the course of our investigation is clear. (1). The dates of the plays and the stage history of the period must be examined in order to show that revenge tragedies were popu-

¹ Chr. [*Chronicle of the English Drama*], II, 75, 264.

² Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis.

³ J. Corbin, *The Elizabethan Hamlet*, London, 1894. Cf. also *Harvard Studies and Notes*, vol. v.

lar and common at the time when Shakspeare's *Hamlet* was first presented. (2). The extant revenge plays of the period must be examined, in order to determine their leading characteristics and how far they constituted a distinct type of drama. (3). *Hamlet* must be examined to determine to what extent and in what ways it was influenced by this contemporary type.

I. CHRONOLOGY OF THE REVENGE TRAGEDIES.

Our examination of the dates of the revenge plays and some facts of stage history concerning them has three objects: (1) to determine approximately the dates of the early revenge plays, the exact dates being unimportant for our purpose; (2) to show evidence that between 1599 and 1604 tragedies dealing with ghosts and revenge were especially popular in the London theatres; (3) to determine as exactly as possible the dates of the extant revenge plays produced in this period—exactness here being important in enabling us to decide what revenge tragedies probably preceded Shakspeare's *Hamlet*. I shall follow a chronological arrangement.

The First Part of Jeronimo with the Wars of Portugal and the life and death of Don Andrea, quarto 1605;¹ *The Spanish Tragedy*, second part, quarto 1592;² and *Hamlet*,

¹ See *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*. Fleay thinks *Jeronimo* was acted soon after *Three Ladies of London*, because the line at the end alludes to Gerontus in that play (acted 1583). The line—

"So good night kind gentles,
I hope there's never a Jew among you"—

is, of course, the usual quibble between gentle and gentile, and has no allusion to Gerontus. Dr. R. Fischer and Professor Schick have presented evidence that *Jeronimo* was not written by Kyd, but this evidence seems insufficient in view of the close connection between the play and the *Spanish Tragedy*.

² Kyd is mentioned as the author in Heywood's *Apology for Actors*. For date, cf. Fleay, Sarrazin, Schick, and *Dekker-Studien* by W. Bang, in *Englische Studien*, 28. 2. Probably the play was acted as early as 1587.

non-extant, were all probably acted within two or three years before 1589.¹

Popularity of Tragedies with ghosts and revenge, after 1597.—An important evidence of this popularity is found in the induction to *A Warning to Fair Women* (S. R. 1599,² and described on title page as lately acted). Tragedy, History, and Comedy are personified and appear as rivals. In the course of their discussion, Comedy describes Tragedy:

“How some damn’d tyrant to obtain a crown
Stabs, hangs, impoisons, smothers, cutteth throats
And then a chorus, too, comes howling in
And tells us of the worrying of a cat:
Then, too, a filthy whining ghost,
Lapt in some foul sheet or a leather pilch
Comes screaming like a pig half stick’d
And cries, Vindicta!—Revenge, Revenge!
With that a little rosin flasheth forth
Like smoke out of a tobacco pipe, or a boy’s squib:
Then comes in two or three [more] like to drovers
With tailors’ bodkins stabbing one another.”

Some particular play or plays³ may be here alluded to, but the passage also indicates that the typical tragedy of the day was not only full of murders and broils, but was also a revenge play with a ghost. A further evidence that ghost plays were on the stage in these years is found in Ben Jonson’s the *Case is Altered*:⁴ “But first I’ll play the ghost, I’ll call

¹ *Hamlet* must date before August 23, 1589, when Greene’s *Menaphon* was entered S. R. Nash’s prefatory epistle contains a reference to “whole Hamlets.”

² First quarto 1599. Acted by Chamberlain’s men and sometimes ascribed to Shakspeare. The play is a ‘domestic tragedy,’ a type which at this time seems to have been as popular as the revenge type.

³ Possibly the *Spanish Tragedy*, but the description of the ghost doesn’t quite fit. Probably the passage would fit the old *Hamlet* equally well, and it seems to me to have a general rather than a specific reference. Fleay, *Chr.*, II, 321, points out that “Vindicta,” also ridiculed in the *Poetaster*, occurs in *Wily Beguiled*, *Alcazar*, and the old *Richard III*.

⁴ Acted before 1599; see Fleay, *Chr.*, I, 357.

him out." The original *Hamlet* was also on the stage 1597–1601 as is indicated by the allusion in Dekker's *Satiromastix*¹—"My name's Hamlet's revenge." The *Spanish Tragedy* was also popular. In Henslow's diary we have no record of its performance from January 22, 1593, to January, 1597, when it was revived and acted twelve times before the end of July. Doubtless some other plays of an early date with ghosts and revenge were also revived, and some non-extant plays may have been of this sort.

Antonio and Mellida, first part, and *Antonio's Revenge*, second part of *Antonio and Mellida*, first quartos, 1602, "as acted by Pauls Boys;" by John Marston. The "Anno Domini, 1599," and "Aetatis suae 24,"² (Marston was probably born in 1575) fix the date of the first performance of the first part in 1599. The prologue of the second part indicates that it was acted in the winter, probably, then, the winter of 1599–1600.³

A Revival of Ghost and Revenge Plays, 1599–1600.—In the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels* (S. R., May 23, 1601; acted in 1600 by the Chapel Children), the following passage occurs: "Another whom it hath pleased nature to furnish with more beard than brain . . . swears that the old Hieronymo as it was first acted was the only best and judiciously penn'd play of Europe."⁴ Another passage reads: "They say the ghosts of some three or four plays departed a dozen years since have been seen walking on your stage here; take heed, boy, if

¹ First quarto, 1602; acted 1601.

² First part, *Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen, v. i, p. 201.

³ Fleay dates both plays 1600, because he assigns the reinstatement of the Paul's boys to that year. There is, however, no reason for dating this in 1600, rather than 1599. Cf. the *Stage Quarrel between Ben Jonson and the So-called Poetasters*. R. A. Small, 1899.

⁴ Fleay takes this to refer to a revision of *Jeronymo*, the first part. The 1605 4to probably represents the play as it was acted by the Children of the Chapel. The phrase, 'as it was first acted,' suggests a revision, but the other passage quoted above makes it seem probable that the *Spanish Tragedy* itself was referred to.

your house be haunted by such hobgoblins 'twill fright away all your spectators quickly." The two passages indicate that the *Spanish Tragedy* or *Jeronymo* or both, and perhaps other ghost plays were revived by the children about 1599. There is also a line in *Satiromastix*¹—"For trusty Damboys now the deed is done"—which Mr. Fleay² takes to indicate the existence of a play on Bussy D'Ambois before 1601. This was doubtless a revenge play like the second part of Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*; indeed there is no very definite evidence against the early date for that play. In want of more positive evidence, however, it is safer to assume that Chapman's play did not appear until after Shakspeare's *Hamlet*. *Julius Caesar*, usually dated 1600-1, ought also to be mentioned; for, whether or not it is a condensed rendering of two plays on the death and the revenge of Caesar as Fleay conjectures,³ it at least contains a ghost and a revenge element.

Hamlet, revived by the Chamberlain's men, 1601-2.—The *Revenge of Hamlet* was entered S. R. July 26, 1602; the *Tragicall Historie*, "by William Shakespeare," was published 1603. This quarto is generally thought to have been a pirated edition. Authorities will be given later for adopting the hypothesis that this represents Shakspeare's partial revision of the early *Hamlet*; we shall here consider the date of the stage performance, represented in a mangled fashion by the first quarto.

The title page states that the play had been divers times acted in the city of London and "in the two Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and elsewhere." Resting on this statement of a pirating book-seller, Mr. Fleay has fixed the date as 1601.⁴ His conclusion rests further on the hypothesis that Hamlet's question—"How comes it that they travel?"⁵—indicates that for the company to travel was unusual, and

¹ First quarto, 1602; acted 1601. See *Chr.*, I, 128. ² *Chr.*, I, 59.

³ *Life of Sh.*, p. 215 seq.

⁴ *Life of Sh.*, p. 143, p. 227. *H. S.*, p. 136 ff. *Chr.*, 185 ff.

⁵ Q₁, 971. Cf. *Hamlet*, III, 2, 324.

still further on the hypothesis that 1601 is the only date when they are known to have travelled. Nevertheless he thinks Polonius' remark about playing Julius Caesar at the university¹ indicates that the actor who played Polonius' part had also previously played the part of Caesar in Shakspeare's play. One would think, then, that Shakspeare's company must have travelled as far as the university before 1601. Without, however, taking advantage of the dilemma, one may safely assert that travelling as far as Oxford or Cambridge was by no means so uncommon as to give much aid in fixing the date of the play.

Fleay's reasons for fixing on 1601 as the date of travelling may still warrant a further examination. In the first place, he thinks that the Lord Chamberlain's company was then in disgrace at court because of their presentation of *Richard II* in connection with the Essex rebellion, and was therefore travelling. The accounts of the trials of Essex and his companions² show that *Richard II* with his deposition and death was acted at their request; but there is no evidence that the theater people were blamed or disgraced.³ On the contrary, there is definite evidence that they were not; for on February 24, 1601, over two weeks after the performance and rebellion and on the eve of Essex's execution, the Chamberlain's men played at court before the queen.⁴ In the second place, Fleay⁵ considers the fact that Laurence Fletcher was in Scotland in October, 1601, with a company of players, sure evidence that Shakspeare and the Chamberlain's men were there too. There is no evidence of any connection between Fletcher and Shakspeare's company until the patent of 1603, when Fletcher's name appears at the head of the list of King's men. In 1596, there was a Fletcher

¹ Q₁, 1247 ff.

² See *State Trials*, 17 Feb., 1601, and March. See also Nichols, III, 552.

³ See *State Trials*, vol. 1, p. 10, March 5, 1601.

⁴ H.-P. *Outlines*, I, 176; *H. of S.*, p. 122.

⁵ *H. of S.*, p. 136.

who had dealings with Henslow,¹ and nothing more is known of any Fletcher connected with the theaters until the Aberdeen affair. Fletcher there appears as manager, but in 1601 Hemings appears as manager of the Chamberlain's men in the court payments. Moreover, there are also references to actors in Scotland in 1599; and these might as reasonably be connected with the King's men of 1603.

There is nothing but conjecture, then, to show that the Chamberlain's men travelled in 1601, and nothing but conjecture to fix the date of any *Hamlet* by Shakspeare in that year.

Apart from this theory of Mr. Fleay's, there are, however, some reasons which show that 1601 cannot be very far out of the way. *Hamlet* is not mentioned in Meres' list; and therefore Shakspeare's earliest version must date later than 1598. Moreover, if the play had been long on the stage, the printer would have been able to secure a better copy than he evidently used. The errors and mangled condition tend to show that he went to press with the first copy attainable of a new version of a popular play. Finally, the entry in the Stationer's Register says, "as it was lately acted." These considerations lead the Cambridge editors to conclude: "At some time, therefore, between 1598 and 1602 *Hamlet*, as retouched by Shakespeare, was put upon the stage. We are inclined to think that it was acted not very long before the date of Roberts' entry in the Stationer's Register, namely, 26 July, 1602."² Probably, indeed, as is now somewhat generally agreed, it was not put on the stage earlier than 1601.

The Spanish Tragedy, with additions; revived by Henslow, 1601-2. Quarto, 1602.—Two entries in Henslow's diary, 25 Sept., 1601, and June 24, 1602, state that he paid Ben Jonson first for additions and again for new additions to the *Spanish Tragedy*. The total payments for both additions and a play called *Richard Crookback* were twelve pounds; and as

¹ See *Diary*; Collier's ed., p. 78.

² *Hamlet*. Clarendon Press Series. Introduction.

Henslow's limit for a play was about eight pounds, Jonson must have received four pounds for the additions. He was evidently paid in full; and the two entries for "adicions" and four months later for new "adicyons" seem to indicate that he did two separate pieces of work. The title of the 1602 4to mentions "additions of the painter's part and others," and must surely represent Jonson's additions. In 1601, then, Jonson was writing on the *Spanish Tragedy*, and some of his work may have been on the stage; by the end of June, 1602, he had finished his additions; the revised play must have been seen on the stage at that time and was printed before the year was over. It will be noticed that Henslowe's revival of the *Spanish Tragedy* with Jonson's additions was probably almost contemporaneous with the revival by the Chamberlain's men of *Hamlet*, revised by Shakspeare.

Possible Revenge Plays.—The evidence already examined is sufficient to show that revenge and ghost plays were popular and common on the stage between 1598 and 1603, and further suggests that some of the non-extant plays were of this type. Among the plays known only by name from Henslow's diary, there are at least three whose titles to some extent warrant the guess that they were revenge plays. There is no other evidence either way, and the guess is only a guess.

Orphan's Tragedy, 27 Nov., 1599, and 24 Sept., 1601. This looks a little like a 'revenge for a father' play; but it may just as likely have been a domestic tragedy.

Italian Tragedy, 10 Jan., 1599. In Henslow's diary the play is called "etalyan tragedy of —," with a blank space left for the name. On March 7 and 12, 1603, Mr. Smythe received £6 in full payment for an *Italian Tragedy*. This may have been the completion of Day's play of four years back, or it may have been a new play.

Roderick, acted Oct. 29, 1600. Fleay says "probably a play on the death of Hoffman's father; possibly the founda-

tion of Chettle's *Danish Tragedy* (7 July, 1602); but this may have been only another name for *Hoffman*."¹ *Hoffman* rather needs an introductory play like the first parts of the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Antonio's Revenge*.

Hoffman, or A Revenge for a Father.—First quarto, 1631. The quarto announces that the play had been "acted with great applause at the Phoenix," so it was popular as late as 1631. In Henslow's *Diary*, December 29, 1602, there is an entry of a payment made "Harey Chettle," "for a tragedy Haughman." This is in all probability the above *Hoffman*. There is an earlier entry, July 7, 1602, of another payment to Chettle in earnest of a tragedy called "a Danyshe tragedy," which is very likely the same as "Haughman." At about this time there are various entries of payments to Chettle for plays he was writing for Henslow; and there are several payments for a nameless tragedy (August 24, September 7, 8, and 9, 1602)² and one payment (January 14, 1603) for a tragedy he was writing with Heywood. Fleay thinks all these entries refer to the same tragedy and identifies it with *Hoffman*, assigning Heywood two scenes (III, 2; IV, 3); but all this is pure conjecture. We may best keep to the comparatively certain date, December, 1602.

The Atheist's Tragedy.—First quarto, 1611, "as it hath often been acted in divers places." Fleay conjectures that it was acted during the plague of 1603 when the players travelled. "The great man who went to the war" in I, 2, was, he says, "I suppose Sir Francis Vere who had resigned his government of Ostend March, 1602." "From a passage in II, 1, it appears to have been written before the siege of Ostend (1601–August, 1604) had ended."

This passage seems to me conclusive in showing that the play was written during the siege of Ostend and still further

¹ *Chr.*, II, 302. Fleay has various conjectures in regard to the other two plays, but they are, of course, avowedly conjectural.

² The names in Collier for September 7, and 9, "Robin hoodfellowe, and Robin Goodfellow" are forgeries. See Warner's *Catalogue of Dulwich MSS.*

in fixing the date definitely. The disguised Borachio is thus introduced:—"My lord, here's one i' the habit of a soldier, says he is newly returned from Ostend, and has some business of import to speak." He then goes on in a speech of thirty-one lines to describe the opening of the sluices during the Spanish assault which occurred January 7, 1602. English interest was strongly centered on Ostend, and so detailed a description of an important event was probably written shortly after it took place.

The great man, who went to the war under foreboding skies which presaged an ill success that killed his happiness, could hardly have been Sir Francis Vere who retired from the siege with honor and who, so far as I can ascertain, was not in England immediately before the war. He had been many years in the service of the Netherlands. So many Englishmen of noble birth went to Ostend at the beginning of the siege,¹ I have not found it possible to identify the great man referred to. The reference, however, must have been almost contemporaneous with the event.

These allusions to Ostend enable us to fix the date as not earlier than 1602, and hardly later than 1603.

Hamlet.—Shakspeare's final version; second quarto, 1604. For all purposes this play of the second quarto is the final *Hamlet*. On our hypothesis that the first quarto represents a play which was Shakspeare's partial revision of the early *Hamlet*, his final version must have followed the entry of the first quarto for publication in 1602, and probably followed its publication in 1603. The date for the production of the final *Hamlet* on the stage is not earlier than 1602 or later than 1604, probably 1603.

Revenge Plays after "Hamlet."—The type did not end with *Hamlet*, nor did it go out of fashion for some years after 1604. Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois* (acted perhaps 1604-5)²

¹ See Motley's *United Netherlands*, iv, 67; and Camden's *Annales Elizabethae*, p. 1019, where a list of twenty-four is given.

² First 4to, 1607. For date, see *Chr.*, i, 59.

and *Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* (acted perhaps 1606),¹ and Tournour's *Revenger's Tragedy* (acted before 1607) are examples of the type. There are traces of it, indeed, throughout the later period of the Elizabethan drama.²

The results of our investigation may be recapitulated.

I. We have found that the *Spanish Tragedy* and the early *Hamlet* date before 1590.

II. We have found sufficient evidence to warrant us in concluding that revenge tragedies were especially popular 1597-1604. A summary of the evidence will indicate the grounds of this conclusion.

1. Popularity of plays dealing with ghosts and revenge, shown by *A Warning to Fair Women*, 1599. 2. Popularity of the *Spanish Tragedy* in 1597. 3. *Antonio and Mellida*, Part I. 1599. 4. *Antonio's Revenge*, 1599. 5. *The Spanish Tragedy* or *Jeronymo*, revived by the Chapel Children, about 1600. 6. Ghost plays, revived by the Chapel Children, about 1599. 7. A *Bussy D'Ambois* play, about 1600. 8. *Julius Caesar*, containing a revenge element and a ghost, 1600-1601. 9. Three lost plays, possibly revenge plays, written for Henslow, 1599-1601. 10. The early *Hamlet*, altered by Shakspeare for the Chamberlain's men, 1601-2. 11. The *Spanish Tragedy*, altered by Ben Jonson for Henslow, 1601-2. 12. *Hoffman*, 1602. 13. *The Atheist's Tragedy*, 1602-3. 14. The final *Hamlet*, 1603.

It will be seen that revenge plays were produced by Henslow's companies, by the Chamberlain's men, by the Chapel Children, and by the Pauls' boys. It may also be fairly concluded that the *Spanish Tragedy* and the old *Hamlet* were important factors in creating and in supplying this fashion for plays dealing with revenge and ghosts.

III. The dates of the extant plays have been determined

¹ First 4to, 1607. See *Chr.*, I, 62.

² Cf. ghosts in *Lover's Progress*, *Prophetess*, *Humourous Lieutenant*, and the story of ghost and revenge in Fletcher's *Triumph of Death* in *Four Plays in One*.

with some exactness. The first version of Shakspeare's *Hamlet* is dated 1601-2, the final version 1603. The *Spanish Tragedy* and the original *Hamlet* preceded Shakspeare's contribution to the revenge type by a dozen years. *Antonio's Revenge* also preceded Shakspeare's first revision of the old *Hamlet*, and Jonson's additions to the *Spanish Tragedy* were almost exactly contemporary with it. Our evidence also indicates that *Hoffman* and the *Atheist's Tragedy* preceded the final *Hamlet*, but this cannot be insisted upon. At all events the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Antonio's Revenge* preceded any *Hamlet* that can be called Shakspeare's.

II. THE DIFFERENT *HAMLETS*.

Before we proceed to discuss the revenge tragedies, we must determine on some basis for an examination of the three distinct forms of *Hamlet*—the German *Fratricide Punished*, the first quarto (1603), and the second quarto (1604). We cannot examine all the theories which have been advanced to explain the relations of the first two plays to the original and final *Hamlets*, but some hypotheses in regard to these relations must be adopted. That Shakspeare had nothing to do with the original *Hamlet* is a proposition which has been generally agreed to and has been recently still further strengthened by Dr. Sarrazin.¹ That the second quarto is to all intents Shakspeare's final *Hamlet*, is beyond question. In regard to the German play and the first quarto we shall proceed on the hypotheses that the German play represents in a translated and altered form the original *Hamlet*, and that the first quarto represents a play founded on the original *Hamlet* and only partially revised by Shakspeare.

The first hypothesis is the one adopted by Dr. Furness who, after an admirable summary of the evidence, concludes: "I think there can be little doubt that in the *Fratricide Punished* we have a translation of an old English tragedy,

¹ *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, Chap. v.

and most probably the one which is the ground work of the quarto of 1603."¹

This hypothesis, although generally accepted, has not gone undisputed and is not without its difficulties. These have been stated most strongly by Professor Creizenach.² He objects to our hypothesis because it involves the supposition that the plot, situations, and general dramatic treatment of Shakspeare's *Hamlet* were in the original play and were borrowed and made over by Shakspeare. This objection rests on the ungrounded assumption that Shakspeare could not borrow. We shall try to show that he borrowed very much not only from the early *Hamlet*, but from other revenge plays as well. Creizenach's most important objection, however, is his list of nineteen verbal details in the German play which are also found in the second quarto and which are not in the first quarto. Since there are other important details found in both the German play and the first quarto, and not in the second, he conjectures that the German play had for its basis a Shakspearean version which contained both sets of parallelisms and consequently the subject matter of both Q₁ and Q₂. The parallels between the German play and Q₂ seem, however, also explainable by our hypothesis if we remember (1) the possibility that the German play, which can be traced back only to 1710, may have been affected by interpolations from Shakspeare's *Hamlet*; and (2) that the old play is doubtless very imperfectly represented in Q₁, and probably survives

¹ *Hamlet*. Variorum Ed., vol. II, p. 1120.

² *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Leipzig*. 1887. p. 1. "Die Tragödie 'Der bestrafte Brudermord oder Prinz Hamlet aus Dänemark' und ihre Bedeutung für die Kritik des Shakespeare'schen Hamlet." W. Creizenach. Cf. also *Die Schauspiele der Englischen Komödianten*. W. Creizenach. Deutsche National-Litt.-Hist.-Krit. Ausgabe. Berlin u. Stuttgart. 1889. 23 Band. Pp. 125 seq. For a criticism of Creizenach's views, and an attempt to prove that the first quarto is the basis of the German play, cf. *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*. 1888. P. 224 seq. "'Der bestrafte Brudermord' . . . und sein Verhältniss zu Shakespeare's 'Hamlet.'" Gustav Tanager.

to a considerable extent in Q_2 , so that many details may have been omitted in Q_1 , and preserved in Q_2 . Even if Creizenach's conjectural Shakspearean version were assumed, we should still have good reason for supposing that it resembled the original *Hamlet* and for considering the German *Hamlet* as the best representative we have of the old play. We shall proceed, however, on what seems the less violent hypothesis, that the German play does not represent any work of Shakspeare but does represent the original *Hamlet*.

The first quarto has a very imperfect text and was probably pirated. The first act in the main closely resembles the final *Hamlet* and through the second act there are obvious touches of Shakspeare's hand. After that there are few indications of Shakspeare, and the text seems to be an abbreviated and corrupt copy of the work of some earlier author.¹ With this last statement many critics disagree, looking upon the whole quarto as an imperfect reproduction of Shakspeare's *Hamlet*. A careful comparison of the two quartos, however, has only served to strengthen in my mind the conclusions set forth by Clark and Wright.² The weight of critical opinion also justifies the acceptance of their opinion as a working hypothesis.

"In conclusion," they say, "we venture to think that a close examination of the quarto of 1603 will convince anyone that it contains some of Shakespeare's undoubted work, mixed with a great deal that is not his, and will confirm our theory that the text, imperfect as it is, represents an older play in a transition state, while it was undergoing a remodelling but had not received more than the first rough touches of the great master's hand."

The proposition that the quarto contains elements of an old play as well as of Shakspeare's work seems to me unassailable. The proposition that the quarto represents Shakspeare's partial revision of an old play does not necessarily follow from this but seems altogether plausible.

¹ For evidence that Kyd was the author, see Boas, p. xlix seq.

² *Clarendon Press Hamlet*, 1872, pp. x-xii.

These hypotheses enable us to examine the three texts, *Fratricide Punished*, first quarto, and second quarto, as representatives of three different plays. We shall have occasion to note that the character of the first two texts renders any detailed reconstruction of the original and transition plays very hazardous, and we must remember that such reconstruction rests at the start on our hypotheses. While these will be henceforth assumed without further explanation, they will not form essential supports for our main conclusions. If our hypothetical reconstructions of the two earlier *Hamlets* be disregarded, there is still abundant opportunity for a discussion of the relation of Shakspeare's *Hamlet* to other revenge tragedies. And this discussion will rest on propositions which can hardly be questioned by students of the Elizabethan drama: (1) the original *Hamlet* was not written by Shakspeare; (2) the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Antonio's Revenge* preceded Shakspeare's *Hamlet*; (3) Chettle, Tourneur and Jonson were at work on revenge tragedies at about the same time that Shakspeare was writing *Hamlet*.

With the aid of our hypothetical reconstructions we have seven revenge tragedies which, according to our chronology, precede the final *Hamlet*; the *Spanish Tragedy*, the original *Hamlet*, *Antonio's Revenge*, the first quarto of *Hamlet*, Jonson's *Additions to the Spanish Tragedy*, *Hoffman*, and the *Atheist's Tragedy*. In examining each of these plays or revisions, the following plan will be followed:

1. A brief statement of the plot.
2. An examination of the leading dramatic motives and their treatment.
3. A consideration of the reflective element, particularly as shown in the long soliloquies.
4. An examination of the scenes, situations, and details of the stage presentation. The same scenes, situations, and bits of stage business will be found to be repeated over and over. Some of these are of such importance that they point to a direct influence of one play on another. Some are of less

importance, and some occur in many other plays as well as the revenge tragedies; but besides furnishing some slight indication of direct influence, the repetition of these situations and bits of stage business goes to show how much these plays must have resembled one another on the stage.

5. A discussion of such characters as are related to prevailing character types of the revenge tragedy; and particularly of the avenging hero.

6. A brief discussion of the style. In general the style of each play is individual enough, but there are a few points of similarity.

7. A discussion of the characteristics which differentiate the particular play from the others—its special development of or variation from the general type.

Throughout this discussion we shall in the main keep to our point of view and look upon these dramas as Elizabethan stage-plays written for the London theatres. In particular, we must guard against allowing modern aesthetic views to influence our judgments. In the end, however, it will be profitable to ask whether or no any distinct imaginative or intellectual impulses are discernible in each author's treatment of the revenge story; and in considering this question it will be necessary to look upon these plays as at least attempts at poetical expression and for a moment to discuss the artistic motives and moods which the revenge story aroused in the different authors.

✓ III. THE SPANISH TRAGEDY.

The two plays dealing with Hieronimo are really two parts of one play. The first part, for convenience called *Jeronimo*, sets forth the events culminating in the death of Andrea. It contains two murders and is full of embassies and battles, of mouthing defiances by the combatants, and the villainous intrigues of Lorenzo. The story of Bell' Imperia, Lorenzo's sister, and her love for Andrea furnishes

a sentimental element; and Andrea's ghost, Revenge, and Charon supply a mythological-supernatural ending. All these characteristics also distinguish the second part, or the *Spanish Tragedy*; and what little in *Jeromino* bears directly on the restricted revenge type will be considered in discussing that play.¹ The *Spanish Tragedy*² continues the story after the death of Andrea. Before each act Andrea's ghost and the ghostly personage Revenge appear and criticise and oversee the progress of the revenge on Andrea's enemy, Lorenzo. The story is too well known to need repetition; we can pass to the motives.

I. The fundamental motive is revenge, and this revenge of a father for a son is superintended by a ghost. II. Another important motive is hesitation on the part of the revenger who requires much inciting and superabundant proof. Hieronimo finds his task a difficult one; he is burdened with doubt and hesitation; the letter from Bell' Imperia, the confession of Pedringano, and the exhortations of Bell' Imperia and his wife are all required to spur his resolution to the deed. Without this hesitation as an important motive, a revenge play would, indeed, have hard work to get on from the first act to the climax. III. Madness is an essential motive throughout. Hieronimo pretends madness, and his pretended madness often passes into real distraction. "Old Hieronimo is mad again," the second title of the 1602 quarto, shows how important this motive was in the stage representation. Isabella, too, becomes insane in grief for her son. IV. Intrigue, used both against and by the revenger, is an important element. Lorenzo's machinations are many, and Hieronimo accomplishes his revenge by

¹ Dr. Sarrazin has pointed out resemblances between the characters of Jeronimo and Polonius—both faithful servitors of their Kings—and both a little of the comic old man type; and also between Horatio and the Horatio in *Hamlet*. He has also noted resemblances between the first and second scenes of *Jeronimo* and the second and third scenes of *Hamlet*.

² Hazlitt's Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vol. v, to which all page numbers refer.

dissimulation and trickery. V. Blood is always spouting, and death confronts us at every turn. Ten of the leading *dramatis personae* go to "the loathsome pool of Acheron," and after the final slaughter only the two kings are left to bear off the five bodies which encumber the stage.

The fourth and fifth motives characterize tragedies of blood in general, the first three distinguish more specifically the revenge tragedy. Other motives such as that of romantic love hardly need mention, since they are common to most plays, but one somewhat subsidiary motive ought to be added. VI. The contrast and enforcement of the main situation by similar situations. Thus Hieronimo's grief for his son is reënforced by the Viceroy's grief over the supposed death of his son and more particularly by the petition of the old man whose son has been murdered.

Such a medley of murder, intrigue and revenge would seem to allow little opportunity for reflection and meditation on the part of the hero. On the contrary, the soliloquies on such subjects as the wrongs of fate, revenge, and suicide form a very important part of the play. Hieronimo has six of these, which, together with one by the viceroy, should be referred to if one wishes to judge of the reflective element of the play. The opening lines are as follows :

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| "Then rest me here awhile in our unrest"—Viceroy on "Fortune." | I, 2, p. 21. |
| "O eyes! no eyes, but fountains fraught with tears" | III, p. 67. |
| "Where shall I run to breathe abroad my woes" | III, p. 91. |
| "And yet though somewhat nearer me, concerns" | III, p. 92. |
| "Hieronimo, 'tis time for thee to trudge"—on suicide. | IV, p. 107. |
| "Vindicta mihi—Ay, heaven will be reveng'd" | IV, p. 123. |
| "See, see, O, see thy shame, Hieronimo" | IV, p. 129. |

These soliloquies while furnishing free play to vigorous action and a ranting style of declamation, are intended to embody after the Senecan model a good deal of fine writing and some profound philosophizing.

Of the individual scenes and situations, perhaps the most

notable in its relation to *Hamlet* is the play within the play by which the revenge is accomplished.¹ Previously² Hieronimo assigns the parts, discusses the play with the actors, and throughout superintends the production. In the play after he and Bell' Imperia have stabbed in earnest, he has to explain to the kings and spectators this "romantic-ironical trick," as Sarrazin calls it. Earlier in the play he assists at another theatrical show or "masque." Here, too, we have a banquet and an ambassador. The scene in which Isabella 'runs lunatick,'³ is also interesting in relation to later scenes of the same sort. Apparently she enters with herbs in her hands, and some of her mad talk reminds one a little of that in later plays.

"Why did I give you gowns and goodly things?
Bought you a whistle and a whipstalk too,
To be revenged on their villainies." (p. 94.)

The trick by which Lorenzo rids himself of his accomplice, Pedringano,⁴ will serve as an example of the scenic representation of the intrigue element. Pedringano is promised a pardon and understands that it is contained in a box carried by a boy whom Lorenzo has sent. So, sure of his release, he goes to the gallows with many jocose remarks. The boy stands by and doesn't open the box, which in fact contains nothing, and Pedringano to his surprise is strung up in the midst of his jesting. There is one other hanging scene in the play, the one in which Lorenzo and Balthazar surprise Horatio and hang him in the arbor.⁵ The scene in which Hieronimo becomes reconciled with his murderers and offers to fight anyone who blames Lorenzo,⁶ is worth noting. Many minor situations and details of the stage presentation are followed, we shall find, in later plays, and some become conventional accompaniments of the revenge tragedy. Among these are the exhibition of Horatio's body after the

¹ V, p. 160.

² V, p. 152.

³ IV, p. 94.

⁴ II, 3, p. 85.

⁵ II, p. 52.

⁶ IV, p. 140.

play,¹ Hieronimo's biting out of his tongue,² the wearing of black,³ the final march bearing off the slain, the swearing on the cross of the sword,⁴ the capture of Pedringano by the watch,⁵ the reading in a book before a soliloquy,⁶ and the falling to the ground in the midst of a soliloquy.⁷

Besides these situations to which we shall have cause to refer in later discussions, a few others may be noted to illustrate still further the crude character of the performance. The letter written in blood ('red ink' says the stage direction),⁸ Hieronimo's play with the rope and dagger,⁹ Isabella's cutting down of the arbor,¹⁰ and Hieronimo's digging with his dagger, while he cries: "I'll rip the bowels of the earth;"¹¹ all reveal the most primitive means of expressing rage, despair, and madness. Like much else in the play they are as completely archaic as the scene where Balthazar enters with a chair, whereupon Hieronimo cries:

"Well done, Balthazar, hang up the title
Our scene is Rhodes." ¹²

In a play calling for such violent action and such rude stage devices we cannot expect much shading or consistency in the characterization. Some of the characters, however, represent types which reappear again and again in Elizabethan plays, and doubtless the frequent revivals of the *Spanish Tragedy* did much to establish these character-types on the stage. Inasmuch as we shall find traces of them in the revenge tragedies, they must be noticed here. Lorenzo is the villain par excellence, as full of demoniacal devices as he is free from conscientious scruples. He serves on the stage as a convenient first cause of all the evil in the play and manages to accomplish three murders before he is himself dispatched. His accomplice, Pedringano, is a good

¹ V, p. 163.

⁴ II, p. 41.

⁷ I, p. 21.

¹⁰ V, p. 155.

² V, p. 170.

⁵ III, p. 77.

⁸ III, p. 68.

¹¹ IV, p. 111.

³ I, p. 21.

⁶ IV, p. 123.

⁹ IV, p. 107.

¹² IV, 3.

example of that type already outlined¹ in *Lazarotto* in *Jeronimo*. With his jests to the hangman while on the scaffold, he is a bit of fairly vivid grotesque. Bell' Imperia serves in the first of the play chiefly to supply the indispensable idyllic element which she does rather prettily. Later on she develops an Amazonian fierceness and aids largely in the revenge. This type of woman, both prettily sentimental and desperately revengeful, is not uncommon in later tragedy.

The character of *Hieronimo*, rudely as it is depicted, is not without subtlety of conception. He is a ranting madman, but he is also a poet, a scholar, interested in plays and in Seneca's philosophy. To analyze his leading traits; in the first place he is much given to meditation and to arguing with himself. He struggles with the problems of revenge, fortune, and death; and if the result furnishes little valuable philosophy, it is certainly not for a lack of rumination. Secondly, he is constantly oppressed with an overburdening sense of his obligation to revenge, an obligation which he shuns even after the proof of the murderers' guilt has been forced upon him, and the realization of which often drives him to real madness. Thirdly, when he finally brings his resolution up to the point of action he becomes exceedingly cunning, dissimulates with the murderers, feigns madness, and adroitly plans the play for a means of revenge. Fourthly, he accomplishes this revenge not only with cunning, but with irony. Witness, for example, his dissimulated reconciliation with Lorenzo and his conduct and speeches in the last act, particularly the brutal irony of his speech to the viceroy and duke.² So, too, his madness often takes an ironical turn. These four qualities, fondness for meditation, a realization of a responsibility so terrible that it drives him to frenzy, great cunning in action, and constant irony, are perfectly distinct characteristics of Kyd's hero.

¹ In *Shakespeare's Predecessors*, p. 492, Mr. J. A. Symonds has noted that *Lazarotto* is the precursor of *Flamineo* and *Bosola*.

² V, p. 163 seq.

Of the style of the play little need be said in addition to Sarrazin's comments. It certainly would have justified Nash's description, "whole handfulls of tragical speeches" and "a blanke verse hoded up with ifs and ands."¹ It was ridiculed as old-fashioned a dozen years after it was written, but bits of it seem to have stuck in the memory of theatre-goers and play-wrights, and some traces of its influence will appear in the plays we are to consider.

With all this analysis we must not forget that the play must have appealed to its audience above all as a rip-roarer, a succession of deeds of intrigue and blood, with the central figure a ranting maniac. No analysis, however, is needed to convince the reader that it possesses other qualities as noteworthy as these salient features. Far less than *Tamburlaine*, an artistic achievement; no more than that play, can it be pushed aside as a mere blood and thunder tirade. Ludicrously lacking in dignity though it may be, the *Spanish Tragedy* presents, perhaps for the first time on the English stage, a story by no means lacking in tragic grandeur. In Hieronimo's struggle with his terrible responsibility, in his irresolute meditation and his madness, there is not only much which is comically primitive, there is also much which in its imaginative conception shows a poet struggling for expression. In the discussions of the ghost and Revenge, in the frequent references to Nemesis, Heaven, and Hell, in the carefully elaborated soliloquies, there are still more tangible indications that Kyd was trying after the Senecan model to express something of the tragic sense of fate which has always pervaded the English mind.

IV. THE ORIGINAL HAMLET.

Assuming our hypotheses, we can work back to the original *Hamlet* from two sources, the first quarto and the German *Fratricide Punished*. From the mere facts, however, that the

¹ *Epistle to Greene's Menaphon*.

first quarto is very imperfect and that the German play is a prose abridgement which cannot be traced back earlier than 1710, it is plain that we cannot hope to reach a very definite idea of the original *Hamlet*. Sarrazin in his ingenious and convincing chapter on "der Ur Hamlet," has accomplished this reconstruction and has assigned the authorship to Thomas Kyd. In the main his conclusions seem to me sound, but in order to avoid conjectures as much as possible and in order to make the relations of the different *Hamlets* perfectly clear, it seems best to neglect his plausible conclusion that the early *Hamlet* was a play by Kyd strongly resembling the *Spanish Tragedy* and first to attempt to form some idea of the old play directly from *Fratricide Punished*. Even the evidence of the first quarto may be omitted until the discussion of the first and second quartos. We may then find some things which can be credited to the old play and which can be used to develop the view already formed; but for the present we shall deal solely with the *Fratricide Punished*.¹

Meagre as the resulting view will be, it will at least rest on only one of our hypotheses, the fairly safe one that the German play represents the early *Hamlet*. Even this meagre reconstruction will be sufficient to establish the close connection in theme and treatment between the old *Hamlet* and the *Spanish Tragedy*.² It will also be sufficient to indicate that with the *Spanish Tragedy* the old *Hamlet* became a basis for all later developments in the tragedy of revenge.

Before considering the German play we must notice what little direct evidence we have of the nature of the old *Hamlet*. The earliest reference to the play is found in Nash's Epistle

¹ *Variorum* edition of *Hamlet*. Vol. II, p. 1120 seq. All references will be to this translation of the German play.

² To this extent we shall arrive at Sarrazin's conclusions; but working from a different point of view and by a different method we may hope to add some new force to these. At every step, however, I shall be obliged to repeat material used by Sarrazin in a little different way.

to Greene's *Menaphon*,¹ and from this we learn that it was a Senecan tragedy of blood. From Lodge's *Wit's Miserie*² we learn that it dealt with a ghost and revenge; and in Dekker's *Satiro-mastix*³ we have a similar reference. From Henslow's *Diary* we learn that it was played on June 9, 1594. Finally, there can be little doubt that it was founded on the novel of Belleforest, afterwards, or perhaps already, translated as the *Hystorie of Hamlet*. The ghost was an addition to Belleforest.

The plot of *Fratricide Punished* hardly requires a summary. It follows the main lines of the action of the final *Hamlet*; and the old English play doubtless did the same. The treatment of the story, however, is comic in the German version to an extent hardly supposable in an English revenge play.

The five leading dramatic motives which we found in the *Spanish Tragedy* all reappear. I. The revenge is by a son for a father and is directed by the latter's ghost. This direction by the ghost is somewhat differently handled, for he appears at the start and directly incites and encourages the hero to revenge. II. There is hesitation on the part of Hamlet who requires the proof afforded by the play and who lets one chance to kill the king escape him. III. There is the madness of Ophelia and the melancholy and assumed madness of Hamlet. IV. Intrigue and deceit appear in Hamlet's affair with the accomplices and also in the plots of the king. V. There is abundant slaughter throughout the play and at the end. VI. We find, too, as in the *Spanish Tragedy*, the main situation contrasted and emphasized by a similar situation. Thus the grief and revenge of Laertes for his father are used to strengthen the main motive. VII. Perhaps, too, the unholy passion of

¹ Printed 1589. "yet English Seneca read by candle-light yields manie good sentences, as Bloud is a beggar, and so foorth; and if you intreate him faire in a frostie morning, he will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfulls of tragical speaches" etc.

² Printed 1596. "a foule lubber and looks as pale as the visard of ye ghost which cried so miserably at ye theater, like a oisterwife, Hamlet revenge."

³ Printed 1602. "My name's Hamlet's revenge."

the king and queen may be said to present another motive. At all events the marriage of the murderer to the wife of the murdered man is a theme that appears again on the Elizabethan stage.

In respect to soliloquies, the German play offers little resemblance to the *Spanish Tragedy*. Latham¹ has indeed declared that there are no soliloquies. There is one, however, by Hamlet at the beginning of Act V. I quote it in full, because in the reference to Nemesis, in the excuse for delay, and the promise to revenge, I fancy there are some faint hints of a soliloquy which in its original form may not have been unlike those in the *Spanish Tragedy*.

"Unfortunate Prince! How much longer must thou live without peace? How long dost thou delay, O righteous Nemesis! before thou whettest thy righteous sword of vengeance for my uncle, the fratricide? Hither have I come once more, but cannot attain to my revenge, because the fratricide is surrounded all the time by so many people. But I swear that before the sun has finished his journey from east to west, I will revenge myself on him."

In the separate scenes and situations there is much which connects the play with the general revenge type. First in importance in its relation to the *Spanish Tragedy* is the play within the play.² Here as there, the hero superintends and advises the actors. The play is not, however, used to bring about the revenge but, as in the final *Hamlet*, to produce further proof of the king's guilt.

The Ophelia scenes are the only ones which at all supply the place of the sentimental love scenes of the *Spanish Tragedy*; and they also recall the insanity and suicide of Isabella. In the German play, however, Ophelia is for the most part treated in a frankly comic manner. This adds stress to Mr. Corbin's thesis³ that a comic element survives in the great

¹ *Two Dissertations on the Hamlet of Saxo Grammaticus and of Shakespear*. R. G. Latham. 1872. See p. 147.

² II. 7, 8.

³ *The Elizabethan Hamlet*. John Corbin. London, 1895.

scene of the final *Hamlet*. Just how far, however, the comic element was manifest in the early *Hamlet* we cannot say; it is not paralleled in Kyd's treatment of Isabella's insanity. Some other features of the Ophelia scenes, such as her distribution of flowers, her mad talk, her part as a decoy, seem more certainly to point to the English original and appear again in later plays. In the main her part must have been derived from the old *Hamlet*, and a summary of it will be convenient. II. 3. Ophelia says Hamlet plagues her, whereupon Corambus (Polonius) concludes that love is the cause of Hamlet's madness. II. 4. Ophelia returns a jewel to Hamlet, and he repulses her, while the king and Corambus look on from their hiding place. III. 9. Ophelia is insane and follows Phantasmo about. Apparently she has flowers for she cries: "See, there is a pretty floweret for thee, my heart." III. 11. Another mad scene in which she annoys Phantasmo and strikes him. IV. 6. The queen announces that Ophelia is mad. IV. 7. Ophelia appears with flowers, gives each person a flower, and runs off. V. 6. The queen enters and announces a great calamity: "Ophelia went up a high hill and then threw herself down and killed herself."

The treatment of the ghost varies considerably from that of the *Spanish Tragedy*. The ghost¹ is not a mere looker-on; he now holds direct speech with the hero, relates the circumstances of the murder, and calls for revenge. His first appearance is more dramatic²—two soldiers are on watch at night, while healths are being proclaimed within and trumpets sounded. The same circumstances are repeated when the ghost first appears to Hamlet, with the addition that the clock has probably just struck midnight.³ Clearly, here is an important addition to the stage business of ghost plays, an

¹ The ghost has none of the dignity of Andrea's ghost. He boxes the soldier's ears and opens his jaws to frighten Hamlet. Undoubtedly a good deal of this comic business was added by German players.

² I. 1.

³ I. 4.

addition which may be credited to the original *Hamlet* and which was adopted in later plays.

The swearing on the hilt of the sword which Hamlet compels his friends to perform is the same situation used in the *Spanish Tragedy*.¹ The ghost joins in the dialogue from within.² Again while Hamlet has an interview with his mother, the ghost appears to him unseen by her.³ In the prologue, the personages, "Night, in a car crowned with stars, Alecho, Thisephone, and Maegara," and the style of their speeches contrast decidedly with the rest of the play and, as Sarrazin notes, suggest Kyd.⁴ The wearing of black is indicated where the king announces: we must "change our black mourning suits into crimson, purple, and scarlet."⁵ Hamlet refuses to kill the king who is praying at the altar in the temple—"But, hold, Hamlet, why wouldst thou take his sins upon thyself?"⁶ The business of the two portraits also occurs in the scene after he has killed Corambus.⁷ After fooling with Phantasmo (Osric) and just as he is about to go to the king, Hamlet has a premonition of death.⁸ Like Hieronimo, he dissimulates with his enemies in a merry mood;⁹ and as in the *Spanish Tragedy* the catastrophe results in a number of deaths.

This enumeration of situations is sufficient to give an idea of the stage-presentation of the old play, to indicate its resemblance to the *Spanish Tragedy*, and to furnish a basis for comparison with scenes in the later revenge tragedies. The most important scenes which are not found in the German play and appear in *Hamlet* are the scene at Ophelia's grave, the grave-diggers' scene, and those dealing with Rosencrantz

¹ *F. P.* I. 6. *S. T.* II. p. 41. Sarrazin has not emphasized the close connection between the two scenes, but Fleay has pointed it out. *Chr.* II, p. 31.

² It seems rather probable that in the old *Hamlet* the ghost spoke from beneath the stage as in the later play. We shall find "the voice in the cellarage" in *Antonio's Revenge*; so at any rate it was not an invention of Shakspeare.

³ III. 2.

⁴ Note the line "from Acheron's dark pit, come I, Maegera, hither."

⁵ I. 7.

⁶ III. 1 and 2.

⁷ III. 5.

⁸ V. 3.

⁹ IV. 1.

and Guildenstern. Whether or not these occurred in the original *Hamlet*, we have seen enough evidence to show that on the stage it must have strongly resembled both the later *Hamlet* and its contemporary, the *Spanish Tragedy*.

In regard to the characterization of the old *Hamlet*, very little can be inferred from the German abridgement. The king is the villain and source of all evil, and Laertes to some extent his tool as Balthazar is the tool of Lorenzo. Sarrazin has also noted a resemblance between Jeronimo in the first play and Polonius; so also the Horatios in the two plays are both faithful friends. Only by following Sarrazin in his whole reconstruction, however, shall we find a Hamlet with Hieronimo's fondness for soliloquising and irony and an Ophelia whose wooing has the grace of Bell' Imperia's and whose fate has the pathos of Isabella's. Such the characters of the old *Hamlet* may have been, but in the German play Ophelia is comic, and Hamlet is without individuality. Some traces of a more subtle delineation are, nevertheless, not altogether wanting. We have already noticed his one soliloquy, and we may not agree with Latham¹ that the play is absolutely wanting in ironical bits of cynicism.

"*Hamlet*. Well adieu, Lady mother!

King. Why is this, my prince? Why do you call us mother?

Hamlet. Surely man and wife are one flesh. Father or mother—it is all the same to me." (III. 10.)

Here at least is a kind of irony, much like Hieronimo's, and good enough on the stage for Shakspeare's purposes. In the German play again, Hamlet like Hieronimo is interested in plays and actors and he certainly resembles Hieronimo in his duplicity and pretended madness. Only in these traces, however, do we find evidences of a hero who in stage importance and dramatic conception could have rivalled the popular hero of the *Spanish Tragedy*.

Even less can be confidently conjectured in respect to the

¹ *Two Dissertations on Hamlet, etc.*, p. 147.

style of the old *Hamlet*. Some bits of the *Fratricide Punished* have been noted by Sarrazin in connection with Kyd's work and some others will appear later in our discussion in connection with the phrasing of later plays.

From the German play we have derived some idea of the action and main motives of the old *Hamlet* and little more. We may conclude that the old English play must surely have been a companion piece to the *Spanish Tragedy*, dealing with a revenge for a father, containing all the leading motives of that play and many similar scenes and situations. In respect to characterization and style we must postpone most of our inferences to the discussion of the first quarto. For a moment, however, we may anticipate and again recall Sarrazin's reconstruction of the old *Hamlet*. Then we have a play by Kyd with soliloquies and Senecan philosophy and a central figure like old Hieronimo. Still further we may conclude that the catholic coloring, Hamlet's calmness after the murder of Polonius, his conduct at Ophelia's funeral, his trick on Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern, and his treatment of Ophelia, were all derived from the old play. Our more meagre reconstruction serves our purpose; it is sufficient to indicate that very considerable portions of the two later *Hamlets* must be referred to the original play.

V. ANTONIO AND MELLIDA.

Antonio and Mellida,¹ like Kyd's *Hieronimo*, is a two-part play; the story of murder and revenge being confined in each case to the second part. The first part or the *History of Antonio and Mellida* opens with the hero, Antonio, in disguise as an Amazon. His father, Andrugio, has been defeated in

¹ References will be to *The Works of John Marston*, edited by A. H. Bullen, vol. 1. For a discussion of the two plays, see "John Marston" von Wolfgang von Wurzbach. *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, vol. xxxiii, p. 85 seq. Dr. von Wurzbach calls *Antonio's Revenge* "eine wüste Mischung der *Spanish Tragedy* und des *Hamlet*." We will not try to determine, he adds, "ob

a sea-fight by Piero, duke of Venice, and father and son are in hiding. Antonio goes to the court of Piero with whose daughter, Mellida, he is in love, and later Mellida leaves the court disguised as a page in search of him but is retaken. Andrugio proceeds to court in full armor, demands the reward offered for his own head, and then discovers himself. A funeral procession enters bearing the body of Antonio. Piero professes to admire Andrugio's courage, pardons him, and protests that he would give his daughter's hand to have Antonio alive. Thereupon Antonio comes to life, and there is a joyful conclusion. There is some "masquery" and dancing, some love scenes, a good deal of comic buffoonery, and a good deal of serious and philosophical declamation. What little directly concerns the conventions of the tragedy of revenge will be noticed in the discussion of the second part.

The second part, or *Antonio's Revenge*, deals with a revenge for a father and is constructed on almost the same lines as the *Spanish Tragedy* and the original *Hamlet*. Antonio's father, Andrugio, is poisoned, and his friend, Feliche, butchered by Piero. Strotzo, an accomplice, declares that Andrugio died naturally, and Piero declares that he found Mellida in Feliche's embraces upon the eve of her marriage to Antonio. Mellida is confined for trial, and Antonio becomes frantic with grief and bewilderment. Andrugio's ghost appears to Antonio, discloses Piero's villany, and bids Antonio to take revenge. Antonio, crazed by the revelation, stabs Piero's young son, Julio, at Andrugio's tomb but refuses a chance to kill Piero; later he disguises himself as his mother's fool and watches for his opportunity. His mother meantime has yielded to Piero

dies der 'alte Hamlet' (von Kyd) ist, oder ob sich nicht sogar aus Antonio Beweis für die Entstehungszeit des Shakespeare'schen Hamlet ableiten liesse, den einzelne englische Kritiker schon vor 1600 aufgeführt wissen wollen." "Shakespeare's Einfluss," he also declares, "ist zu deutlich," and points out resemblances to *Romeo and Juliet* and *Lear*. Equally apart from our purpose is an article in *Englische Studien*, vol. xxi, "John Marston als dramatiker," by Ph. Aronstein.

a promise of marriage, but after a visitation from Andrugio's ghost she joins Antonio in his scheme for revenge. At Mellida's trial, Strotzo, instigated by Piero, declares that he was suborned and is himself despatched by a trick of Piero. Mellida swoons and later dies. Antonio is also reported dead but he appears disguised in a masque: the masquers disclose themselves and kill Piero. They are hailed as public benefactors but determine to retire to a religious house; so Antonio appears alive to make the final speech bewailing Mellida.

This summary of the plot will suggest parallelisms with the two plays already considered. Their leading motives all reappear. I. Revenge for a father by a son, urged on by the dead man's ghost, forms the central action. II. Hesitation and irresolution appear in Antonio's neglect of his opportunity to kill Piero and in his useless murder of Julio. III. Antonio is driven to the verge of real insanity and later pretends to be a fool. IV. Intrigue is practised by both Piero and Antonio. V. The death-list, though not so long as in the earlier plays, includes six persons. Of the minor motives, VI. the contrast to the main situation appears in the grief and revenge of Pandulpho for the death of his son, Feliche; and VII. the unholy passion of Piero for Maria becomes, more distinctly than in *Hamlet*, an underlying motive of the drama. An idyllic love story is also prominent, but especial attention should be called to the fact that the five leading elements, revenge, hesitation, insanity, intrigue, and slaughter, are as clearly manifest as in the *Spanish Tragedy* or the early *Hamlet*.

Moreover, the play resembles the *Spanish Tragedy*, and very likely the early *Hamlet*, in its abundance of long soliloquies. There are several by Piero and five by Antonio, even the first lines of which will be enough to indicate a similarity to Hieronimo's.

"Pish, thy mother was not lately widowed." (II. 2. p. 133.)

He reads from Seneca's *De Providentia* and then contrasts his own fate.

"Graves, vaults, and tombs, groan not to bear my weight."

(III. 1. p. 143.)

"Ay, so you must before you touch the shore." (III. 1. p. 147.)

—On human nature and its iniquity.

"Howl not, thou putry mould; groan not, ye graves."

(III. 1. p. 150.)

—A characteristic murder speech.

"Ay, heaven, thou may'st, thou may'st, omnipotence."

(IV. 2. p. 171.)

—In which he submits himself to Heaven's will.

Like the soliloquies in the *Spanish Tragedy*, these seem to have been modelled on Seneca, and even more than those they indicate an attempt at philosophical reflection. One of the best examples of this philosophising is to be found in Antonio's speech on a fool's part, to which we shall have occasion to refer again.

"I never saw a fool lean; the chub-faced fop
Shines sleek with full-cramm'd fat of happiness,
Whilst studious contemplation sucks the juice
From wisards' cheeks: who making curious search
For nature's secrets, the first innating cause
Laughs them to scorn, as man doth busy apes
When they will zany men. Had Heaven been kind,
Creating me an honest, senseless dolt,
A good, poor fool, I should want sense to feel
The stings of anguish shoot through every vein;
I should not know what 'twere to lose a father;
I should be dead of sense to view defame
Blur my bright love; I could not thus run mad,
As one confounded in a maze of mischief,
Stagger'd, stark, fell'd with bruising stroke of chance;
I should not shoot mine eyes into the earth,
Poring for mischief that might counterpoise
Mischief, murder, and—" ¹

(IV. 1. p. 158.)

¹ The reflective soliloquies in the first part of *Antonio and Melida* should be noticed, particularly the scene between old Andrugio and Lucio (III. 1.).

Coming now to the individual scenes, we note that the revenge is accomplished much as in the *Spanish Tragedy*. Piero is seated in the banqueting hall with Maria; an equivocal reply to his advances leads him to believe that she loves him; whereupon he breaks out in jubilations which recall the carousing of the king in *Hamlet*.¹ In the midst of the carousing the masquers enter. Piero is induced to remain alone with them, and they unmasque, bind him, and pluck out his tongue,² and triumph over him—uncovering the dish that contains the limbs of his murdered child. Finally they hack him to pieces, and the ghost, who has joined in the proceedings, makes his exit with—

"Tis done, and now my soul shall sleep in rest:
Sons that revenge their father's blood are blest."

The marriage celebration, the exhibition of the dead body, the exultation in revenge, in fact, the whole method of the revenge is after the style of the *Spanish Tragedy*; but the substitution of a masque for a play,³ the participation of the ghost, and some of the torments heaped upon the villain may be credited to Marston's ingenuity.

The ghost scenes are managed very much after the manner of the *Fratricide Punished*. Antonio comes to the churchyard and approaches his father's tomb; even as the clock is

Charles Lamb has noted the resemblance of their situation to that of Lear and Kent. "Andrugio, like Lear, manifests a kind of royal impatience, a turbulent greatness, an affected resignation. The enemies which he enters lists to combat, 'Despair and mighty Grief, and sharp Impatience' and the Forces ('Cornets of Horse, etc.') which he brings to vanish them, are in the boldest style of allegory. They are such a race of mourners as the 'infection of sorrows loud' in the intellect might beget on some pregnant cloud in the imagination."

¹ *A. R.* v. 2. *F. P.* i. 1. and i. 6. *Hamlet* i. 2. and v. 2. Cf. also the banquet, triumphs, masque, etc., in the *Spanish Tragedy*, i. 3, as well as the final scene.

² Compare a similar bit of stage business in the *Spanish Tragedy* where Hieronimo bites out his tongue. v. p. 170.

³ Cf. the *Malcontent* and Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*.

striking twelve, the ghost rises.¹ Like Hamlet's ghost, the ghost of Andrugio makes a long speech; and cries "Antonio, Revenge!"—manifestly a reminiscence of the "Hamlet, revenge!" accredited to the old *Hamlet*. The succeeding dialogue between Maria and Antonio is interrupted by the ghosts of Andrugio, Feliche, and by Pandulpho,² who "from above and beneath" cry "murder! murder! murder!"³ There is also a groan from beneath when Antonio stabs Julio, and before this when the child is prattling, there is a cry of "revenge," apparently from below.⁴ The cries of the ghost seem also to have suggested Mellida's interrupting sighs from beneath.⁵ All these instances of a voice in the cellarage point back to the cries of the ghost, also probably beneath the stage, in the original *Hamlet*.⁶

As in the various *Hamlets*, the ghost appears in a scene with his former wife and son.⁷ The scene, however, shows marked variations from that in the *Fratricide Punished* and is a typical example of Marston's stage effects. As she is about to retire, Maria discovers the ghost sitting on the bed. While the ghost is upbraiding her and bidding her join her son in seeking revenge, Antonio enters in a half-frenzy. He is bidden to carry out the revenge by means of a disguise and retires; then Maria goes to bed, while the ghost draws the curtains and ends the scene with a characteristic tirade.⁸ The

¹ *A. R.* III. 1. *F. P.* I. 4. Cf. also *A. R.* I. 1, for another scene at night with the clock striking.

² Pandulpho is no ghost, and seems out of place.

³ III. 1.

⁴ III. 1.

⁵ II. 2.

⁶ The many resemblances between *Antonio's Revenge* and the *Fratricide Punished* furnish corroborating evidence for the hypothesis that the latter was a translation of the old English *Hamlet*.

⁷ *A. R.*, III, 2. *F. P.*, III, 6.

⁸ III, 2, p. 156.

"And now, ye sooty coursers of the night,
Hurry your chariot into hell's black womb.
Darkness, make flight; graves, eat your dead again:
Let's repossess our shrouds. Why lags delay?
Mount sparkling brightness, give the world his day!"

scene between Hamlet and his mother is recalled by another scene between Antonio and Maria.¹ The anxious mother finds Antonio just after the ghost has left him, frantically vowing revenge, and therefore takes him to be mad. So in the *Fratricide Punished*, Hamlet's speech as the ghost crosses the stage increases his mother's belief in his insanity.

The Mellida scenes furnish divergences from the material of the revenge plays which need not be here discussed. The fact that her chastity is in question adds a new motive to the forces which drive the hero toward madness. In one important respect, however, there is a similarity to the *Fratricide Punished*. Just as there the queen enters and announces Ophelia's death, so Maria enters and announces the death of Mellida.² Moreover, she does this in a long descriptive piece of declamation just as the queen does in both the first and second quartos of *Hamlet*.³ This bit of stage convention, then, was in use as early as *Antonio's Revenge*.⁴

The burial of Feliche⁵ and the dumb show before the second act, representing Andrugio's funeral, suggest the burial of Ophelia in *Hamlet*. Though not in the *Fratricide Punished* this scene may have been in the old *Hamlet*, or the use of funerals and churchyards in a revenge tragedy may have

¹ *F. P.*, III, 6. *A. R.*, III, 1. *Hamlet*, III, 4, 102-139.

² *F. P.*, V, 6. *A. R.*, IV, 1. ³ *Q*₁, l. 1822. *Hamlet*, IV, 7, 167.

⁴ One passage in the report of Antonio's death (IV, 1) directly recalls the report of Ophelia's death in the *Fratricide Punished*.

"Distraught and raving, from a turret's top,
He threw his body in the swollen sea."

F. P., V, 6. "Ophelia went up a high hill, and threw herself down, and killed herself." Cf. also the *Spanish Tragedy*, V, p. 150:

"Marry thus, moved with remorse of his misdeeds;
Ran to a mountain top and hung himself."

The hanging is the fate of Bruser, one of the corresponding characters in the novel of *Soliman and Persida*, but the running to a mountain top is Kyd's addition.

⁵ *A. R.*, IV, 2.

been original with Marston. The dumb show before the third act represents the wooing of Maria by her husband's murderer, who has already made advances to her. The situation is an old one in literature and is the same as that between Richard and Anne in *Richard III*, and similar to that in the dumb show of the play in the final *Hamlet*.¹

In the mad scenes insanity receives different treatment from that of the *Spanish Tragedy* or of the German play. Antonio's distraction is depicted as something terrible; it is never treated as comic, even to the extent that it is in the *Spanish Tragedy*. Nor does Antonio pretend madness like Hieronimo and Hamlet; instead of this he assumes the disguise of a fool like Hamlet in the story. The stage direction—"Enter Antonio in a fool's habit with a little toy of a walnut shell and soap to make bubbles"—² indicates sufficiently his action in this disguise.

Like Hieronimo, Antonio cries "vindicta";³ and one of his early interviews with his mother is clearly paralleled by a scene in *Jeronimo* between Hieronimo and Isabella.⁴ Like

¹ *A. R.*, II, 2, *Rich. III*, I, 2. Not in the dumb show in *Fratricide Punished*.

² Cf. Hamlet's "I must be idle." *III*, 2, 85.

³ *A. R.*, V, 1. *S. T.*, IV, p. 123.

⁴ *Jeronimo*. Dodsley 1825 ed. I, 3, p. 63.

"*Jer.* Peace. Who comes here? News. News, Isabella.

Is. What news, Jeronimo?

Jer. Strange news:

Lorenzo has become an honest man.

Is. Is that your wondrous news?

Jer. Is it not wondrous

To have honesty in hell:" etc.

A. R., II, 2, p. 137.

"*Ant.* Hark ye; I'll tell you wondrous strange, strange news.

Maria. What, my good boy, stark mad?

Ant. I am not.

Maria. Alas!

Is that strange news?

Ant. Strange news? Why, mother, is't not wondrous strange.

I am not mad—I am not frantic, ha?" etc.

Hamlet, he has an opportunity to stab the murderer and refuses it.¹ He (like Hamlet) enters with a drawn sword and has Piero at his mercy, and his excuse for postponing the revenge is not much better than Hamlet's.² His murder of the little Julio recalls the murder of the innocent Corambus and Hieronimo's murder of the innocent father of Lorenzo.³ Antonio wears black and appears reading a book, as did Hieronimo and probably Hamlet in the old play.⁴ As the Portuguese viceroy falls on the ground in the midst of his lamentation, so in one of his soliloquies Antonio lies flat on his back and addresses heaven from that posture.⁵

The stratagems practised by Piero on his accomplice are like similar tricks in the *Spanish Tragedy* and the trick played by Hamlet on Rosencrantz and Guildenstern.⁶ The body of Feliche, stabbed thick with wounds, appears hung up like that of Horatio,⁷ and Julio's body is exhibited in the final scene as is Horatio's.⁸ Finally, the oath of the conspirators on their wreathed arms, and the striking of the floor with their daggers, give the same sort of stage effect as the swearing on the sword hilt and Hieronimo's digging with his dagger.⁹ The scene with the painter, too, must be noticed in

¹A. R., III, 1. F. P., III, 2.

²A. R., III, 1. "No, not so.

This shall be sought for; I'll force him feed on life
Till he shall loath it. This shall be the close
Of vengeance' strain."

³A. R., III, 1. F. P., III, 5. S. T., V, p. 170. The murder of Julio is possibly intended to be excused by the frenzy which possesses Antonio.

⁴S. T., IV, p. 123. A. R., II, 1. Hamlet reads a book in both the first and second quartos.

⁵S. T., I, p. 21. A. R., IV, 2. Cf. also *Antonio and Mellida*, Part I, IV, 1, where Andrugio in the midst of a soliloquy throws himself on the ground; in the same scene Antonio falls on the ground twice. This soliloquizing from the floor was in fact common in early plays.

⁶A. R., IV, 1. S. T., III, p. 90.

⁷A. R., I, 1. S. T., I, p. 52.

⁸S. T., last scene.

⁹A. R., IV, 2. S. T., II, p. 41. IV, p. 111.

connection with the painter scene in Ben Jonson's *Additions to the Spanish Tragedy*.

This somewhat detailed examination of the scenes and situations indicates how closely Marston's play on the stage must have resembled the two old revenge plays. Some changes and especially the great prominence given to the ghost may be credited to Marston, although these hint that there may have been some development of the revenge type between 1588 and 1599 of which we have no direct evidence. We have seen evidence of the popularity of ghost and revenge plays about 1599; and Marston's play may possibly have had points of close stage resemblance to some unknown plays as well as to the *Spanish Tragedy* and the original *Hamlet*.

Of the characters Maria has less individuality than Isabella in the *Spanish Tragedy*; she merely fills a conventional part very similar to the queen's in the *Fratricide Punished*.¹ Melilda's character is developed in the first part, and her imprisonment and death in the second part are intended to supply abundant pathos. The villain, Piero, differs from Lorenzo only in his passion for Maria, and in this respect he resembles the king in the old *Hamlet*. The accomplice Strotzo is of the same type as Kyd's accomplices though he has less humor than Pedringano. Pandulpho with his philosophy is a little like Corambus and Hieronimo (in the *First Part*)—that is, he is one of the type of talkative old men. Feliche and, later, Alberto supply the part of the faithful friend.

Antonio, like Hieronimo and the original Hamlet, is a scholar and a clever deviser of masques. Like Hieronimo, he is fond of philosophy and studies his Seneca. He is distinguished, also, by the same tendency to reflection. He enjoys soliloquizing and struggles in solitary meditation at each crisis in his course. Like Hieronimo and Hamlet he is driven to the verge of insanity by the pressure of the horrible crimes which he is to revenge; but unlike them he does not

¹ Where the queen is more obviously guiltless than in the final *Hamlet*.

waste time in seeking additional proof of the murderer's guilt. The loss of his father, the fickleness of his mother, the murder of his friend, and the accusation against his betrothed, have already driven him close to madness, when the revelations of the ghost add fresh fuel to the fire. Though he does not seek further proof, yet, like Hamlet, after the revelations of the play, he becomes frantic and irresolute, neglects an opportunity to kill the king, and wastes his vengeance on an innocent child. Like Hieronimo he finally accomplishes his revenge by dissimulation and stratagem according to the counsel of the ghost. Unlike the other heroes, however, he shows very little irony. His dialogue with his mother and his talk as a fool blowing bubbles may be instanced as partial exceptions,¹ but in general he is wild and ranting and rarely ironical. In his tendency to reflection, his overburdening sense of wrong, and his cunning, he doubtless resembled the old Hamlet as well as Hieronimo. Like both of them he was a stage ranter, he tore a passion to tatters and appealed to a taste that delighted in extravagant violence. To a greater extent, however, than Kyd in the *Spanish Tragedy*, Marston succeeded in endowing his hero with intellectual depth and tragic power. Antonio's soliloquies have more philosophy and less grotesqueness than Hieronimo's; his insanity has more that suggests the terrible and less that suggests the laughable. With all his ranting and overdrawn passion, he has not a few touches of real life. To see how much more vital his philosophizing and his sense of wrong are made, we have only to recur again to his speech on the fool's part.² It was the "stings of anguish," the "bruising stroke of chance," which made him run mad "as one confounded in a maze of mischief."

Mr. Bullen's³ estimate of Marston's style leaves little to be said. The quotations from Seneca and the talk of Nemesis

¹ II, 2, pp. 137, 138. IV, 1, passim.

² IV, 1.

³ *The Works of John Marston*. Edited by A. H. Bullen, B. A. Vol. 1. Introduction, pp. xxvi and xxvii.

as well as an occasional verbal similarity recall the *Spanish Tragedy*; like Kyd, too, Marston shows a fondness for coupling heaven and hell, for figures dealing with storms, shipwreck, prodigies, and for violent metaphors in general. In the main, however, the style of the two parts of *Antonio and Mellida* is decidedly individual. The scene between Andrugio and Lucio,¹ quoted by Charles Lamb, shows the style at its best; and any page will furnish examples of its peculiar atrocities. There is no question that it is strained, affected, and ranting to the last degree; there is also no question that it is often vividly and picturesquely imaginative.

So far as our analysis has gone, this imaginative style seems Marston's most original contribution to the revenge tragedy type. In plot, motives, characterization, and even in individual scenes and situations, *Antonio's Revenge* follows most closely after the old models. It is not, indeed, likely that Marston thought he was following as closely as our analysis has indicated. He was a young man of twenty-four, who had already made a considerable poetical reputation² by his satires; and a certain bombastic confidence in these plays adds to one's suspicion that he thought he was doing something noteworthy. Very likely he felt that he was replacing the old rant with a lofty and tragic poetic diction. That this diction was somewhat deliberately acquired, is manifest from the closeness with which it is modelled. Mr. Cunliffe³ has pointed out Marston's obligations in detail and concludes that "of all Elizabethan dramatists, Marston owed the most to Seneca and was the readiest to acknowledge his indebtedness." In this reflective philosophy we may further note a distinct development of the revenge play. Consciously forming himself on Seneca, Marston seems to have endeavored to secure at least the appearance of profundity of thought.

¹ *Antonio and Mellida*. Part 1. III, 1.

² See Bullen's edition of *Marston*. Vol. 1. Introd., p. xxiv seq.

³ *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*. J. W. Cunliffe, London, 1893, p. 68 seq.

In addition to a new tragic diction and a profounder moralizing, Marston shows some distinguishable development of the material and construction of the revenge type of play. There are, indeed, evidences¹ that he thought he was changing the old methods of action more radically than we can perceive. Among his perceptible alterations are the confining of the comic element to the by-play of Balurdo and the presentation of the chief characters more entirely in the tragic play of crime and horror. The development of Antonio's character and of the ghost scenes have also been noticed. Further, in the emphasis placed on the romantic love story and on the other hand, in his style of accumulating horrors and melodramatic stage effects, Marston may fairly be said to mark a step in the progress from Kyd to Webster.

The contributions to the development of the drama are not intrinsically of much importance. For us the style is still pretentious rant; the philosophy borrowed commonplaces; the revenge tragedy an impossible convention. *Antonio's Revenge* is certainly not a great artistic achievement; but after looking at it so long as a stage production, we may in closing look at it a moment as an artistic effort. Emphasis may well be placed on those qualities which indicate a serious and ambitious effort to give poetical expression to the thoughts and

¹ Introduction to *A. and M.*, 1st part. Matzagente, "a modern bragga-doch," is thus ridiculed:

"Rampum, scrampum, mount tufty Tamburlaine!
What rattling thunderclap breaks from his lips?"

In *A. R.*, II, 2, Antonio says:

"Madam, I will not swell like a tragedian."

Again, *A. R.*, I, 2, Pandulpho asks:

"Would'st have me cry, run raving up and down
For my son's loss? Would'st have me turn rank mad
Or wring my face with mimic action;
Stamp, curse, weep, rage, and then my bosom strike?
Away, 'tis aspish action, player-like."

Marston seems to be ridiculing the extravagancies of passion which his own work exhibits in abundance.

passions which arise from the most dreadful situations. We may recall how distinctly Marston avowed such a serious and ambitious purpose in the prologue he addressed to his London audience.

"Therefore we proclaim,
If any spirit breathes within this round,
Uncapable of weighty passion—
As from his birth being hugged in the arms
And nuzzled twixt the breasts of happiness—
Who winks and shuts his apprehension up
From common sense of what men were and are,
Who would not know what men must be—let such
Hurry amain from our black visaged shows:
We shall afright their eyes. But if a breast
Nail'd to the earth with grief; if any heart
Pierced through with anguish pant within this ring;
If there be any blood whose heat is choked
And stifled with true sense of misery;
If ought of these strains fill this consort up—
They arrive most welcome."¹

With this declaration of his in mind, we may remember how Marston tried to give words to reflections on life's mysteries, to the fierce pressure of a sense of wrong and evil, to the wild outpourings of a mind driven almost to madness. We may at least say that the old revenge situation vividly impressed the imagination of an Elizabethan poet before it found final expression from the genius of Shakspeare.

VI. THE HAMLET OF THE FIRST QUARTO.²

We are to examine the first quarto on the hypothesis that it represents a transition play, Shakspeare's partial revision of the original *Hamlet*. Such an examination will supply some additions to our reconstruction of the old play from the *Fratricide Punished* and will also point to some additions and

¹ Prologue to *Antonio and Mellida*. Part II.

² *New Variorum Edition of Hamlet*. Vol. II. Appendix. All line numbers refer to this text.

alterations which are almost certainly Shakspeare's. Any separation of his work from that of an earlier author must, however, be performed with diffidence and a full appreciation of its conjectural nature. The text of *Q*₁ is often so imperfect that it is devoid of any literary individuality, and any particular passage may often be regarded either as a mangled rendering of Shakspeare's phrasing or as a survival from the old author. Moreover, we have no sure canon for determining either Shakspeare's work or the original author's. The final *Hamlet*, to be sure, is Shakspeare's, but much in that is surely a survival from the old play, and even bits of phrasing, which we have come to look upon as entirely characteristic of Shakspeare, may conceivably be from the old author. For a canon of the latter's work, we are still more at a loss, since we have not gone to the extent of accepting Sarrazin's conjecture that Kyd was the author. Still further, a difficulty is presented in analysing *Q*₁ by the possibility that the wretched text may present not merely Shakspeare's partial revision but emendations by players or other material additions. Despite these difficulties the work of Shakspeare seems to me in certain instances to be clearly separable from that of his predecessor. Intricate questions of authorship are, indeed, unimportant for our purpose. However imperfect it may be, the first quarto, according to our hypothesis, represents a play acted on the London stage, and represents its plot, scenes, and situations well enough to supply us with the material for our examination.

The plot is from the early *Hamlet*. It coincides in the main with that of the *Fratricide Punished*, the important additions being the scene at Ophelia's grave, the grave-diggers scene, and the interviews between Hamlet, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. Hamlet's stratagem upon these gentlemen follows the story in *Belleforest*. The action is practically that of the final *Hamlet*. There are some important differences,¹

¹ Most important, perhaps, is the introduction of the scene in which Hamlet repulses Ophelia in the middle of Act II, scene 2 of *Q*₁.

which will be noticed in our discussion of the final *Hamlet*, but in the main the play presents the same events, the same order, and the same catastrophe as the final *Hamlet*.

Our examination of *Q₁*, therefore, has a value altogether apart from our hypotheses in regard to the different *Hamlets*. It is in fact an examination of the plot, scenes, and situations of the final *Hamlet*, in connection with the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Antonio's Revenge*.

All the motives of the *Spanish Tragedy*, *Antonio's Revenge*, and the early *Hamlet* reappear; and although they receive a treatment very different from the comic rendering of the German version, it does not differ greatly from that of the *Spanish Tragedy* and therefore probably not greatly from that of the early English *Hamlet*. I. Revenge remains the dominant motive, but a comparison with *Antonio's Revenge* as well as with the *Fratricide Punished* will convince anyone that the hero is less blood-thirsty and the ghost more dignified than they could have been in the old play. This softening of the revenge motive may certainly be credited to Shakspeare, but with all this softening the treatment differs little from Kyd's or Marston's. II. Insanity has none of the rudely comic treatment of the German play and little of the comic possibilities of the *Spanish Tragedy*. Ophelia's insanity points back to the early play and the *Spanish Tragedy*. Hamlet's madness is more pronounced than in the final version and, perhaps, less surely devoid of comic elements than that of Antonio. IV and V. The intrigue and slaughter are surely survivals of the old play. They reappear with their former prominence, but Shakspeare seems to have added nothing to them. VI. The reënfacement of the principal by similar secondary situations reappears in the story of the revenge of Laertes for his father; and (VII) the passion of the king for the queen supplies another motive similar to that found in *Antonio's Revenge*. So far as the dramatic motives go, the play closely resembles the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Antonio's Revenge* as well as the old *Hamlet*, and shows no marked development by Shakspeare.

Like the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Antonio's Revenge*, and, in all probability like the old *Hamlet*, the first quarto is a play of soliloquies. To what extent they represent Shakspeare's work and to what extent that of the early author, can only be determined by comparing them with the soliloquies of the final *Hamlet*. The following enumeration will be convenient.

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. O that this too too solid flesh. | <i>Hamlet</i> , I, 2, 129. | Q ₁ l. 195. |
| 2. O all ye host of Heaven— | " I, 5, 92. | Q ₁ l. 535. |
| 3. O what a rogue and peasant— | " II, 2, 575. | Q ₁ l. 1108. |
| 4. To be or not to be— | " III, 1, 56. | Q ₁ l. 815. |
| 5. 'Tis now the very witching— | " III, 2, 406. | Q ₁ l. 1405. |
| 6. Now might I do it pat— | " III, 3, 76. | Q ₁ l. 1425. |
| 7. How all occasions do inform—(in Q ₂ , not in Folio) | | |
| | <i>Hamlet</i> , IV, 4, 31. | Not in Q ₁ . |

Mr. Richard Grant White has indicated reasons for supposing that one and four are corrupted copies of soliloquies already in the final form of Q₂.¹ At all events, like much of the two first acts, they read like a corrupted form of Shakspeare's work.² The second and third soliloquies present by no means so corrupt a text and seem to me likely to be as near the early as the final *Hamlet*. The fifth and sixth soliloquies, one may hope, follow the old originals in matter, and their form in Q₁ certainly does not recall Shakspeare.³ The fine seventh soliloquy does not occur in Q₁. Only in the first and fourth, then, is there much evidence of Shakspeare's work. In the less corrupted four remaining soliloquies there is nothing

¹ *The Two Hamlets*. *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1881. Reprinted in the *Bankside Shakespeare*. Vol. XI.

² In Q₁ in soliloquy four, Hamlet is introduced "pouring upon a book" just as Hieronimo and Antonio enter reading when they begin their soliloquies. The appearance of this theatrical convention (which is not in Q₂) suggests that it may go back to the early *Hamlet* and that the soliloquy may have had an original form in the early play. In any case this introduction of the soliloquy by Hamlet's reading is probably not as Mr. White took it, a ridiculous mistake of a "Fluellen of Pirates." Cf. *Bankside Shakespeare*. Vol. XI, p. cxxxiv.

³ Even the addition in Q₂, "'Tis now the very witching time of night," etc., is a bit of conventional phrasing, if not suggested by the old play.

that might not be ascribed to a poet of Kyd's rank. The evidence seems to indicate that Shakspeare was revising the soliloquies of the early play but had given only the first and fourth anything like the final phrasing of the second quarto.

As in the other revenge plays these soliloquies are not altogether reflective in character, nor do they monopolize all the reflective element. In *Q₁*, however, there is very little philosophy outside of the soliloquies. How little Shakspeare had yet done in developing the reflective element of the old play, appears from Knight's list of reflective and didactic observations in the final *Hamlet* which do not appear at all in *Q₁*.¹ On the whole,² the reflective element in the first quarto bears out the hypothesis that the play represents a transition stage. There are few signs of the phrasing of the final version and little that may not probably have had its origin in the early play. So far as Shakspeare had developed the reflective element, he had followed the traditions set by Kyd and Marston.

In examining the situations, we will first take those which our examination of *Fratricide Punished* has assigned to the old *Hamlet* and note the parallels in the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Antonio's Revenge*. The ghost scenes follow the outline of those in *Fratricide Punished*. The two appearances of the ghost to soldiers on the watch;³ the soldier's report to Hora-

¹ Knight's *Introductory Notice to Hamlet*, quoted in the *New Variorum Edition of Hamlet*. Vol. II, p. 18.

² Another passage may be noted. The passage in the final *Hamlet* beginning, "I have of late—but wherefore I know not—lost all my mirth," appears in *Q₁* (ll. 958-961) in this form:

"Yes, faith, this (great) world you see contents me not,
No nor the spangled heavens, nor earth, nor sea,
(No) nor man that is so glorious a creature,
Contents not me, no nor woman too, though you laugh."

The two omissions indicated and a slight change in the fourth line make this into blank verse of a sort. One may surmise that the shorthand reporter was trying to transcribe verse. He could hardly have been listening to or recalling Shakspeare's prose.

³ *Q₁* l. 33 and l. 94. *F. P.*, I, 1 and 2.

tio;¹ the interview of the ghost with Hamlet just after the clock has struck twelve² and the trumpets have sounded the carousal within;³ the ghost's story of the king's guilt and objurations to revenge;⁴ Hamlet's avowal of revenge⁵ and later his determination to put an antic disposition on;⁶ the swearing on the sword,⁷ the voice of the ghost in the cellarage⁸—all these were parts of the old play and many of them are paralleled in the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Antonio's Revenge*. So, too, the appearance of the ghost in his night-gown, during Hamlet's talk with his mother, belongs to the old play and is paralleled in *Antonio's Revenge*.⁹ The comic element of the ghost in the German play has disappeared, but judging from the other revenge plays, that probably formed no part of the old *Hamlet*. The omission of the cry "Hamlet, revenge!" which was prominent in the old play, indicates that the part of the ghost was altered; and the dignified and poetical nature of the ghost in *Q₁* is doubtless due to Shakspeare. The ghost scenes in Act I are, in fact, practically the same as in the final play.

The play within the play with its dumb show¹⁰ and preceding talk and advice to the actors,¹¹ must have had its prototype in the old *Hamlet* and is paralleled in the *Spanish Tragedy*.¹²

¹ *Q₁* l. 30. *F. P.*, I, 3. ² *Q₁* l. 402. *F. P.*, I, 4. *A. R.*, III, 1.

³ *Q₁* l. 401. *F. P.*, I, 4. ⁴ *Q₁* l. 466 seq. *F. P.*, I, 5. *A. R.*, III, 1.

⁵ *Q₁* l. 490. *F. P.*, I, 5. *A. R.*, III, 1. *S. T.*, IV, p. 124.

⁶ *Q₁* l. 612. *F. P.*, I, 6. *S. T.*, IV, p. 124.

⁷ *Q₁* l. 591. *F. P.*, I, 6. *S. T.*, II, 41.

⁸ *Q₁* 592 seq. *F. P.*, I, 6. *A. R.*, III, 1.

⁹ *Q₁* l. 1501. *F. P.*, III, 6. *A. R.*, III, 2.

¹⁰ *Q₁* l. 1260 seq. *F. P.*, II, 8. *S. T.*, V, end.

¹¹ *Q₁* l. 1018 seq. *F. P.*, II, 7. *S. T.*, V, p. 152.

¹² One or two verbal similarities may be noticed. In the *Fratricide Punished* (II, 9), Hamlet tells Corambus: "Their theatre is a little world wherein they represent nearly all that happens in the great world." Apparently the original *Hamlet* contained some passage to suggest the lines in *Q₁* (1084):

"I tell you they are the chronicles
And brief abstracts of the time."

Most of the Ophelia scenes probably follow the old play pretty closely. The parting scene with Laertes is suggested in the German play and paralleled in *Jeronimo*.¹ The scene in which Ophelia is used as a decoy to discover the secret of Hamlet's madness is found in the German play and may even contain some of the comic element of the old rendering.² The insane scenes are from the old play,³ and the queen announces Ophelia's death as in the old play, and with a long speech as in *Antonio's Revenge*.⁴ Just how far Shakspeare had changed these scenes, it is impossible to say; they are incoherent and imperfect, but at the same time they seem to me about as coherent as similar scenes in Elizabethan plays.⁵ They certainly have little of the surpassing pathos of the final version, though they contain nothing which does not reappear in the second quarto. The matter is the same but the arrangement is altogether different—facts which may suggest to some that the scenes in *Q*₁ are only garbled versions of scenes to which Shakspeare had already given the final form of *Q*₂. On the other hand, the different arrangement may be a part of Shakspeare's remodelling, and the immodest songs and the resemblances to the *Fratricide Punished* may fairly be taken to indicate that in the play represented by the first quarto these scenes were nearer to the original play than to Shakspeare's.

The lines in *Q*₁ (1356):

"And if the king like not the tragedy,
Why then belike he likes it not, perdy."

recall these in the *Spanish Tragedy* (V, 1, p. 190):

"And if the world like not this tragedy
Hard is the hap of old Hieronimo."

"Comedy" is substituted for "tragedy" in the final *Hamlet*. In this connection it may be mentioned that the allusion to feathers in the actors' hats in *Hamlet* (III, 2, 85) occurs in *F. P.* (II, 7).

¹ *Q*₁ l. 329 seq. *F. P.*, I, 7. *Jer.*, I, 2. See also *Atheist's Tragedy*, I, 2.

² *Q*₁ l. 837 seq. *F. P.*, II, 4. See Mr. Corbin's *The Elizabethan Hamlet*.

³ *F. P.*, III, 9, 11. IV, 7. Cf. *S. T.*, pp. 94 ff., 154 ff.

⁴ *Q*₁ l. 1822. *F. P.*, V, 6. *A. R.*, IV, 1.

⁵ For an example of the mad girl ante-dating *Q*₁, see Lyly's *A Woman in the Moon*, Act V, where Pandora sings and talks incoherently and childishly.

The scene in which Hamlet refuses to kill the king is in the German play and is paralleled in *Antonio's Revenge*.¹ The succeeding scene between Hamlet and his mother² differs in an important respect from *Q*₂. In *Q*₁ the queen agrees to join him in his revenge, as Maria joins Antonio and Bell' Imperia joins Hieronimo.³ The final scene with its duel and poisoned drinks and change of swords can hardly differ much from the old play, and in its accumulation of deaths and final dead march resembles the final scene in the *Spanish Tragedy*. The killing of Polonius,⁴ resembling Antonio's murder of Julio,⁵ the joking with a braggart gentleman (Osric),⁶ the business of the two pictures,⁷ and the ambassador scenes,⁸ more like those in *Jeronimo* than those slightly outlined in the German play—all are from the old play. The banquet and triumph,⁹ the allusions to the wearing of black,¹⁰ the premonition of disaster,¹¹ are also in the German play; and bits of stage business like the striking of the clock¹² and the reading of a book¹³ before a soliloquy are common enough in revenge plays.

So much for scenes and situations which can be traced back to the old *Hamlet* through the medium of the German play; these are so numerous that they warrant a presumption that scenes not to be found in the *Fratricide Punished* were also taken from the old *Hamlet*. There is some direct evidence to strengthen this presumption. The scene at Ophelia's grave bears a slight resemblance to the passage in Belleforest where Hamlet appears at his own funeral.¹⁴ It may either have occurred in the old *Hamlet* or have been first suggested to Shakspeare by Belleforest. The former alternative is strength-

¹ *Q*₁ l. 1424 seq. *F. P.*, III, 2. *A. R.*, III, 1.

² *Q*₁ l. 1445 seq.

³ *A. R.*, III, 2. *S. T.*, V, 144 seq.

⁴ *Q*₁ l. 1457 seq.

⁵ *A. R.*, III, 1.

⁶ *Q*₁ l. 2017 seq.

⁷ *Q*₁ l. 1469 seq.

⁸ *Q*₁ l. 140 seq.; l. 727 seq.

⁹ *Q*₁ l. 140; l. 2056.

¹⁰ *Q*₁ l. 173 seq.

¹¹ *Q*₁ l. 2050 seq.

¹² *Q*₁ l. 400.

¹³ *Q*₁ l. 809.

¹⁴ Cf. Corbin's *The Elizabethan Hamlet*, p. 15.

ened by the funeral scenes in *Antonio's Revenge* and by the brutality and catholic coloring of the scene. So, too, the scenes involving Rosencrantz and Guildenstern may have been derived from Belleforest through the medium of the old play. The scene with the grave-diggers, on the contrary, has no parallel so far as I know, and must be credited to Shakspeare's invention.

Of the characterization and style of the transition play, few conclusions can be drawn from the mangled text. All the important characters must have been drawn in the rough in the old play, but just how much they had been altered by Shakspeare, cannot be decided. Hamlet has the qualities we have found in Hieronimo and Antonio, and in so much he may have been outlined in the old play. In the first act his sense of overpowering evil is, indeed, given almost final vitality, but in general his reflections, his madness (more pronounced than in *Q₂*), and his irony reveal only the familiar revenge hero, here and there retouched by Shakspeare's phrasing. After the first two acts the play can hardly be said to possess any style. Passages, however, seem nearer the style of an earlier writer than of Shakspeare in 1601. Sarrazin has noted certain similarities to Kyd, and the abundance of rhyming couplets surely points to an old play.¹

Finally, out of the perplexities involved in discussing the first quarto, we may come to a few definite conclusions. The quarto, representing an old play retouched by Shakspeare, shows few variations from the revenge plays then in vogue. So far as Shakspeare had retouched it he had made it far more poetical, more artistic than its predecessor; he had replaced a ranting ghost with a dignified ghost and had begun to give the reflective passages a phrasing that should make them ever significant. He had not added to the intrigue and murders, but he had not lessened them. He had retained practically all the scenes and situations of the old play and had introduced no considerable changes in its leading motive or its

¹ Cf. Boas., xlix seq.

general character. So far as the old play reappears, it seems to have been a companion piece to the *Spanish Tragedy*; and unless we are altogether mistaken in connecting the first quarto with the original play, it shows that Shakspeare was working in response to theatrical necessities, and that he frankly accepted a current conventional form. Not only may the *Hamlet* of 1601-2 have seemed to the spectator to be little more than a partial revision of a popular old play, it may also have seemed very like the old *Spanish Tragedy* and the new *Antonio's Revenge*.

VII. BEN JONSON'S ADDITIONS TO THE SPANISH TRAGEDY.

The *Additions*¹ are distinct from the rest of the play and can be summarized and numbered for convenience in discussing them.

1. Act II, pp. 56-59. Scene between Isabella and Hieronimo after finding the body of Horatio.
2. Act III, pp. 70-71. Hieronimo's conversation with Lorenzo is enlarged.
3. Act IV, p. 103. A long speech by Hieronimo is added to the scene with the Portuguese.
4. Act IV, p. 113. Scene between Hieronimo and two servants.
5. Act IV, p. 117. Scene with the painter, beginning with his entrance.
6. Act V, p. 166. Hieronimo and the two kings after the murders [really two passages].

These additions do not represent a revision or recasting of the plot, in fact they affect the proportion and movement of the drama rather for the worse. They present few new situations, although two show notable resemblances to those in other plays. In the fourth addition Hieronimo is running about at night when Isabella enters in search of him and begs

¹ Hazlitt's edition of Dodsley's *Old Plays*, Vol. 5, to which page numbers refer. These additions are in a style very different from that of Jonson's comedies written at about the same time (1601), hence some have questioned his authorship. The evidence of Henslow's diary, however, seems decisive.

him to come in doors; so Maria follows and entreats Antonio.¹ Again, the scene with the painter whom Hieronimo asks if he can paint a tree or a wound—and “Canst paint a doleful cry?”—must have been suggested by the scene between a painter and Balurdo in *Antonio and Mellida*.² The greater part of the additions deal with Hieronimo, and the development of his part seems to have been their main purpose. His irony is increased and made more effective; his reflections are more elaborate and more pregnant; and above all, his madness gains enormously in reality and intensity. His madness, indeed, receives a disproportionate development; throughout the additions he is either insane or on the verge of insanity; throughout Jonson is picturing a mind diseased by grief, sometimes conscious of life's unrelaxing pain and again lost in frenzied delirium. Let us look at Johnson's work with these three points in mind, his development of the irony, the reflective element, and the madness.

The first addition is occupied with Hieronimo's ravings. He cries out that “Horatio must be living yet,” sends Jacques to look for him, and asks Pedro whose the body is. Isabella thinks him mad and tries in vain to quiet him, while he calls on night and death to fall upon him.

“Gird in my waste of grief with thy large darkness,
And let me not survive to see the light
May put me in the mind I had a son.”

In the few lines of the second addition there is a telling increase in Hieronimo's irony. Lorenzo says:

“Why, so, Hieronimo, use me.”

He replies:

“Who, you, my lord?
I reserve your favor for a greater honor.
This is a very toy, my lord, a toy.”

¹ *A. R.*, III, 1.

² *A. and M.*, V, 1. The resemblance is unmistakable, but Johnson's treatment is so much more elevated and elaborate that one would say the scene in *Antonio and Mellida* was a burlesque on Jonson. The evidence, however, is decisive that *Antonio and Mellida* was the earlier.

And later :

“In truth, my lord, it is a thing of nothing :
The murder of a son or so—
A thing of nothing, my lord !”

The third addition consists of a long meditative speech. A few lines will show how vital the meditative mood becomes in Jonson's picture of the care-burdened, bewildered mind.

“My son ! and what's a son ?
A thing begot within a pair of minutes—thereabout,
A lump bred up in darkness, and doth serve
To balance those light creatures we call women :
And, at nine months end, creeps forth to light.
What is there yet in a son,
To make a father doat, rave, or run mad ?
Being born, it pouts, cries, and breeds teeth.
What is there yet in a son ?
.
Well, heaven is heaven still !
And there is Nemesis and furies,
And things called whips ;
And they sometimes do meet with murderers ;
They do not always escape, that's some comfort
Ay, ay, ay, and then time steals on, and steals, and steals
Till violence leaps forth, like thunder, wrapp'd
In a ball of fire,
And so doth bring confusion to them all.”

The meditation on revenge, it will be seen, was made imaginatively vital by another besides Shakspeare.

The fourth addition represents Hieronimo “much distraught,” “lunatic and childish,”

“So that with extreme grief and cutting sorrow
There is not left in him one inch of man.”

He enters seeking vainly for his son and starts at the sight of the servants, crying “sprights ! sprights !” When they try to soothe him, he cries :

“Villain, thou liest and thou dost nought
But tell them I am mad ! Thou liest, I am not mad !
I know thee to be Pedro, and he Jacques
I'll prove it to thee ; and were I mad, how could I ?”

The fifth addition, the scene with the painter, is perhaps the most notable of all. He, too, had a son who was murdered; and Hieronimo cries:

"I had a son
Whose least unvalued hair did weigh
A thousand of thy sons; and he was murdered."¹

Again in words which recall Hamlet's "the end is silence," Hieronimo cries:

"O, no, there is no end: the end is death and madness."

Throughout the scene, to quote Mr. J. A. Symonds; "There is a lionine hunger, blunt with pathetic tender-heartedness, a brooding upon 'things done long ago and ill done,' an alternation between lunacy and the dull moodiness of reasonable woe, which brings the old man vividly before us."² Or to use the cant phrases of our analysis; in spite of the fantastic character of the scene, the meditative and insane elements in the avenger's character are made impressively human.

The sixth addition depicts the maddened old man's exultant revenge. It further illustrates Jonson's development of the irony. The two kings are mourning over their murdered sons—"But are you sure they are dead?" asks Hieronimo—"What, and yours too?"

"Nay, then I care not; come, and we shall be friends:
Let us lay our heads together.
See, here's a goodly noose will hold them all."

If this hasty examination fails in making our three points clear, a reading of the entire scenes will surely convince anyone of the increase in meditative speculations, and in irony,

¹ Symonds suggests that Shakspeare was thinking of this retort when he wrote.

"I loved Ophelia; forty thousand brothers
Could not with all their quantity of love
Make up my sum."

Shakespeare's Predecessors, p. 498.

² *Shakespeare's Predecessors*, p. 494.

and of the extraordinary vividness in the treatment of madness. When we come to the final *Hamlet* we shall find that among other things these were precisely the developments which Shakspeare made to the early *Hamlet*.¹ For the present these additions of Jonson show that a great poet was working with the same ideas and the same situations which Kyd and Marston and Shakspeare had handled. Jonson did not succeed in making a great drama out of the *Spanish Tragedy*; he added a few situations and supported others without improving the structure of the play; but he made the part of Hieronimo notable in both thought and expression. Here, more distinctly than in *Antonio and Mellida*, we have evidence that the demand of the theatre for revenge plays was accompanied by an imaginative impulse in the poets of the time which attempted a new treatment of madness, a rehabilitation of the crude ravings of old Hieronimo and Hamlet in a form distinctly more intellectual, more vitally human, and of immensely greater imaginative power.

VIII. HOFFMAN.

Professor Delius submitted *Hoffman* to a careful examination in an essay published in 1874,² and concluded that it was Henslow's rival production to Shakspeare's *Hamlet*. In support of the view that as a rival it was to a large extent an imitation of *Hamlet*, he cited a number of parallelisms. According to our chronology, *Hoffman* preceded the final *Hamlet*, and was almost exactly contemporary with the *Ham-*

¹ I think it is owing to this fact that passages here and there in Jonson's additions recall *Hamlet*. I doubt if there was specific imitation or even reminiscence on either side.

² "Chettle's *Hoffman* und Shakspeare's *Hamlet*." Nicolaus Delius. *Shakspeare Jahrbuch*, ix, 166 ff. 1874. Reprinted in *Abhandlungen zu Shakspeare*, Elbenfeld, 1878. R. Ackermann, in a careful edition of the play, has also briefly considered the connection between the two plays and agrees with the conclusion of Delius. *The Tragedy of Hoffman*. Bamberg, 1894.

let of the first quarto; and further, most of the action of the first quarto must have been familiar for years on the Elizabethan stage in the original *Hamlet*. Whatever parallelisms exist between *Hoffman* and *Hamlet* would consequently indicate an indebtedness to the original play or to Shakspeare's first revision and not to the final version. Whatever chronology or hypotheses, however, may be adopted, the conclusions of Delius cannot be accepted, for he made no distinction between the three forms of *Hamlet*, assuming that everything in the final version is indubitably Shakspeare's. In examining *Hoffman*, then, we are obliged to attempt a new discussion of the parallelisms which he noted.

He further supported his conclusion that Chettle imitated Shakspeare by citing numerous parallelisms between *Hoffman* and some of Shakspeare's early plays. In regard to this argument it may be said that there is an *a priori* probability that Chettle imitated Shakspeare's early work and particularly that he adopted situations already used by Shakspeare. Chettle was a hack-writer, working with such dramatic material as was common to the stage; he was doubtless ready to borrow where he could, and was influenced by Shakspeare¹ even more perhaps than by other dramatists. In our discussion it will be impossible to consider Chettle's indebtedness to his contemporaries, except as such indebtedness directly affects the revenge type.²

¹ The fact that the closest parallelisms exist with *King John* and *Titus Andronicus* suggests that Chettle was in the main using old conventions. The trouble with the arguments of Professor Delius is that he constantly relies on the assumption that whenever the slightest parallelism occurs between Shakspeare and another writer it indicates imitation of Shakspeare. For example, note his induction from the fact that in *Hoffman* Lorrique proposes to strangle the duchess with a napkin—"This almost justifies the conjecture (lässt beinahe vermuthen) that in December, 1602, when Chettle was writing his drama, Shakspeare's *Othello* may have been on the stage."

² The use of disguises in the play is paralleled in many earlier plays, and the disguise of a hermit seems probably suggested by two plays in which it served an important part, the *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, and *Look About You*.

Hoffman, or *A Revenge for a Father*,¹ has its scene in Germany.² Hoffman's father has been killed by means of a red-hot iron crown and his body hung up on a gallows. Hoffman has stolen the skeleton, and the play opens with his speech to this "sweet hearse" and his avowal of vengeance. Otho, son of the murderer, is shipwrecked near Hoffman's cave and is killed by Hoffman with the burning crown. Hoffman takes Lorrique, Otho's servant, as an accomplice and proceeds to Heidelberg, where he passes himself off as Otho, and the Duke Ferdinand adopts him as his son in place of the booby, Jerome. By one trick and another Hoffman now proceeds to kill all who have any of the blood of his father's murderers in their veins. Ferdinand and Jerome are poisoned; the Duke of Austria and his son Lodowick are killed, the first in a broil and the latter by his own brother through Hoffman's deception. Lucibella, betrothed to Lodowick, is wounded at the same time and becomes insane. Hoffman's career of revenge is now checked by his falling in love with Martha, mother of the murdered Otho. By a false account of Otho's death, he induces her to acknowledge him as her son and then proceeds in his wooing to the neglect of revenge. He finds time, however, to put the accomplice out of the way. Meanwhile, in her wanderings, Lucibella has stumbled upon Hoffman's cave and found the body and clothes of Otho. This leads to a detection of Otho's murder and Hoffman's identity; Martha is used as a decoy, and Hoffman is trapped and killed by the red-hot crown.

Manifestly this plot differs widely from that of any of the revenge plays yet considered. The most apparent differences are in the character of the hero, the method of his revenge,

¹ *The Tragedy of Hoffman*, etc. London, 1831. First quarto. *The Tragedy*, etc., ed. Richard Ackermann. Bamberg, 1894. Line references are given to Ackermann's edition, but my quotations were taken from the first quarto, with some obvious corrections and modernizing. I have not seen the edition of 1851 by H(enry) B(arrett) L(ennard). It is described and frequently quoted by Ackermann.

² The sources have not been determined. See Ackermann, xvii.

and the omission of the ghost. The principal motives of the other plays, however, reappear, although with considerable modification. (I) The revenge motive is dominant, but there is no ghost to direct the revenge. (II) The hesitation motive reappears; but the hesitation is not due to a tendency to reflection and an overburdening sense of the obligation to revenge; it is due to the passion for Martha, and a large portion of Hoffman's revenge has been accomplished before Martha appears on the scene. (III) Insanity appears in the pathetic situation of Lucibella, but there is neither real nor feigned insanity in Hoffman's case. (IV) Intrigue is an even more important element than in the other plays. Deceit, disguise, dissimulation are constantly at work. (V) Slaughter, too, reigns supreme. Poison, stabbing, and the red-hot crown make away with seven of the *dramatis personae*. (VI) Hoffman's situation is soon brought into contrast with that of his victims, and we have too plots of revenge—Hoffman seeking revenge for his father, and everyone else seeking revenge on Hoffman. (VII) Hoffman's passion for the mother of his victim, similar to that of Piero for Maria in *Antonio's Revenge*, is a prominent motive.

The play has little of the reflective element so prominent in *Antonio's Revenge* and *Hamlet*. Hoffman has a number of soliloquies, but they are mainly bragging speeches and have none of the philosophizing which characterizes Hieronimo, Antonio, and Hamlet. The nearest approach to the conventional reflective soliloquy is by Martha, who, after reading Latin verses, moralizes in this fashion.

"'Tis true; the wise, the fool, the rich, the poor,
The fair, and the deformed fall; their life turns air;
The king and captain are in this alike,
None have free hold of life, but they are still
When death, heaven's steward, comes tenants at will.
I lay me down and rest in thee, my trust.
If I awake never more till all flesh rise,
I sleep a happy sleep; sin in me dies."¹

¹ IV, 1617 ff.

One other soliloquy, Hoffman's opening speech,¹ reminds one of Hamlet's speech (I, 1), but Hoffman's speech has equal resemblance to those of Hieronimo and Antonio. It is merely the conventional avowal of revenge by a son for a father. Apart from its character as a soliloquy, its stage directions are interesting in showing the usual accompaniments of such a monologue²

In discussing situations and bits of stage business we will first consider those noted by Delius. Hoffman compels Lorrigue to swear to be secret and to assist him.³ Delius notes the swearing in *Hamlet*; it also occurs in the *Spanish Tragedy* and the *Fratricide Punished*, and there is a solemn oath taken in *Antonio's Revenge*.⁴ Jerome, the fool, supplies, as Delius notes, the place taken by Hamlet's "antic disposition." In this respect he more closely resembles Balurdo in *Antonio's*

¹ I, 1.

"Hence clouds of melancholy!

I'll be no longer subject to your schisms.

But thou, dear soul, whose nerves and arteries

In dead resoundings summon up revenge,

[Strikes open a curtain where appears a body.]

And thou shalt have't, be but appeased sweet hearse,

Thou dead remembrance of my living father!

And with a heart of iron, swift as thought

I'll execute (it) justly; in such a cause

Where truth leadeth, what coward would not fight?

Ill acts move some, but mine's a cause of right.

[Thunder and lightning.]

See the powers of heaven, in apparitions

And frightful aspects, as incensed

That I thus tardy aim to do an act

Which justice and a father's death excite,

Like threatening meteors antedate destruction."

[Thunder.]

² The suspended body recalls the corpses exhibited in the *Spanish Tragedy*, II, p. 52, and V, end; and the similar exhibition of Feliche's body in *Antonio's Revenge*, I, 2. Thunder and lightning interrupt Hoffman's speech; so in *Fratricide Punished*, III, 6, it lightens when the ghost comes on the stage.

³ *Hoff.*, I, 1, 72 ff.

⁴ *S. T.*, II, p. 41. *F. P.*, I, 6. *A. R.*, IV, 2.

Revenge; Chettle follows Marston in separating the comic part from the main plot and in using a booby to supply the comedy. Like Hamlet, Jerome has "been at Wittenberg, where wit grows."¹ Wittenberg is mentioned in the German play and in the *Historie of Hamblet*, so this can hardly be taken as evidence of a reference to the later *Hamlet*.² Lorrrique's account of the shipwreck³ reminds Delius of Hamlet's account of his voyage, but the resemblance seems only in the theme, a favorite one with Elizabethan dramatists. Jerome calls on Stilt to sprinkle him with a casting bottle, and so the queen wipes Hamlet's face.⁴ So in *Fratricide Punished*, Hamlet wipes his face because of the heat, and Phantasmo follows suit.⁵ There is a constable scene as in *Much Ado*, *Endymion*, the *Spanish Tragedy*, and other Elizabethan plays.⁶ There is a procession bearing off the duke's body,⁷ as at the end of the various *Hamlets*, the *Spanish Tragedy* and most Elizabethan tragedies. There are poisoned drinks, as in all the *Hamlets* and *Antonio's Revenge*. The account of the burial of Otho recalls the burial of Ophelia and also the burial of Feliche.⁸ Martha lies down to sleep,⁹ and Delius notes the convention of sitting down on the stage: this occurs in many plays, so also does the business of kissing the earth.¹⁰ Hoffman's treat-

¹ Hoff., I, 2, 260.

² Wittenberg is not infrequently referred to in Elizabethan literature. See Lyly's *Euphues*, ed. Arber, p. 148; and Marston's *Faustus*, sc. 14.

³ Hoff., I, 2, 320. See also V, 1720.

⁴ Hoff., II, 1, 447. *Hamlet*, V, 2, 305.

⁵ F. P., V, 3.

⁶ Hoff., III, 2. *Much Ado*, III, 3. *Endy.*, IV, 2. *S. T.*, III, p. 79. The *Dumb Knight*, Dodsley, X, p. 182. See also the *Famous Victories of Henry V*, sc. 2, and the old *Leir*, act V. The scene in *Hoffman* with "the rabble of poor soldiers" (III, 2) has a little similarity to the burlesque of Falstaff's army and to the insurrection of Laertes, as noted by Ackermann. It is a comic treatment of a popular insurrection such as occurs in *Julius Caesar* and *Henry VI*, part 2.

⁷ Hoff., IV, 2, 1556.

⁸ Hoff., V, 1. *Hamlet*, Q₁, l. 1962. *A. R.*, IV, 2.

⁹ Hoff., IV, 3.

¹⁰ Delius notes *King John*, III, 1. Cf. *S. T.*, I, p. 21. *A. R.*, III, 2. I, *A. and M.*, IV, 1. *Hoffman*, I, 181; III, 1029.

ment of the dead body of Lorrique¹ reminds Delius of Hamlet's treatment of the body of Polonius. But this is surely a relic of the old play, and in none of the revenge plays is any courtesy shown to the bodies of enemies.

These are all the instances of any importance,² with the exception of the insanity of Lucibella, in which Delius finds resemblances between the two plays. In all these the resemblance is probably to the old as well as to Shakspeare's *Hamlet*, and often to the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Antonio's Revenge* and other plays as well. Assuredly these instances make out no case for supposing that Chettle borrowed from Shakspeare's *Hamlet*.

Before considering Lucibella's relation to Ophelia, it will be convenient to finish our consideration of the other scenes and situations. There are scenes at the tomb of Lodowick with tapers burning as at the tomb of Andrugio;³ Ferdinand wears sable ornaments,⁴ and Martha reads a book before her soliloquy,⁵ and Hoffman has the usual premonition of death.⁶ Disguises, plots, poisoned drinks, and stabbing affairs abound

¹ *Hoff.*, V, 2.

² Ackermann has noted that one of Delius' resemblances rests on a stage direction added by H. B. L. in the edition of 1851. See Ackermann's note to l. 957. Delius also notes the resemblance (certainly, very slight) between Lodowick's placing his head on Lucibella's knee and Hamlet's conduct before the play, and a few trivial verbal similarities. Ackermann has added a number of other verbal parallels (p. xxii) which show the same careful observation which he has applied with better effect to his editing of the text. A few may be noted to illustrate the absurdities which usually result from this kind of criticism.

"A little more than kin, and less than kind." *Haml.*, I, 2, 65.

"But thou art even kilt after kind." *Hoff.*, I, 4, 70.

"And what's untimely done." *Haml.*, IV, 1, 40.

"In memory of his untimely fall." *Hoff.*, V, 1874.

The occurrence in both plays of the words "hobby horse" and "strumpet" is also noted as an indication of imitation. The latter word in *Hamlet* is applied to Fortune, in *Hoffman* to Lucibella. The name Lorrique is also paralleled with Yorick. As Ackermann says—"Diese Vergleichen liessen sich noch vielfach vermehren."

³ *Hoff.*, IV, 1. *A. R.*, III, 1.

⁴ *Hoff.*, I, 2269.

⁵ *Hoff.*, IV, 3.

⁶ V, 2204.

as in the preceding plays. Hoffman's murder of his accomplice recalls the fates of Pedringano and Strotzo;¹ and in the audacity, abundance, and childishness of stratagems, the play surpasses its predecessors. The scenes in which Hoffman attempts the conquest of Martha recall, as Delius states, the scene in *Richard III*, and still more definitely the wooing of Maria by Piero.² The love scene between Lodowick and Lucibella recalls the love scenes between Horatio and Bell' Imperia and Antonio and Mellida, though it resembles more closely the scene in *Midsummer Night's Dream* where the lovers are lost in the woods.

The insanity of Lucibella is of so much importance in its relation to Ophelia that it must be examined at some length. She first appears, "through her wounds and grief, distract of sense," at the tomb of Lodowick, where Roderick, Mathias, and Hoffman have gathered.³ She talks wildly; says she is going to gather flowers; refuses to believe her lover is dead; and beats at the door, trying to enter the tomb. Then she turns on Hoffman, and in her mad talk hits home at him very pointedly.

"Ay, but a knave may kill one by a trick
Or lay a plot, or sigh, or cog, or prate,
Make strife, make a man's father hang him,
Or his brother, how think you, goodly Prince?
God give you joy of your adoption;
May not [such] tricks be used?"

Hoffman retains enough self-possession to say, "Alas, poor lady!" Then she breaks into a song,⁴ and after some more wild talk takes leave of them.

¹ *Hoff*, V, 2. *S. T.*, II, p. 85. *A. R.*, IV, 1.

² The scene (V, 3) has also, as Delius notes, a close resemblance to the scene between Tamora and Aaron. *Titus Andronicus*, II, 3.

³ *Hoff*, IV, 1. The reference to flowers recalls Ophelia in the German play as well as in the *Hamlets* of the quartos. Cf. also *S. T.*, IV, p. 94. Cf. Ackermann, p. xxii.

⁴ [sings] "I'm poor and yet have things
And gold rings, all amidst the leaves green, a—

. . . . "I'll run a little course
At base or barley break, or some such toy
To catch the fellow and come back again."

The lines recall Ophelia's chasing Phantasmo in the *Fratri-
cide Punished*; ¹ and as the queen there describes Ophelia as
running up and down, ² so Roderick says,

"But Lucibella like a chased hind
Flies through the thickets."

Later on ³ Roderick and Mathias are again together, and
are fearful lest she has killed herself, as she was last seen
climbing the cliffs. She enters in rich clothes; they greet
her; and after a while she tells them in her mad fashion that
she has discovered a cave where she found the rich clothes she
wears and two bones which she produces. Then she leads
the way toward the cave.

"Come, go with me. I'll show you where he dwells,
Or somebody; I know not who it is;
Here look, look here! here is a way goes down
Down, down-a-down, hey down, down.
I sung that song when Lodowick slept with me." ⁴

As they are going to the cave, they come upon Lorrique
and Martha and, standing to one side, overhear Lorrique's
false account of the burial of Otho. Lucibella, after some
asides directed at the villains, comes forward and shows her
fine clothes; Martha recognizes them as Otho's; and Lorrique
is forced to confess that Otho was murdered and stowed away

Lord, how d'y'e.—Well? I thank God! Why that's well!
And you my lord, and you, too!—ne'er a one weep?
Must I shed all the tears?"

Her method of addressing each in return may be compared with Ophelia's
manner in *F. P.*, IV, 7. Cf. also her talk with that of Isabella. *S. T.*,
IV, p. 94.

¹ *F. P.*, III, 11.

² *F. P.*, IV, 6. *Hoff.*, 1537-8.

³ *Hoff.*, V, 1.

⁴ Cf. *Hamlet*, IV, 5, 170, and Q₁, 1711, where Ophelia refers to this burden,
which seems to have been a familiar one.

in the cave. Lucibella partially regains her sanity and assists in the final scene in which they entrap Hoffman at the cave.

In the Lucibella scenes, then, we have a girl driven insane by grief, a situation found in the *Spanish Tragedy* and in the three versions of *Hamlet*.¹ In some of her mad talk, her running up and down, her snatches of songs, and in the attempts to make her situation pathetic, she is presented in much the same way as Ophelia must have been in the early *Hamlet*. Only in the familiar burden "down-a-down" is there a trace of verbal similarity with Ophelia. So much resemblance exists to the Ophelia of the German play and the first quarto, that there is nothing in Lucibella's part which can certainly be referred only to the final *Hamlet*.² The resemblances only warrant us in saying that Chettle made use of a character and situation long used on the stage, and that he may have been led to do this by the popularity of Shakspeare's first revision of the old *Hamlet*.

There is further evidence, however, which somewhat modifies this conclusion. The points of difference between Lucibella and Ophelia are as noticeable as the points of resemblance. Lucibella does not commit suicide; she does not distribute flowers; she does not sing songs unpleasant to modern taste. In these three respects, all important in a stage presentation, she differs from Ophelia. Still further her madness is made the instrument for some telling hits at the villain, hits which the audience, of course, appreciated;

¹ For another instance of the mad girl in an earlier play, cf. Pandora in Act V of Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon*. She talks childishly and sings snatches.

² Nevertheless, Delius says that Lucibella is a slavish copy of Ophelia. His error comes, I think, from his point of view, which the following quotation will sufficiently illustrate. "Die Frage, die allein hier zur Entscheidung kommen muss, wenn wir, wie H. B. L. thut, einmal von allen sonstigen Aehnlichkeiten zwischen Shakespeare's Hamlet und Chettle's Hoffman absehen wollen, kann nur die sein: Welcher Wahnsinn, der der Ophelia oder der der Lucibella, ist besser motivirt, mit feinerer psychologischer Berechnung von dem betr. Dichter herbeigeführt worden?"

and it is also made the means for the discovery of the villain's iniquity. While Ophelia's madness has no connection with the main action, Lucibella's insanity directly leads to the dénouement.¹ Dramatically this is a very important difference, and there is no evidence that it is not due to Chettle's invention. In that case his treatment of the mad girl is, on the whole, original rather than imitative. So great is this original development that it leads one to suspect that in some of the many non-extant Elizabethan plays there may have been mad scenes which influenced Chettle's treatment of Lucibella.² Such conjecture aside, we may assert that Chettle owes comparatively little to Ophelia. When Shakspeare came to give final form to Ophelia's madness, he had been preceded, according to our chronology, by *Hoffman* as well as the early *Hamlet* and the *Spanish Tragedy*. In any case Chettle's development of the type seems to have been original and certainly has its own importance.

In spite of the wide difference in plot, *Hoffman* has presented many points of similarity in stage situations to the

¹ H. L. B. in his edition of *Hoffman* (quoted by Delius) thinks it hard to decide whether Ophelia or Lucibella was the original. "While the character of Ophelia neither contributes to nor advances the progress of the tragedy and is entirely episodical, Lucibella, in her fit of madness, is made the unconscious instrument by which the dénouement of the tragedy is promoted."

² The wide variation of his treatment from that of Lyly or Kyd or Shakspeare suggests that such mad scenes were not uncommon. At all events the mad girl has had since then a notable career on the stage and in fiction; and Chettle's lead has often been followed. For an example of the insane girl in situations very similar to those in *Hoffman*, see *The Drunkard*, or *The Fallen Saved*. Boston, 1847. This play was first produced at the Boston Museum, February 12, 1844; and is still sometimes acted in this country. The mad girl, Agnes, like Lucibella, taunts the villain, Cribbs (Act I, sc. 3), and later discloses his villany (V, 1) and brings about the happy ending. She also sings and talks childishly. The author especially disclaims any originality for Agnes or Cribbs; and it is my impression that situations closely paralleling those of Lucibella are still rather common in melodrama. For a somewhat similar use of a mad girl in modern fiction, compare Matilde in Mr. Gilbert Parker's *the Seats of the Mighty*.

other revenge plays. Of the characters, Lucibella has been sufficiently discussed. Lorrique is the conventional assistant villain and like Pedringano supplies considerable grim humor; Martha fills a place like Maria in *Antonio's Revenge*; the other minor characters are not noteworthy. Hoffman is quite different from the avengers of the other tragedies. He is oppressed neither by thought nor want of resolution and he is not driven to madness. He resembles Hieronimo, Hamlet, and Antonio only in his use of stratagem and irony. In these respects he is more like the villains, Lorenzo and Piero, than the heroes, and much more like Iago than Hamlet. His love for Martha interferes with his revenge, but apart from this he is ever tricky, unscrupulous, energetic, brave, and unrelenting—in short, an absolute stage villain. Like Piero and Iago again, he is always hypocritically assuming virtue and sympathy. An examination of some of these ironical assumptions will show that this kind of irony was crudely effective on the stage.¹ He bears little resemblance to Hamlet; he is merely an effective stage villain with some of the ingenuity, if little of the vitality, of Iago.

The style of the play is in no way notable. Many passages vaguely and a few distinctly suggest Shakspeare, and a case could be made out, I think, for some imitation of other sixteenth century dramatists. There are the usual allusions to Seneca and Nemesis and Elysium, an abundance of full-mouthed declamations, and some passages of genuine tragic power. The style has considerable fluency and not a little grace and vigor,² but little of that ambitious imaginative effort which distinguishes the contributions of Jonson and Marston to the revenge tragedies. Chettle turns everything

¹ Note his speech to Otho whom he is about to murder (I, 1) and the speech in which he begs Ferdinand to pardon the people (III, 2); his sympathetic replies to Lucibella's taunts (IV, 1); and his approval of Mathias' determination to be Lucibella's guardian—"a virtuous and noble resolution." In III, 1, he declares, "There is villany, practice, and villany;" the villany being, of course, entirely of his own manufacture.

² See the dying speech of Lodowick, III, 1.

into blank verse with the ease of a clever Elizabethan; he does not struggle with anything beyond his reach.

As a whole, *Hoffman* adds further proof of the popularity of the "revenge for a father" story on the stage. We have seen, too, that Chettle treated this story with a good deal of dramatic ingenuity. So far is it from being a copy of Shakspeare's *Hamlet* that it differs from that play more than any of the other tragedies we have to consider. The old *Hamlet* may have suggested the main plot and Lucibella's madness and some other situations; many other situations, and indeed the main story, may likewise have been suggested by *Antonio's Revenge* or the *Spanish Tragedy* or some lost revenge play; or the subjects and situations may have been so much matters of theatrical convention that Chettle had no sense of direct borrowing. We have no reason to deny him originality in constructing his plot, in the development of situations, and particularly in the Lucibella scenes. Unlike Marston, Jonson, and Shakspeare, he made little effort to give the story either imaginative intensity or philosophical significance. He took the common theatrical motives and situations, added much and changed much, and constructed a good acting play, not without some grace of verse. A play that was still popular thirty years later¹ must certainly have successfully met the stage demand; we must remember that Shakspeare's *Hamlet* must have possessed qualities to satisfy the same demand.

IX. THE ATHEIST'S TRAGEDY.

The *Atheist's Tragedy*; or, the *Honest Man's Revenge*,² differs as much as *Hoffman* from the early revenge plays. Leaving the entire comic underplot out of consideration, the main story is as follows.

¹ See title-page of 1631 quarto, which states that it was acted with great applause at the Phoenix.

² The Mermaid Series. Webster and Tourneur. Page references will be to this edition.

Charlemont, son of Montferrers, is encouraged by his uncle D'Amville to go to the war at Ostend and so is parted from his betrothed, Castabella. D'Amville proves to be a villain and an atheist; he publishes through an accomplice a false report of Charlemont's death; marries Castabella to his own sickly son; manages to have himself made Montferrers' heir and then kills the old man. Later he attempts to ravish Castabella. The ghost of Montferrers appears to Charlemont, reveals the murder, commands him to return to England, but bids him leave revenge to heaven. Charlemont upon meeting the villain loses control of himself and fights with the villain's son. He is consequently imprisoned by D'Amville, and after his escape is assaulted by the accomplice Borachio, whom he kills. He and Castabella are charged with the murder, convicted, and are about to be executed. They submit with joy, desiring death. Meanwhile one of D'Amville's sons has died and the other has been killed in a duel; consequently D'Amville begins to lose faith in his atheistic creed and is finally driven distracted. He takes the bodies of his sons to the place of execution and raves and cries for judgment. Finally he ascends the scaffold, displaces the executioner, and seizes the axe in order to kill Charlemont, but in lifting it he strikes out his own brain. Convinced by this exhibition of God's revenge that his atheism is at fault, he confesses his guilt. Charlemont is freed and declares:

"Only to Heaven I attribute the work,
Whose gracious motives made me still forbear
To be mine own revenger. Now I see
That patience is the honest man's revenge."¹

The play has for its basis, then, the old "revenge for a father" story and some of the old accompaniments, such as a ghost and a graveyard. The five old motives appear, but changed and accompanied by new elements. (I) The revenge is for a father murdered by an uncle as in *Hamlet*, and is

¹ A. T., V, 2.

directed by a ghost. The revenge, however, is left to providence. (II) The revenging son not only hesitates, but after a little irresolution overcomes his inclinations to revenge and resignedly awaits the judgment of Heaven. (III) Insanity appears only in the distraction of the villain, owing to the inflictions sent by a revenging providence. (IV) Intrigue is confined to the villain, but occupies a very prominent part in the play. (V) There is the usual accumulation of murders and one suicide; seven of the *dramatis personae* dying on the stage. (VI) The situation of the hero is contrasted with that of the villain, who experiences grief at the loss of his sons and tries to revenge himself on the innocent. (VII) The lustful passion of D'Amville for Castabella introduces an element only slightly developed in *Hamlet* and *Antonio's Revenge*. Here it receives as great a prominence as in *Hoffman*. Further, we may note that, as in *Hoffman*, the villain takes the chief place in the play, although here he is the object not the agent of revenge; and that the development of the idea of a revenge carried on by providence, which seems to have been original with Tourneur, causes an entire change in the character of the leading motive.

This change in the revenge motive is manifest in the soliloquies and other reflective passages. The discourses of D'Amville, indeed, constitute a sermon on providence, beginning with his avowal of an atheistic fatalism¹ and progressing through his terrified speech on the death's head² and his reflections on the power of gold and human wisdom³ to his final death speech⁴ in which he confesses the power of God over nature. Charlemont supplies three soliloquies: one at

¹ I, 2, p. 250-251 (Mermaid ed.).

"We have obtained it—ominous! in what?" etc.

² IV, 3, p. 314-315.

"Why dost thou stare upon me? Thou art not—"

³ V, 1, 323 seq.

"Cease that harsh music. We are not pleased with it."

⁴ V, 2, p. 336.

"There was the strength of natural understanding."

his father's grave;¹ one in the prison, where he moralizes on "our punishments" and "the sacred justice of my God"; and the third in the churchyard, where he reflects on the sweet rest that death brings:

"Since to be lower than
A worm is to be higher than a king."²

Even Levidulcia, a woman whose character appears contemptible throughout, resolves to die in twenty-six lines of moralizing. Thus there appears plenty of rhetorical philosophizing here as in other revenge plays; moreover, in this case, all the reflective passages and soliloquies unite in a fairly well connected argument which points to the moral of the action, the omnipotence of God's providence. This kind of unity in the meditative element is new and shows a deliberate attempt to embody a philosophical conception in a revenge tragedy.

The scenes which most resemble those in other revenge plays are the ghost and graveyard scenes. The ghost of Montferrers first appears to Charlemont.³ It is one o'clock instead of twelve, as usual; the night is very dark; there is thunder and lightning;⁴ while on watch with a fellow soldier, Charlemont is strangely overcome with sleep.⁵ The ghost appears, commands him to return to England,

"But leave revenge unto the King of kings."

Charlemont wakes, but half persuades himself that the apparition was an idle dream.⁶ The soldier declares that he saw nothing; then the ghost re-enters, the soldier shoots a bullet through him without effect, and Charlemont is convinced of the ghost's genuineness. Later, when Charlemont forgets the

¹ III, 1, p. 292.

"Of all men's griefs must mine be singular?"

² IV, 3, p. 307, 308.

"How fit a place for contemplation is this dead of night."

³ A. T., II, 6.

⁴ See *Hoff.*, I, 1. *F. P.*, III, 6.

⁵ See *Hoff.*, IV, 2.

⁶ His speech, II, 6, p. 286, recalls some of Hamlet's meditations.

injunction of patience¹ and fights with Sebastian, the ghost appears again and commands him to leave revenge to God. Once more, after D'Amville has fallen asleep over his gold,² the ghost appears and contradicts the atheist's boasting.

Tourneur's ghost, then, is no fierce, revengeful stalker like Marston's, and he shows far more Christian morality than Shakspeare's. He is a messenger of Providence if not a prophet of God: and if he is also funny, it is only because Tourneur intended him so seriously. In his appearance to his son at night on the watch and in his second appearance to check his son's purposeless rage, he is like the ghost in *Hamlet*. Apart from his views on revenge, he was, no doubt, a good, ordinary, conventional stage ghost.

The churchyard scene is of a sort that hardly permits description. Three couples wander into the churchyard for very different purposes: Charlemont and Borachio, D'Amville and Castabella, Snuffe, the puritan, and Soquette. The two latter furnish the comic element, which culminates when the puritan mistakes Borachio's dead body for Soquette. There is also tragic action enough among the graves. Charlemont kills Borachio; and disguised as a ghost, rescues Castabella from D'Amville. More important for our purpose are the soliloquies of Charlemont and D'Amville. Like Hamlet, Charlemont reflects that death will bring us all to an equality, but, unlike Hamlet, he hails death as a sure and welcome rest.³ D'Amville, terrified by the supposed ghost of Montferrers, finds, like Hamlet, a cause for reflection in a death's head.⁴ Skulls play a different part from that in *Hamlet*, but one no less prominent. In entering the charnel house, Charle-

¹ A. T., III, 2.

² A. T., V, 1.

³ IV, 3.

⁴ IV, 3, p. 314.

"Why dost thou stare upon me? Thou art not
The soul of him I murdered. What hast thou
To do to vex my conscience? Sure thou wert
The head of a most doggèd usurer,
Th' art so uncharitable . . ." etc.

mont takes hold of a death's head ; it slips and he stumbles ; and later Charlemont and Castabella, with heavy souls, lie down to rest, each with a death's head for a pillow. A churchyard scene with an accompaniment of skulls must have been familiar on the stage in the first quarto *Hamlet*, if not in the original play, and possibly in other revenge plays¹ as well. Tourneur's development is at least original.

The intrigue scenes need little consideration in detail ; the skilful nature of his machinations is set forth sufficiently in D'Amville's talk with Borachio.² The intrigue is of the same general sort as in the early plays, but, as in *Hoffman*, it shows considerable stage development beyond the crude tricks of the *Spanish Tragedy* and the old *Hamlet*.

The remaining incidents of the stage performance which show resemblances to the other revenge plays are not very numerous, nor do the resemblances often extend beyond the mere situation to the handling. There are a wedding banquet scene³ as in *Antonio's Revenge*, watch scenes,⁴ as in the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Hoffman*, three sword fights,⁵ as in *Jeronimo*, *Hamlet*, and *Hoffman*, and a suicide,⁶ as in *Hamlet* and the *Spanish Tragedy*. Castabella⁷ mourns at her lover's grave as does Lucibella in *Hoffman*,⁸ and there is a parting scene⁹ as in *Jeronimo* and *Hamlet*. More trivial likenesses appear in the clock striking twelve,¹⁰ the thunder and lightning,¹¹ the scaffolds,¹² and the death's heads.¹³

This soliloquy of D'Amville's is at least boldly imaginative ; for example :

"The trembling motion of an aspen leaf
Would make me, like the shadow of that leaf,
Lie shaking under 't."

¹ The churchyard scene in *Antonio's Revenge*, III, 1, offers some resemblances.

² *A. T.*, II, 4, p. 278 seq.

³ *A. T.*, II, 1. *A. R.*, V, 1. See also wedding celebration at end of *Spanish Tragedy* and banquet scenes in *Hamlet*.

⁴ *A. T.*, IV, 3, and IV, 5.

⁵ *A. T.*, IV, 2 ; IV, 3 ; and IV, 5.

⁶ *A. T.*, IV, 5.

⁷ *A. T.*, III, 1.

⁸ *Hoff.*, IV, 1.

⁹ *A. T.*, I, 2. *Jer.*, I, 2. *Ham.*, I, 3.

¹⁰ *A. T.*, IV, 3.

¹¹ In II, 4, p. 279, as well as on appearance of ghost, II, 6.

¹² *A. T.*, V, 2.

¹³ *A. T.*, IV, 3.

Of the characters, the most noticeable is the villain, whose intellectual self-sufficiency and outspoken revolt against God give him a distinction which his greed for gold and conventional employment of trickery do not altogether destroy. His hypocrisy is of the most accomplished character, and his observations contain a good deal of fatalism. His accomplice, Borachio, is of the usual type. Snuffe is a savage attack on the puritans dragged into a revenge play, and like the rest of the people in the underplot, he is out of tune with the moral which the main action points. Sebastian is obviously one of the many successors of Shakspeare's Mercutio—witty, profligate, and generous,—he dies with merely a "I ha't i' faith." The hero, Charlemont, from the altered conception of revenge, is reduced to a subordinate position. His distraction at his father's death and Castabella's marriage disappears in his submission to the will of God. Only for a moment, in the presence of the murderer, does he become furious like Antonio; only in his marked tendency to meditation and his eagerness to die and be rid of life's burden, does he resemble Hieronimo and Hamlet.

The style is very unequal. While distinguished by passages of magnificent imaginative power, it ordinarily fails to raise the horrors described to the point of impressive reality. Like Marston, Tourneur is fond of strange and violent figures and is constantly reaching beyond his grasp.

As a whole, the *Atheist's Tragedy* may fairly be taken as further proof of the vogue of "revenge for a father" plays; and the originality of its treatment of the subject only goes still farther to prove the extent of this vogue and the impression which the theme made on poets of the time. In the accumulation of horrors, in the development of the villain's character, in the emphasis of new motives at the expense of revenge, and finally in the more elaborate handling of the intrigue, this play may be said to carry the general development of the tragedy of blood a step farther than Marston and Chettle had carried it, and a step nearer to Webster. On the

other hand, in its definite attempt to present an intellectual conception of moral grandeur, the play sometimes, more closely than any yet considered, approaches *Hamlet*. Tourneur seems to have written this tragedy when a young man, and he was struggling with conceptions quite beyond him. Artistically, the play is a bad failure. But in its abandonment of the brutal theory of revenge, in its definite moralizing, in the more certainly intellectual quality shown in its reflective passages, we may see how Tourneur sought to supply the old conventional revenge tragedy with moral significance. Here and there, indeed, in occasional finely imaginative passages, in the realization of certain mental aspects,¹ his conceptions become vital and suggestive, and one feels for a moment that the *Atheist's Tragedy* is, after all, not so far from *Hamlet*.

X. THE FINAL HAMLET.

Before considering the final *Hamlet*, we may pause a moment to determine what conclusions we have already reached and what problems remain before us. We have found that revenge tragedies appeared on the stage as early as 1588 and that for a few years after 1598 they were decidedly popular. During this latter period two old plays of the type were revised, the *Spanish Tragedy* by Jonson and *Hamlet* by Shakspeare, and other writers wrote new plays of the same general sort. Our discussion has shown that all these plays are of one fairly definite type and has enabled us to formulate the characteristics of this type. Shakspeare, we have seen, neither invented the type, for Kyd must be credited with that; nor did he set the fashion from 1599 on, for Marston almost certainly preceded him; nor was he the first to try to invest the old conventions with new imaginative vitality, for Marston's

¹See D'Amville's two speeches in the last scene, beginning

"Whether it be thy art or nature, I
Admire thee, Charlemont."

And "There was the strength of natural understanding."

play is surely an ambitious effort to do that. The revenge tragedy would have had an origin, a revival, and an imaginative development without Shakspeare.

In the light of these facts some of the minor questions of chronology become unimportant. It makes little difference for our purpose whether Ben Jonson's *Additions* to the *Spanish Tragedy* preceded or followed Shakspeare's revival of the old *Hamlet*; and so it makes little difference whether *Hoffman* and the *Atheist's Tragedy* were acted before or after the final *Hamlet*; for although in our analysis we have sought to point out the elements in these plays common to the revenge type, these three plays are clearly independent and original developments of that type. They do not imitate Shakspeare's *Hamlet*, nor does *Hamlet* imitate them. At least, we have found no evidence of such imitation; we have found that all these authors were working with similar dramatic motives, similar material, and to some extent under similar artistic impulses. We are to ask to what extent these conditions appear in *Hamlet*? how far was Shakspeare doing these same things? With such questions before us we only need to know that Jonson, Chettle, and Tourneur were writing revenge plays at about the time that Shakspeare was writing *Hamlet*.

In the same way the questions of Shakspeare's exact indebtedness to the old play, of the date of the first quarto, and of its relations to the early and final versions, also become questions of minor importance. Answers to these questions have been necessary to give any definiteness and completeness to our discussion, but had they been left unanswered, our attitude toward the final *Hamlet* would not be essentially different. It is practically certain that Shakspeare was indebted to the old play; it is just as certain that he was using dramatic material and stage conventions which were common property. However much he kept from the old play, however much he added or altered, whenever he first began to revise it, however gradual the revision may have been, the final *Hamlet* is undoubtedly to be judged as *Shakspeare's*. Some of it may be

a survival of the old play ; some of it entirely new in situation as well as phrasing ; most of it is certainly transformed by his genius ; the whole is the *Hamlet* which Shakspeare finally put upon the Elizabethan stage, a competitor of other revenge tragedies.

It is this *Hamlet*, certainly the successor of some of the revenge tragedies, the contemporary and rival of others, that we are to consider. Through the course of our investigation we have come to the final *Hamlet* on an entirely different aspect from the one with which we have been familiar from our earliest school-days. For our purpose we must still keep our attention abstracted from the familiar poem which has wrought itself into our imaginations, and must keep rigidly to the historical aspect. We must look upon *Hamlet* as a play which suited an Elizabethan audience,¹ the reconstruction

¹ It is interesting to glance at the opinions held by Shakspeare's contemporaries about *Hamlet*. Allusions to Shakspeare have been fortunately collected in *Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse* (N. S. S., series iv, 2) and *Fresh Allusions to Shakspeare* (N. S. S., iv, 3). Fifteen allusions to *Hamlet* before 1642 are noted in the first volume, and thirty additional allusions in the second ; of these forty-five, twenty-one (*C. of P.*, pp. 73, 171, 185 ; *F. A.*, pp. 12, 27, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 39, 53, 61, 99, 105, 112, 113, 116, 120, 130, 151 (?)) are verbal reminiscences, some of them very doubtful, some certainly familiar phrases, all very slight. Taken together they may illustrate the undoubted popularity of *Hamlet*, but they do not bear any definite testimony in regard to contemporary appreciation of the play. Three others (*F. A.*, pp. 41, 85, 98*) are bits of Ophelia's songs, and one (*F. A.*, p. 26) a similar bit of talk about rue and rosemary. Curiously the editors seem to have overlooked *Hoffman*, which would have furnished similar parallelisms ; we have already seen that Ophelia's songs and bits of mad talk cannot be surely credited to Shakspeare's invention. Three other references (*C. of P.*, p. 187, *F. A.*, 11, 72), including the scene in the *Atheist's Tragedy*, are churchyard scenes : two (*C. of P.*, pp. 67, 79) are mere mentions of the play ; one (*F. A.*, p. 80) is a quotation ; and one (*F. A.*, p. 135), "A trout, hamlet with foure legs," is hard to explain.

Thirteen allusions are left to supply us with evidence of the character of the contemporary estimate of the play. Of these, five (*C. of P.*, pp. 66, 69, 72, 117, *F. A.*, 29) are burlesques of passages in *Hamlet* ; six (*C. of P.*, pp. 66, 72, 135, 159, 160, *F. A.*, p. 102) allude to the ghost, four in particular to the business in the cellar ; three (*C. of P.*, 64, *F. A.*, 52, 55)

of an old play that had been familiar to theatre-goers for fifteen years. In order to get some understanding of Shakspeare's methods we are to examine it in connection with other plays and in the light of what other men did with the revenge tragedy. We are to ask to what extent *Hamlet* belongs to the now familiar type, how far its origin and characteristics can be explained by the same conditions that explained the other plays. As we discussed the other dramatists, we are to discuss Shakspeare's development of the revenge tragedy; only we need not dwell overlong on the extent and nature of his transformation. Everyone knows how complete that was; we may therefore dwell on the less recognized features of his work, its relations to the work of his contemporaries. We have seen what the other dramatists were doing; we are to ask, did Shakspeare use the same material they were using? did he use it in the same way? how far did he adopt the same conventions? did he avail himself of their experience? was he impelled by the same artistic impulses? in short, to what extent was he doing what they were doing?

He retained the old plot almost without change. The plot of "revenge for a father," which had been familiar on the stage in the early *Hamlet* and with few important changes in *Antonio's Revenge*, received few alterations from the form already considered in the first quarto. Such alterations as were made will be discussed later; but so far as the action goes, the spectators saw little that was new in the final *Hamlet*.

allude to Hamlet's madness; and three (*C. of P.*, 131, 160, *F. A.*, 55) couple Hamlet with Hieronimo. In these allusions, *Hamlet* was looked upon as a popular ghost play, in which the dodging about of the ghost was especially noticeable; as a play to be placed beside old Hieronimo; and as a play whose popularity warranted a little pleasant burlesque. So far as Hamlet's character is touched upon at all, his salient features seem to have been his madness and furious action.

The evidence of these few allusions is not very conclusive. They do, however, indicate that *Hamlet* was famous as a play dealing with revenge and a ghost, and they do not hint that it seemed to differ greatly from other revenge plays. There is no appreciation of its artistic significance.

The dramatic motives familiar in the other revenge plays reappear. The revenge motive is softened by the poetical character given the ghost and by the greater truth to life of the hero. The ghost does not shriek revenge, nor the hero rave as blatantly as in the days of Hieronimo and Antonio, but the ghost does excite to revenge as relentlessly as then, and the hero's end in life is still blood-vengeance. Revenge is still the dominant motive of the play, and it appears in a form much less altered from the old plays than in the new conception which Tourneur tried to express in the *Atheist's Tragedy*.

The hesitation motive also reappears. As Hieronimo sought new proof and questioned fate and delayed; as Antonio was lost in bewilderment, missed an opportunity for revenge, and wasted energy in a cruel murder; so Hamlet, overpowered with the burden of his task, struggles to its accomplishment through the same weaknesses and delays. Again, though in a different fashion, Hamlet's love, like Hoffman's, proves only an impediment. Again he is so burdened with doubt and irresolution, that as with Hieronimo and Charlemont, life becomes the thing with which he would most willingly part. The development in the subtlety and vitality of the characterization makes the hesitation immensely more real to life, but hardly adds a single new dramatic element to the motive as treated in the other revenge plays.

✓ Madness, real and feigned, appears again as in the *Spanish Tragedy*. Hieronimo pretended madness with many ironical jibes, Antonio chose the habit of a fool, and so Hamlet dissimulates, is ironical, merry, and idle. Charlemont lost control of himself when his betrothed seemed false and again in the presence of the murderer, and Hamlet loses himself in sore distraction in the terribly affecting scene with Ophelia and in his struggle with Laertes. As in old Hieronimo, real and assumed madness blend together in a state of mind which we puzzle our brains for words to express. Whether Hamlet was insane or not, is no question for our discussion; the word

madness will stand for his mental state as well as another. Tremendously vital this madness surely is—far removed in point of artistic expression from that of the *Spanish Tragedy*—it affects us with lasting human suggestiveness. Yet even this vitalization of the old raving revenger is not characteristic of Shakspeare alone, for it was the most prominent element in Jonson's additions to the *Spanish Tragedy*, where the insanity of Hieronimo often became so vividly human that we were directly reminded of Hamlet. The madness of Ophelia is also paralleled in the *Spanish Tragedy* and *Hoffman* as well as in the early *Hamlet*; and if Shakspeare gave it a new pathos, he made no attempt as did Chettle to integrate the part of the mad girl with the plot. Like the other leading motives of the old play, madness was a popular theme both with the audiences and poets of the time; and Shakspeare adopted it.

Intrigue remains, but is subdued by the greater prominence given to other motives. Shakspeare did not enlarge the intrigue element after the fashion of Marston or Chettle or Tourneur. We like to fancy that he had little taste for that sort of business, but he seems to have retained all the intrigue there was in the old *Hamlet*. The king's trick of sending Hamlet to England, Hamlet's rejoinder to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, Hamlet's trick of the play, and the final intrigue of the king and Laertes, all come under this head.

The slaughter element also reappears: Shakspeare certainly did not see fit to alter the prevailing fashion in this respect. Blood flows as freely as in the other plays: Polonius, Guildenstern, Rosencrantz and Ophelia disappear before the final scene, which carries off the rest of the principal actors.

The minor motives are similar to those in other plays. The passion of the king for the queen, which gains reality through the characterization, is not given the extensive representation which similar guilty passions receive in *Hoffman* and the *Atheist's Tragedy*; but it is given in the dumb show a presentation very similar to that which Piero's love for Maria receives in *Antonio's Revenge*. We have, too, the sub-

ordinate situation contrasting with the main situation, the minor revenge motive contrasting with the main motive. In the *Spanish Tragedy* the painter and senex, mourning for their murdered sons, heightened Hieronimo's grief; in *Antonio's Revenge* Pandulpho's mourning is contrasted with Antonio's; and so Laertes' situation is contrasted with Hamlet's. As the painter's grief maddens Hieronimo, so Laertes' grief maddens Hamlet. As in the *Atheist's Tragedy* the death of the villain's sons is contrasted with the death of the hero's father, and as in *Hoffman* the vengeance of Mathias is contrasted with Hoffman's, so Laertes' losses and his revenge are contrasted with Hamlet's.

We may conclude that in building on an old story and reconstructing an old play, Shakspeare used the old dramatic motives because they were still popular on the stage and because they stirred him as they did other poets to imaginative expression. He developed these motives without fundamental change but with a power of expression and characterization which they tried in vain to attain.

We come next to the soliloquies and reflective element. In the first quarto two of the soliloquies appeared in mangled form, but the others here seem at least immensely developed from any form which the first quarto can represent, and the one after meeting Fortinbras' army is a total addition. The reflective element throughout is greatly developed in the final play.

Reflective passages and soliloquies have been abundant in most of the revenge tragedies. In the work of Marston, Jonson, and Tourneur, these were the parts of the plays which the dramatists apparently finished with greatest care. They tried to infuse the old type of tragedy with an intellectual suggestiveness; they attempted to give artistic expression to meditations on life and death and fate and evil—in short, on the everlasting problems of philosophy. In the same way *Hamlet* is suffused with philosophical reflections. In the same way it became intellectually the most suggestive of Shakspeare's plays. What he made of the soliloquies everyone knows; a

close comparison of them with soliloquies in these other plays must suggest the conclusion that he has only succeeded in doing what the others had tried to do.

Marston, to be sure, rarely got beyond a turgid rhetorical declamation, which is often ridiculously affected; but we can hardly deny that the declamations of Shakspeare's king,¹ great character though he be, are sometimes just as distinctly rhetorical attempts. We may ask how far the Elizabethan taste for moralizing and reflective philosophy was verbal and how far psychologic, and in the end we must ask the same question in regard to Shakspeare. His power is, possibly, in mastery of words even more than in profundity of thought. The "to be or not to be" soliloquy deals with no deeper or more subtle truths than the reflections of Andrugio; its superiority is in the phrasing. And with all its perfection, one fancies that the finish is a little palpable. In that soliloquy and the reflections in the graveyard, one is often reminded that the master who in his youth with an astonishing verbal facility quibbled over the repartee of polite society, is now with the same verbal facility finding words for the mysterious facts of life. To say that Hamlet's reflections are to this extent rhetorical, is not to deny that their expression required intellectual and imaginative activity of the highest degree. In admiring their verbal finish, we none the less recognize their profound intellectual suggestiveness and their imaginative power. Over them, perhaps, Shakspeare exercised the greatest care; at all events they remain the most significant part of the play. Blood-revenge ceases to be the theme that rests in the mind, and one seems to feel all of life's mystery and tragedy. We may remember, however, that in dealing with the same story of revenge Tourneur tried to build up a philosophical argument on the relation of God's providence to man. However trifling its argument may seem, certainly it bespeaks, quite as much as Shakspeare's philosophy, a conscious intellectual conception.

¹ See Act I, sc. 2.

To compare anyone in any way with Shakspeare is, at best, to provoke incredulity; but take the lesser men at their best. Take old Andrugio in his lonely meditations on the marshes; take stray passages which express momentarily the conception which Tourneur tried in vain to vitalize; take the reflections which Ben Johnson put into the mouth of a stage-hero whom he elsewhere laughed at; and we have convincing evidence that the reflective and moralizing vein of the revenge plays had already brought to its service both intellectual capacity and imaginative reach. The convention of reflective soliloquizing was by no means lifeless when Shakspeare breathed into it immortality.

Coming now to the different scenes and situations, we find those of the first quarto for the most part retained. Since we have already considered them in detail and noted that they were in the main taken from the old play and that many were paralleled in other revenge plays, we need not examine them again. Among the most noticeable changes are: (1) the omission of the scene between the queen and Horatio, where she is distinctly a confederate of Hamlet, and the substitution of the letter from Hamlet to Horatio; (2) the shift to the third act of Hamlet's scene with Ophelia and his soliloquy; (3) the enlargement of the scenes with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to whom is given some of the ferreting out of the secret of Hamlet's madness, which in the first quarto is assigned to Ophelia; (4) the addition of the insurrection of the people; (5) the enlargement of the scene with Fortinbras and his army and the addition of the soliloquy. The first and third involve distinct changes in characterization, and the rest, dramatic improvement. Besides these noticeable differences, there are many slight changes in the theatrical presentation. Such, for example, are the one which Mr. Wendell notices in the first scene¹ and the addition of the love-song in the scene with the grave-diggers: these we feel are the touches of a dramatic artist. More distinctly masterful is

¹ *William Shakspeare*, p. 255.

the re-arrangement of the Ophelia scenes. There are other changes, however, such as the addition of some very idle talk between Hamlet and Ophelia before the play and the enlargement of Polonius' discourse with her, which are the touches of an Elizabethan rather than of a great artist and which one would willingly assign to the early play. We must remember, too, that Polonius' long euphuistic talk with Laertes and his instructions to his servant and Hamlet's famous speech on acting and the talk on theatrical abuses are matters essentially foreign to the general emotional effect of the play. These call attention again to the fact that Shakspeare was an Elizabethan playwright.

There can be no doubt that Shakspeare vastly improved the old *Hamlet* as an acting stage play. By 1602-3 he excelled his contemporaries in making a good acting play almost as much as he did in creating character or writing blank verse. If we could trace his revision accurately we should doubtless find evidences not only of dramatic skill but also of theatrical ingenuity in handling the various situations; but we should probably also find that his skill and ingenuity were exercised in improving situations that were old. An examination of the final *Hamlet* certainly does not alter the conclusions reached from an examination of the first quarto that Shakspeare was working in response to theatrical necessities and within conventional limits. Poisoning, murders, suicide, insanity, and a ghost occur as in other revenge plays. The refusal of an opportunity to kill the villain, the songs and wild talk of the mad girl, the murder of an innocent intruder, scenes in a churchyard, banquets, reception of ambassadors, funerals, the appearance of the ghost to soldiers on the watch, the play within the play—all these had appeared in other plays as well as in the old *Hamlet*. In other plays, too, there were such minor conventionalities as the swearing on the sword hilt, the descriptive announcement of the death of the heroine, the carrying off of the bodies, the voice of the ghost in the cellar, the reading of a book, the midnight scene with the clock

striking, and the business of death-heads. We cannot tell how much Shakspeare owed to the early *Hamlet*; but whatever he omitted, retained, or added, he was certainly using the same material that other dramatists were using. In reconstructing an old play he was guided in his selection of situations as in his treatment of motives by contemporary revenge tragedies.

The characterization far transcends that of the other plays. There is no comparison in individuality or human significance. The villains in the other plays are little more than pieces of stage furniture, but Claudius is a man with a complexity of nature which has attracted the study of centuries. Hieronimo and Antonio have long since ceased to have any reality or meaning, but Hamlet is immortal. Nevertheless the characters retain traces of the roughly drawn originals of the early play and resemblances to their companion types in contemporary plays. Shakspeare's consummate development of these types has a value out of all proportion to his indebtedness to them, but his indebtedness is none the less worth consideration. In adopting an old story he naturally borrowed certain types of character, but his obligation does not end there. His own observation and experience of life, his intuitive knowledge of human nature, were not his only guides in the treatment of these types. They had become familiar on the stage, they had been developed by other dramatists; and Shakspeare's creations are, no less truly than theirs, developments of the same types under the limitation of theatrical conventions and in the light of contemporary practice. It certainly will not lessen our understanding of Shakspeare's methods if we examine some ways in which the personages of the other revenge plays directed and limited his transforming genius.

Claudius is the representative of the villain type. Dramatically he is still the source of all evil, but he is no longer preëminently a machinating devil. He has intellectual dignity where Piero, Hoffman, and D'Amville have only cunning. He is touched, too, by remorse though to a less extent

than D'Amville. Shakspeare made him a real being but followed the outlines of the old type. In the king's intrigues against Hamlet, in his passion for the queen, and in his cunning use of Guildenstern, Rosencrantz, and Laertes, he possesses the characteristics of the ordinary villain of the revenge plays. The accomplice appears in a more altered form. The type of character presented by Kyd and developed by Marston, Chettle, and Tourneur, and later so notably by Webster, seems to have found little favor from Shakspeare. The lack of all plausible motives, the utter depravity, and the diabolical humor of Pedringano and Lorrique do not appear in Guildenstern, Rosencrantz, and Laertes. Still these three do the work of the accomplice; they are the tools of the chief villain, and like all the other accomplices they are finally "hoist on their own petar." The faithful friend, the Horatio of the old *Jeronimo* and Feliche and Alberto of *Antonio and Mellida*, reappear in Horatio. The queen is considerably changed from the first quarto. There she is expressly declared innocent,¹ and she joins Hamlet in his work of revenge. Here she becomes more real, especially in her passion for Claudius, but her part is very like that of Maria. Like Maria, she is a somewhat easy conquest for the villain, and arouses our interest chiefly by her love for her son and for Ophelia. The part of Ophelia, as we have noticed, seems to have had considerable in common with other mad women of the stage.

Hamlet is not the Hamlet of the early play nor the Hamlet of the first quarto. An attempt to imagine the exact nature of Shakspeare's development of the part would result in another of the many essays on the interpretation of the character—a task very different from our present one. We are to look for his resemblances to the other avengers. At the start we may remember that as far as dramatic situations and the plot go, Shakspeare's Hamlet is the old Hamlet, and in these respects

¹ Q₁, l. 1532.

Queen. "But as I have a soul I swear by heaven
I never knew of this most horrid murder."

he is very much like the other heroes of the revenge plays. There are other resemblances not necessitated by the plot. Like Hieronimo and Antonio, he is a scholar and interested in philosophy; and like Hieronimo again, he is fond of plays and players. Like Horatio

“that died, ay, died a mirror in our days,”¹

and Feliche, “the very hope of Italy,”² and the earlier Hamlet, “the only floure of Denmark,”³ Shakspeare’s Hamlet is:

“The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
The glass of fashion and the mould of form.”⁴

Even with all the development, of which these bits of phrasing are not insignificant examples, he still retains the leading characteristics of the earliest revenger. Like Hieronimo, he is given to questioning meditations; he is constantly oppressed by the overburdening weight of his duty to revenge, and this drives him to the verge of madness; he employs craft, dissimulation, and pretended madness; and, finally, in all this acting he is constantly ironical. After all, modern criticism has hardly found a new subtlety which might not be fairly considered a development of one of these traits. In Hamlet, however, they are so blended in the vital complexity of thought and feeling that we must resort to analysis to make plain their relation to the conventional traits of the revenging hero.

Enough has, perhaps, been said in discussing the soliloquies to show how inseparable was this trait of meditation from the character of the revenging hero. Let us see how it was represented on the stage. The hero enters, dressed in black,—gloomy, passionate. He reads a few lines from his book and then falls to meditating on his own evil days; he turns to the sky above or the earth beneath and reflects on the ways of heaven or the mysteries of life. Or again he is wandering at

¹ *S. T.*, II, p. 95.

³ *Q.*, I. 669.

² *A. R.*, I, 1.

⁴ *III*, I, 160, 161.

dead of night in a graveyard, perhaps—or he enters, half-distracted, dagger in hand. Heavy with the weariness of life, he would gladly face death, but he must first face the multitude of thoughts which death's image sends crowding to his mind. Shakspeare must have had such scenes in mind when he was preparing the part of Hamlet to be acted by Burbadge at the Globe theatre. Such on the stage were the soliloquies of Hieronimo with their crudities and of Antonio with his rant and of Charlemont with his melancholy; and such on the stage are the soliloquies of Hamlet with all their illimitable suggestiveness. Moreover, we have seen that in much the same way that Marston, Jonson, and Tourneur developed this meditative faculty beyond the crude ravings of Hieronimo, so Shakspeare was developing it in Hamlet. As a trait of the character he was doing no new thing in making Hamlet "sicklied o're with the pale cast of thought." To have made a revenging hero without that trait, would have been an anomaly.

Let us take the second trait, the consciousness of an overburdening weight of duty, and first see how that is introduced. It is the dead stillness of night, the hero is on the watch or alone at his father's grave. The spirit of his father comes and tells a story that sends his mind whirling aimlessly through the infinities of thought. Bewildered, overwhelmed, he sees only the blackness of wrong, he feels only the presence of the duty commanded from the other world. He becomes frantic, raves, and vows revenge; or he becomes helpless and laughs madly at himself.¹ Henceforth the burden of the revelation never leaves him for an instant. The picture of some such representation on the stage was in the mind of every author of a revenge play and governed his conception of the hero.

Henceforth the duty of revenge and the overmastering sense of evil battle in his mind and drive him toward madness. Antonio is never distinctly insane, except possibly when he

¹At least, so Jonson's Hieronimo after discovering the murdered Horatio.

murders Julio ; Charlemont is only deeply melancholy ; Jonson's Hieronimo alternates between wild distraction and gloomy sanity. In the first quarto Hamlet's madness is patent to the king and Ophelia from the beginning and is altogether more pronounced than in the final play. We have seen that Ben Jonson dealt chiefly with this madness in Hieronimo and gave it a new vitality. Similarly Shakspeare's development of the madness of the old Hamlet is most pronounced. As in Marston and Tourneur, distinct insanity disappears ; and as in Jonson, the distraction, melancholy—call it what you will—becomes a predominant trait and exceedingly vital.

In discussing Hieronimo we called this second trait "an overburdening sense of his obligation to revenge," yet, if you will, there was something more than this in Kyd's conception. The obligation to revenge was after all the one thing which made life desirable, which kept Hieronimo sane and crafty ; something of the overpowering passionate despair against fate is mingled as well in the grief and ravings of the old ranter. Something of this same wild feeling that everything is wrong is not wanting in Antonio and is distinct enough in Charlemont's soliloquy in prison ; and Jonson gives vivid expression to this fierce despair at all things human. This passionate sense of fate did not enter the revenger's character for the first time in Hamlet. This passionate sense of fate together with too much brooding on his wrongs drove Hieronimo to doubt and hesitation and Antonio to irresolution and delay. From these traits in his temperament, Charlemont found relief only in utter self-abasement ; and in Hamlet they resulted in a doubting irresolution already discussed as forming the basis of an essential motive of the revenge tragedy. Whether or not Shakspeare was giving expression to his own mental agitation in his portrayal of Hamlet's irresolution ; he was certainly guided to some extent by the plays of his predecessors and was treating of the same motives, themes, and traits of character which his contemporaries found interesting and which they strove to make dramatically impressive.

Craft, the third trait ascribed to Hieronimo, reappears in all of Hamlet's intercourse with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern and with Polonius and the king. It was the most marked trait of the Hamlet of Belleforest and very likely of the Hamlet of the early play. It also appears in Antonio's disguise as a fool and his eagerness for a stratagem, and it is developed to the last degree in Hoffman's villainy. Hamlet, to be sure, is not represented as essentially crafty—neither were Hieronimo and Antonio—but that he took delight in the use of craft we have stated in his own words :

“ For 'tis the sport to have the enginer
Hoist with his own petar : and't shall go hard
But I will delve one yard below their mines,
And blow them at the moon : O, 'tis most sweet
When in one line two crafts directly meet.”¹

In Hieronimo we found this craft accompanied by irony. Hoffman, too, with all his lust for blood, plays the kindly, virtuous man with telling theatrical irony. Antonio in his fool's disguise and old Pandulpho in his talk with Piero and again in his laments at the burial of Feliche, exhibit something of the same trait. In Jonson's hands, Hieronimo's irony is one of the characteristics especially developed. Even more than a bit of effective theatrical characterization, irony becomes at times a dominant factor in the hero's view of life. The world seems worth no more than a mock, and Hieronimo laughs madly at his own cruel situation. If Shakspeare had made Hamlet without flashes of cynical wit he would have lost an opportunity for a well-recognized bit of stage-effect; if he had not made him constantly ironical, he would have neglected an opportunity of developing one of the old revenger's traits which Ben Jonson was endeavoring to make the most of.

Thus far we have been discussing traits of character which modern critics have often emphasized in Hamlet, we must not

¹ III, 4, 205-210. Not in 1623 folio, nor in Q₁.

forget some traits which in the refinement of modern criticism have been pushed into the background. Hamlet's repulse of Ophelia has seemed brutal and inexplicable except by the explanation that a portion of the scene had a telling comic effect on the Elizabethan stage. So his leaping into the grave and his ranting with Laertes seem brutal and archaic and explainable only by the nature of the old play which Shakspeare was revising. Sarrazin has pointed out that with all of Shakspeare's refinement of the old play he was careless in retaining some such incongruous details: perhaps even more scientifically, we may say that he was developing an old stage hero already conventionalized by succeeding imitators into a type. When, for example, Hamlet refuses to kill the king and when he is so unconcerned over the death of Polonius, he is distinctly like Antonio; and though he is very unlike Hoffman and D'Amville, he has lapses when he talks as they talk. To see that he is by no means altogether removed from the ranting, half-mad, stage revenger, we have only to recall the words of the soliloquy which appears for the first time in the second quarto.

"Tis now the very witching time of night,
When churchyards yawn and hell itself breathes out
Contagion to this world: now could I drink hot blood
And do such bitter business as the day
Would quake to look on."¹

Wild and ranting at times, crafty and dissimulating at others, cynical and ironical, given to melancholy meditation, hesitating in bewilderment, harassed by an overpowering sense of the unavoidable "whips and scorns of time"—so far as we can analyze the final Hamlet, we find his characteristics already used by contemporary dramatists in their efforts to

¹ III, 2, 405. Cf. *The Atheist's Tragedy*, IV, 3. D'Amville in the midst of a midnight soliloquy says:

"I could now commit
A murder were it but to drink the fresh
Warm blood of him I murdered. . . ."

depict a human being as the instrument of revenge. Shakspeare's Hamlet is final, not only in the sense that he is made for all time, but also in the sense that he is the complete and final representative of a type that grew up among peculiar stage conventions and was developed by poets of no mean imaginative power. The final Hamlet is the result of a growth which other men than Shakspeare planted and which others fostered.

Any analysis, however, leaves us short of the final Hamlet. The potency of Shakspeare's phrasing and his intuitive knowledge of human nature have endowed the character with the eternal suggestiveness of the most complex human being. What the final Hamlet will be, we can hardly guess. Generation after generation finds in him still more of truth and of tragedy. Studied in the light of the experience of a new nation or a new century, he seems to reveal new aspects and still to remain as unsearchable as before. Whatever was only of time or place has dropped away—and as the soul frees itself from the body, Hamlet has left the old stage type and risen into that ideal sphere where imagination and reflection dwell alone. Shakspeare made the revenging hero an incarnate expression of life's inexpressible tragedy.

All this is merely to say that Hamlet—the character or the play—is a great work of art, one that each man will interpret according to his own thought and feeling. Primarily, however, we are not now concerned with the Hamlet which lodges itself in each man's mind; we are concerned with the Hamlet which William Shakspeare wrote at about the time of the accession of James I and which was played in the Globe theatre in London. We have been trying to discover how Shakspeare went about his work.

We have been led to conclude that he worked in much the same way as his contemporaries. During the years 1601–1603 dramatists were turning from romantic comedy to realistic or tragic themes; there was also a renewed popular interest in revenge plays. The old *Spanish Tragedy* and

Hamlet had not lost their hold on the stage; and a year or two before, Marston had made a success of a play following closely their model. This was played by the "little eyases" of Pauls; Ben Jonson wrote additions to the *Spanish Tragedy* for the Fortune, and Shakspeare undertook to revise *Hamlet* for the Globe. The plot, situations, types of character and leading motives were already familiar on the stage in several plays. Dramatic ingenuity was all that was required to make a new play out of the old material. Chettle succeeded in doing just this. Shakspeare was content to retain much of the old material, but he also made a new play and one very much more effective on the stage than the old one had ever been. Perhaps in his first revision he tried to do little more than this, but his final version was directed by other aims. Marston, Jonson, and Tourneur had been endeavoring to give the old story of revenge a philosophical significance and a highly imaginative expression. Insanity, philosophical meditations, bewilderment under a burden of responsibility, an ironical temperament, a Christian conception of revenge, a passionate sense of fate—these were some of the themes suggested by the old plays, and they appealed strongly to the imaginations of other dramatists as well as Shakspeare. Such themes stirred their artistic moods as well as his. They had dreams of revenge plays which they never produced, of a passionate expression of the unavailing strife against fate, in which they saw themselves surpassing Marlowe. They had glimpses of the possibilities which lay in the old revenger, and at moments they succeeded in realizing these. With a genius vastly greater than theirs, Shakspeare set himself to their task. Naturally enough, he was in many ways limited and directed by their efforts. It was perfectly possible for him to change the plot completely, or to omit the ghost in the cellar, or to remove the blood-thirsty and intriguing elements from the part of Hamlet, or to give a more Christian interpretation to the revenge; but in these and other matters he followed the practice of earlier plays. There was no dramatic

need of so many long soliloquies; the meditative avenger need not have been ironical; insanity might have received less elaboration; but in these respects Shakspeare was again in agreement with his contemporaries. The themes which stirred their minds inspired him.

In some such fashion as this it seems likely that Shakspeare went to work on *Hamlet*. He may have been in the depths of personal suffering, or his intellect may have been perilously over-active, or the dark lady and his friend of the sonnets may have had something to do with the matter; we may adopt what theories we please concerning the subjective processes which entered into his creation of *Hamlet*, but must we not also admit that his selection and treatment of material were to a considerable extent directed by stage conditions and contemporary practice?

The indebtedness of the play to these influences is so small in comparison with Shakspeare's individual contribution that such a historical study as ours may appear still to need justification. Surely, however, it may find enough in the explanation of puzzling incongruities in Shakspeare's work by reference to old conventions and stage conditions, or it may find enough in the light it throws on Shakspeare's methods of work and the nature of his art. Or yet again a study of the circumstances in which *Hamlet* was created may seem to some to help us to a better appreciation of its lasting significance. At all events, our investigation of the contemporary revenge plays in connection with *Hamlet* has brought us—as it seems to me—to three reasonable conclusions.

First: an examination of the stage history and of the characteristics of the plays popular from 1568 to 1603, indicates that the final *Hamlet* owed its existence primarily to a marked stage fashion for revenge tragedies.

Second: in responding to this stage demand Shakspeare used a plot, motives, scenes, situations, and types and traits of character which not only in the main part belonged to the old *Hamlet*, but which were also for the most part familiar

in the other revenge plays. We may remember, too, in this connection that he followed the original type of revenge tragedy much more closely than his contemporaries, Chettle and Tourneur.

Third: in the other revenge plays we have found attempts to deal with the same themes to which Shakspeare gave final expression. The other men were in some degree struggling to express similar artistic moods and a similar range of thought and feeling. The artistic impulses which moved them seem also to have moved Shakspeare.

In order to make the last conclusion plausible, we have repeatedly emphasized the imaginative efforts of the other dramatists, just as, in order to make Shakspeare's relations to them more patent, we have emphasized the respects in which he clearly followed them. If we have been fair in this effort to view the great man and the smaller men from the point of view of their contemporaries, we are safe in saying that Shakspeare took the material which other men had used and were using, followed the fashion other men had set, developed the material in many respects as other men were developing it, strove to express what they were striving to express—and succeeded. He created an immortal work of art by his transcendent genius, but also in some considerable measure by availing himself of the experience of others and by doing the same things which other men were doing at the same time.

ASHLEY H. THORNDIKE.

VI.—THE LITERARY INFLUENCE OF STERNE IN FRANCE.

At the end of his entertaining biography, Mr. Percy Fitzgerald¹ scouts the vogue alleged by Sterne of his *Tristram Shandy* in France. "Such men as D'Holbach and Diderot might have it on their tables and affect to read a few pages, but to the mass of even educated foreigners, it must have been a book of cabalistics." "It is very different," resumes Mr. Fitzgerald,² "with the *Sentimental Journey*. It has been received with delight by all Europe. The French have openly made it their own,³ and translated⁴ it over and over again."

Contradicted by the facts, this easy surmise of the influence of *Tristram Shandy*, as has been amply shown by M. Texte. On the other hand, the assumption concerning the *Sentimental Journey* carries conviction. That book has almost as its essential character traits to win an instant way in France. Besides, M. Texte here supports Mr. Fitzgerald. "*Le Voyage Sentimental* . . . charma toute la France par la sensibilité que Sterne y a répandue, et suscita toute une école d'imitateurs."⁵ Yet if Mr. Fitzgerald means literary influence, as

¹ *Life of Laurence Sterne*, vol. ii, p. 436.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 438.

³ Cf. Diderot: *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Assézat, vol. vi, p. 7.

⁴ The French translations of *Tristram Shandy* are as follows:

I. Frénais, 1776, 2 vols. (only the first part, cf. Texte: *Jean Jacques Rousseau*, etc., p. 343);

II. Frénais, 1784 (? noted by the Dictionary of National Biography and the British Museum Catalogue, not by M. Texte);

III. De Bonnay and de la Baume, 1785 (the latter part, cf. Texte, p. 343);

IV. I. and III. printed together, 1785, 4 vols. (cf. Texte, p. 343);

V. L. de Wailly, Paris, 1842 (noted by the Dictionary of National Biography);

VI. Hédouin, 1890, 1891 (*sic*, noted by the Dictionary of National Biography).

⁵ *Jean Jacques Rousseau et les Origines du Cosmopolitisme littéraire*, etc., par Joseph Texte: Paris, 1895; p. 349.

M. Texte seems to mean, I cannot but think him as wrong here as there. For only one French book, so far as I know, shows unmistakably the literary influence of the *Sentimental Journey*. The first translation¹ often misses its distinctive traits, and perhaps the only French critic to express adequately these distinctive traits, the difference in art between *Tristram* and the *Journey*, is M. Émile Montégut.²

Evidently there is need of some agreement as to what the characteristics of Sterne are in general, what habits of his expression might be supposed to have influence, and secondly, as to what separate characteristics shall be assigned to the *Sentimental Journey*. Sentimentality is easily set down first as the mark of all Sterne's work. "*Il promène son âme*," as has been wittily said by M. Texte.³ But so, notoriously, does Rousseau; and how shall we disengage clearly the influence of this sentimentality from that of Richardson, whose hold on France had a tenacity little short of amazing? If we differentiate it by its objects, by its dithyrambs over dead asses and its moralities upon starlings, we find very little until the time is so late that we cannot be sure. The imitation by Mlle. de Lespinasse⁴ in her story of Mme. Geoffrin's milkmaid, not only seems too slight for more than mention, but, even if it had much greater literary importance of its own, would show at most only the vogue of Sterne's sentimentality. "*Être ému où il faut*," says M. Texte, "*et même où il ne faut pas, sans en rougir jamais, c'est tout le secret de Sterne*."⁵ Not at all. If that were the whole secret of Sterne, the *Sentimental Journey* would have been buried long ago. I fear the French critics in tracking this particular sentimentality are some-

¹ *Le Voyage Sentimental*, Frénais, Amsterdam and Paris, 1769 (Texte, p. 343); Liège, 1770 (Dictionary of National Biography). This was often reprinted. Other translations noted in the British Museum Catalogue are: Michel, 1787; Wailly, 1847; Janin, 1854; Hédouin, 1875. Fitzgerald mentions another, by Michot (*Life of Sterne*, vol. ii, p. 437).

² *Essais sur la littérature anglaise*, cap. Sterne.

³ *Jean Jacques Rousseau*, etc., p. 351.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

times at fault; but even supposing them to be infallible, something more and something more definite is needed to constitute a literary influence.

There is safer ground in Sterne's humour, in his pervasive equivocation, in the character of his incidental creations—Mr. Shandy, Corporal Trim, Uncle Toby. Safest measure of all is Sterne's form—his constant use of gesture,¹ his random progress, his method, conversational and expository rather than narrative, narrative, indeed, only so far as to fool his readers.

This is the "*œuvre décousue*" of which M. Texte speaks, "*sans plan, sans ordre.*"² "*Il cause toujours et ne compose jamais,*" says M. Walcknaer.³ This is Sterne, or rather this is the effect that Sterne sought and achieved; but even this is not all Sterne, for it is not yet the *Sentimental Journey*. The *Shandy* style does recur in the *Journey*, but only as the incorrigible trickery of a man who has found his art. Instead of the mad breaks and the elaborate digression of *Shandy*, the *Journey* has transitions of consummate delicacy. The *Shandy* passages of description are only hints of Sterne's skill in miniature. The *Journey*, as M. Montégut points out, is a Dutch painting of French manners. It is much more; it is the art of pure description at its finest. Nothing, I venture to think, has ever surpassed the concentration, the brilliancy and the delicacy of these tiny chapters, where there is not a word too much and not a word amiss. In a literature not habitually tolerant of description, and swinging from the large, long landscape style to the large, short poster style, these pictures of Sterne's are almost alone.

For observe that the *Sentimental Journey*, though it is beautifully coherent, is hardly more than *Tristram Shandy* narrative. It has no narrative unity; it has very little narrative progress. Sterne has narrative incidents, narrative

¹ "Le roman de geste," Texte, *ibid.*, p. 346.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 351, 353.

³ *Biographie Universelle*, art. Sterne.

digressions, even in *Shandy*; but he never has as his object the conduct of a story. Call him, if you will, a novelist—I will not quarrel with Maupassant;¹ but remember that he is not even, except by the way, a story-teller. If we call *Tristram Shandy* story because of Uncle Toby, we may almost as well call the *Spectator* story because of Sir Roger de Coverly. In *Tristram Shandy* Sterne is a whimsical, satirical essayist romping in narrative forms; in the *Sentimental Journey* he is much more a describer of men and women, seeking description only, and for itself, and colouring it habitually with drama.

Dramatic description, if a label be desired, might well be pasted on the *Sentimental Journey*. The book is full of situations, but situations that lead nowhither, that are there merely for themselves. The snuff-box, the *désobligeante*, the gloves, the theatre passage—no wonder it has been a prize for the illustrators, though “indeed there was no need.”

“I looked at Monsieur Dessein through and through; eyed him as he walked along in profile—then *en face*—thought him like a Jew—then a Turk—disliked his wig—cursed him by my gods—wished him at the devil—

“—And is all this to be lighted up in the heart for a beggarly account of three or four louis d’ors, which is the most I can be overreached in?—‘Base passion!’ said I, turning myself about as a man naturally does upon a sudden reverse of sentiment; ‘Base, ungentle passion! thy hand is against every man, and every man’s hand against thee.’ ‘Heaven forbid!’ said she, raising her hand up to her forehead; for I had turned full in front upon the lady whom I had seen in conversation with the monk: she had followed us unperceived. ‘Heaven forbid, indeed!’ said I, offering her my own—she had a black pair of silk gloves, open only at the thumb and two forefingers—so accepted it without reserve, and I led her up to the door of the *remise*.”²

The conclusion of these differences is that *Tristram Shandy* is trick, the *Sentimental Journey* is art.

With the essential traits of Sterne in mind, general and particular, it is easy to dispose of some minor claims to his

¹ Cf. the preface to *Pierre et Jean: le Roman*.

² Cap. ix.

influence on French literature. Saintine's *Picciola*, says Mr. Lee in the Dictionary of National Biography,¹ acknowledges a debt to Sterne. Of this acknowledgment one must say that it is the more generous since without it the debt would never have been suspected. *Picciola* was written in 1836, published in 1843. It is essentially what Sterne is not at all, romantic. This appears not only in the large use of natural scenery and in the remarkable coincidences of the action, but especially in the Byronic hero. Indeed, if we must derive *Picciola*, let us look rather to the *Prisoner of Chillon*. There is none of the Sterne wit, none of the Sterne form, and, since the emotion throughout is deeper and more human, none of the Sterne tone. The main idea—the misanthropic philosopher brought by adversity and by affection for the sole plant in his prison-yard to faith, resignation and domestic love—is utterly foreign to Sterne. Even the sentimental dilation over the plant is not in the Sterne key; it is too deep and too sincere. The only resemblance is in the dominance of emotion as ruling motive and trusty guide. Who would venture to assign that to Sterne?

It is even easier to reject *La Bibliothèque de mon Oncle*. Again there is an essential difference in both degree and kind. Sterne was as insensible to the *schwärmerei* of youth as to the happiness of domestic love. The dutiful propriety of Töpffer's Henriette or Lucy he could not have appreciated, except, perhaps, as motive for an equivocal sarcasm. If the affectionate whimsicality of Uncle Tom should suggest Uncle Toby, if a rustic scene has a hint of a similar one in *Tristram Shandy*,² it requires an abnormal taste for derivation to magnify these into echoes. They seem infinitely more likely to have come from life or from Töpffer's own fancy. What is much more to the point, the form of meandering reflection has but slight claim; certainly not enough to establish, or even plausibly to suggest, a connection.

¹ Art. Sterne.

² *La Bibliothèque de mon Oncle*, ed. Taylor, p. 124.

What the critics had in mind who suggested Sterne in connection with Saintine or Töpffer seems to have been nothing more than reminiscence. Even reminiscence is hardly visible in these books; but it does appear in unexpected places. M. Texte finds it in Victor Hugo's youthful *Bug Jargal*, in Charles Nodier's *Histoire du Roi de Bohême et de ses sept Châteaux*.¹ These are cases—there are doubtless others—of deliberate borrowing. Are they what we mean by literary influence? They show that Sterne was still read; they show that French men of letters found their account in *Tristram*, not in the *Journey*; and they show nothing more. Goethe said once to Eckerman, anent the tiresome cry of plagiarism (I paraphrase from memory), "You might as well ask a well fed man to give account of the oxen, sheep and hogs which he has eaten and which have passed into his blood." Did Dumas even take a whole plot from an author that had failed to handle it? That is an interesting fact in the life of Dumas; it is a comparatively uninteresting fact in the history of literature, as we all know from many futile studies of so-and-so's indebtedness to so-and-so. It is not literary influence. It does not affect the forms of art.

And so one searches Diderot's *Jacques le Fataliste*² with misgiving, because the critics³ have pointed out that it opens with a passage from *Tristram Shandy*, that it has toward the end a scene very similar to one in the *Sentimental Journey*, and that in at least one other place Diderot borrows from Sterne. Here, however, is much more than borrowing. Here is imitation, and imitation consistent enough to pique inquiry into its limits and character. At first the imitation seems too consistent; it looks like a mere paraphrase of *Shandy*, as in fact it has been called.⁴ Here are the Shandy dialogue, which Diderot prints like a play; the Shandy pauses, digressions,

¹ Texte: *Jean Jacques Rousseau*, etc., p. 346. I have been unable to procure a copy of the latter.

² Translated from the manuscript into German, 1792; first printed in French, 1796 (sic). Diderot: *Oeuvres*, ed. Assézat, vol. vi, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6; and Texte, pp. 345, 346.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

wheels within wheels, interpolations by the author to tease the reader, dialogue between author and reader.¹ Here, occasionally and for satire, is even the elaboration of gesture,² as in the master's repeated taking of snuff and looking at his watch. In short, Diderot has tried most of Sterne's narrative gymnastics.³ Superficially, *Jacques le Fataliste* is a French *Tristram Shandy*.

The *Shandy* style naturally pleased a mind of Diderot's superabundance. It gave free rein to philosophizing on everything and nothing. For *Jacques* is the work of a burning mind, throwing off sparks fit to kindle a score of stories. If Sterne's method was the pleasure of Sterne's fancy, it was for Diderot rather a vent for his prodigious fertility. He absorbed like a glutton, but he wrote always. It has been said of him that he cared only to write; to publish was a minor consideration.⁴ *Jacques* shows him writing what he chose, as, at the moment, he chose, without stint, without husbandry. The book is a quarry for any romancer that has Diderot's scent for suggestion in the work of others.

But, after all, *Jacques le Fataliste* has greater consistency of form than *Tristram Shandy*, and, after all, a strong sense of narrative. True, the freakish progress of *Shandy* is adopted *in toto*. The postponement of Tristram's birth and then of his breeching has its parallel in the story of the amours of Jacques, announced in the earlier part, consistently interrupted at every stage, sometimes at half-stages or even half-sentences, by the other tales that make the bulk of the volume, and finished never. But there is much more narrative in *Jacques*. The separate stories are more numerous, and, in general, more developed, and the interpolation of essay and dialogue, though frequent, is a far smaller fraction of the whole.

Besides, though Goethe's opinion of the whole⁵ as a whole

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 106.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 48.

³ Cf. especially *ibid.*, p. 123, an incident, by the way, actual in the life of Sterne's father.

⁴ Lanson: *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, p. 726.

⁵ "Un chef d'œuvre," Diderot, *Oeuvres*, vol. vi, pp. 4, 7, 8.

seems extreme, the threads are dropped and picked up, if not in a fixed order, at any rate with much more regularity than in *Tristram*. And not only is there a great deal of mere "yarn" of the Yankee sort¹ told one to cap another, but Jacques the valet has more than a suggestion of the *valet picaresque*. There are decidedly picaresque adventures; and though these are sometimes interrupted by the author's satirical "Now I might make them do so-and-so, or so-and-so," Diderot gives some value to the adventure as such. In Sterne the incidental adventure counts almost as little as the whole fable.

Diderot's narrative interest and narrative force are best exhibited in the episode of the landlady's tale of Mme. de Pommeraye. Schiller translated this into German,² and it has been selected since for separate publication. No wonder. It is not only pure narrative, slightly interrupted; it is narrative of the highest order; it is, at the end of the eighteenth century, a short story done with nineteenth-century French art.³ Here is no hop-skip-and-jump, but a strong plot well complicated⁴ and brought to a striking solution of character. It may be said that the *dénouement* is not satisfying, not consequent on the character of one of the actors—in fact, Diderot acknowledges this by appending a clumsy explanation;⁵ but observe that the objection presupposes plot and character. This otherwise admirable narrative occupies one-fourth of the book.⁶

The story of Mme. de Pommeraye points a contrast also in in tone. It deals with passion, and passion is unknown to Sterne. His emotion is sentimental, and of this Diderot has hardly a trace. There is, to be sure, the touching incident of the woman with the broken jug;⁷ but the beaten horse⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 89.

² In 1785; *ibid.*, p. 3.

³ Cf. Faguet: *Études Littéraires, XVIII^e Siècle*, p. 298.

⁴ Cf. the complication of the venal confessor, Diderot, *Oeuvres*, vol. vi., p. 148.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 162.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

inspires no sentiment, and it is possible that this incident, like that of the landlady's pet dog,¹ is meant as satire on Sterne.

Still more strikingly different is the tone of the satire in general. Diderot catches some of the Sterne wit, and he has some dialogue of delicate cynicism; but there are no asides so fanciful as Mr. Shandy's disquisition on the irregular verbs, and in general the essay-dialogue parts have more substance and seriousness than Sterne's. The moralizing is often rather deep; the satire, often serious, always hits harder, and is sometimes bitter to virulence. The clergy, in particular, are pursued with intent to kill.² It is not merely sneer and jeer, but open and foul abuse. The hatred of the cloth is so uncontrolled as quite to o'erleap itself. The artist is lost in the revolutionist. There is none of this animus in Sterne, whose game was always to trifle. Diderot, though he has some pleasant trifling, was anything but a trifler.

That Sterne, for all his trifling, created a few characters far more distinct and human than even Mme. de Pommeraye will be accepted without elaboration, and is the most marked difference. In the matter of morality Sterne is despicable and Diderot is outrageous. With these characteristic differences, then, *Jacques le Fataliste* is an imitation of *Tristram Shandy*, an imitation not of the tone, but of the method and manner; only there is somewhat more method and much less manner. Of the *Sentimental Journey* there is nothing. The possible connection of one of the closing scenes³ with a similar scene notorious in the *Journey* is hardly worth mentioning. In spite of its mimic pranks, *Jacques* is story; and if *Tristram Shandy* is not story, much less is the *Sentimental Journey*.

Many years later another French story-writer not only knew his Sterne too, but was preoccupied, as M. Faguet⁴ in-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 109. Cf. p. 206.

² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 131, 132, and the whole episode of Father Hudson, pp. 183 et seq.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁴ *Études Littéraires, XIX^e Siècle*, pp. 303 et seq.

sists, with description. Here surely the *Sentimental Journey* should have borne fruit. But Théophile Gautier saw not so much men and women and their drama of attitude and gesture as gorgeous hangings and outlandish scenery. He indulges extravagantly in furniture and dressmaking where Sterne passes with a hint, like the black silk gloves at Calais or the waiting-maid's purse. He riots in colour and light, and Sterne manages wonderfully in his *Journey* with very little of either. Still, that Gautier remembered Sterne seems evident in *Fortunio*. Without listening for more than an echo read the opening and the close of Chapter III in *Fortunio*:¹—

“Nous croyons qu'il n'est pas inutile de consacrer un chapitre spécial à la chatte de Musidora, charmante bête qui vaut bien après tout le lion d'Androclès, l'araignée de Péliçon, le chien de Montargis et autres animaux vertueux ou savants dont de graves historiens ont éternisé la mémoire.”

“Ceci paraîtra peut-être un hors-d'œuvre à quelques-uns de nos lecteurs ; nous sommes tout à fait de l'avis de ces lecteurs-là.—Mais sans les *hors-d'œuvre* et les *épisodes* comment pourrait-on faire un roman ou un poème, et ensuite comment pourrait-on les lire ?”

and then the whole of Chapter v :²—

“Musidora est assurément fort contrariée, mais nous le sommes bien autant qu'elle.

“Nous comptons beaucoup sur le portefeuille pour donner à nos lecteurs (qu'on nous pardonne cet amour-propre) des renseignements exacts sur ce problématique personnage. Nous espérons qu'il y aurait dans ce portefeuille des lettres d'amour, des plans de tragédies, des romans en deux volumes et autres, ou tout au moins des cartes de visite, ainsi que cela doit être dans le portefeuille de tout héros un peu bien situé.

“Notre embarras est cruel ! Puisque *Fortunio* est le héros de notre choix, il est bien juste que nous prenions intérêt à lui et que nous désirions connaître toutes ses démarches ; il faut que nous en parlions souvent, qu'il domine tous les autres personnages et qu'il arrive mort ou vif au bout de nos deux cent et quelques pages.—Cependant nul héros n'est plus incommode : vous l'attendez, il ne vient pas ; vous le tenez, il s'en va sans mot dire, au lieu de faire de beaux discours et de grands raisonnements en prose poétique, comme son métier de héros de roman lui en impose l'obligation.

¹ Gautier : *Nouvelles*, ed. Charpentier (1884), pp. 39, 41.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 45–46.

"Il est beau, c'est vrai ; mais, entre nous, je le crois bizarre, malicieux comme une guenon, plein de fatuité et de caprices, plus changeant d'humeur que la lune, plus variable que la peau d'un caméléon. A ces défauts, que nous lui pardonnerions volontiers, il joint celui de ne vouloir rien dire de ses affaires à personne, ce qui est impardonnable. Il se contente de rire, de boire et d'être un homme de belles manières. Il ne disserte pas sur les passions, il ne fait pas de métaphysique de cœur, ne lit pas les romans à la mode, ne raconte, en fait de bonnes fortunes, que des intrigues malaises ou chinoises, qui ne peuvent nuire en rien aux grandes dames du noble faubourg ; il ne fait pas les yeux doux à la lune entre la poire et le fromage, et ne parle jamais d'aucune actrice.—Bref, c'est un homme médiocre à qui, je ne sais pourquoi, tout le monde s'obstine à trouver de l'esprit, et que nous sommes bien fâché d'avoir pris pour principal personnage de notre roman.

"Nous avons même bien envie de le laisser là. Si nous prenions George à sa place ?

"Bah ! il a l'abominable habitude de se griser matin et soir et quelquefois dans la journée, et aussi un peu dans la nuit. Que diriez-vous, madame, d'un héros qui serait toujours ivre, et qui parlerait deux heures sur la différence de l'aile droite et de l'aile gauche de la perdrix ?

"—Et Alfred ?

"—Il est trop bête.

"—Et de Marcilly ?

"—Il ne l'est pas assez.

"Nous garderons donc Fortunio faute de mieux : les premières nouvelles que nous en aurons, nous vous les ferons savoir aussitôt.—Entrons donc, s'il vous plaît, dans la salle de bain de Musidora."

Is it not an echo, but an echo of *Tristram Shandy* ?

Are there no French children, then, of the *Sentimental Journey* ? There is at least one child. It is hard to mistake the parentage of Xavier de Maistre's *Voyage autour de ma Chambre*.¹ And let me say at once that I lay no stress on the eloquent tear dropped in Chapter XVIII, and noted for Sterne's by Sainte-Beuve.² That tear, and the repentance in Chapter XXVIII, may be drawn from Sterne's reservoir, or they may be a coincidence. Mere borrowing, as I have urged, means very little ; and Maistre frankly recognizes Sterne, even alludes to him as of course familiar to his readers. "*C'est le dada de*

¹ Published at Turin, 1794.

² *Oeuvres Complètes du Comte Xavier de Maistre*, etc. (1 vol.), précédée d'une notice . . . par M. Sainte-Beuve : Paris, Garnier, 1839 ; p. xii.

mon oncle Toby."¹ Form learned from Sterne is the quest, and it is here—trick learned from *Tristram*, but also art learned from the *Journey*.

For trick, chapter XXXIII, consists of two sentences; chapter XIII, of one; chapter XII, of asterisks. The opening of chapter VI is like *Tristram*, and it is like *Tristram* to have this chapter sixth instead of first.

CHAPITRE VI.

"Ce chapitre n'est absolument que pour les métaphysiciens. Il va jeter le plus grand jour sur la nature de l'homme : c'est le prisme avec lequel on pourra analyser et décomposer les facultés de l'homme, en séparant la puissance animale des rayons purs de l'intelligence.

"Il me serait impossible d'expliquer comment et pourquoi je me brûlai les doigts aux premiers pas que je fis en commençant mon voyage, sans expliquer, dans le plus grand détail, au lecteur, mon système de *l'âme et de la bête*.—Cette découverte métaphysique influe d'ailleurs tellement sur mes idées et sur mes actions, qu'il serait très-difficile de comprendre ce livre, si je n'en donnais la clef au commencement.

"Je me suis aperçu, par diverses observations, que l'homme est composé d'une âme et d'une bête.

"Je tiens d'un vieux professeur (c'est du plus loin qu'il me souviennne) que Platon appelait la matière *l'autre*. C'est fort bien; mais j'aimerais mieux donner ce nom par excellence à la bête qui est jointe à notre âme. C'est réellement cette substance qui est *l'autre*, et qui nous lutine d'une manière si étrange.

"Messieurs et mesdames, soyez fiers de votre intelligence tant qu'il vous plaira; mais défiez-vous beaucoup de *l'autre*, surtout quand vous êtes ensemble."

CHAPITRE VII.

"Cela ne vous paraît-il pas clair? voici un autre exemple :

"Un jour de l'été passé, je m'acheminai pour aller à la cour. J'avais peint toute la matinée, et mon âme, se plaisant à méditer sur la peinture, laissa le soin à la bête de me transporter au palais du roi.

"Que la peinture est un art sublime! pensait mon âme;

"Pendant que mon âme faisait ces réflexions, *l'autre* allait son train, et

¹ Cap. xxiv.

Dieu sait où elle allait !—Au lieu de se rendre à la cour, comme elle en avait reçu l'ordre, elle dérivait tellement sur la gauche, qu'au moment où mon âme la rattrapa, elle était à la porte de madame de *Hautcastel*, à un demi-mille du palais royal.

“Je laisse à penser au lecteur ce qui serait arrivé, si elle était entrée toute seule chez une aussi belle dame.”

But the movement, though whimsical and interrupted, is never random or violent. It is like that of the *Journey*, now fast, now slow, fitting apparently, but always nicely calculated, and always by such delicate transitions as are almost the hall-mark of the *Journey*. Hardly one of these miniature chapters, miniature like Sterne's, but shows how closely Maistre had studied Sterne's form, how sympathetically he realized it, how skilfully he followed. Mark that artistically abrupt introduction of Mme. de Hautcastel, just quoted, and the Sterne manner even to the final equivocation. Of all this a typical instance is Chapter XI :—

CHAPITRE XI.

“Il ne faut pas anticiper sur les événements : l'empressement de communiquer au lecteur mon système de l'âme et de la bête m'a fait abandonner la description de mon lit plus tôt que je ne devais ; lorsque je l'aurai terminée, je reprendrai mon voyage à l'endroit où je l'ai interrompu dans le chapitre précédent.—Je vous prie seulement de vous ressouvenir que nous avons laissé la moitié de moi-même tenant le portrait de madame de *Hautcastel* tout près de la muraille, à quatre pas de mon bureau. J'avais oublié, en parlant de mon lit, de conseiller à tout homme qui le pourra d'avoir un lit de couleur rose et blanc : il est certain que les couleurs influent sur nous au point de nous égayer ou de nous attrister suivant leurs nuances.—Le rose et le blanc sont deux couleurs consacrées au plaisir et à la félicité.—La nature, en les donnant à la rose, lui a donné la couronne de l'empire de Flore ; et lorsque le ciel veut annoncer une belle journée au monde, il colore les nues de cette teinte charmante au lever du soleil.

“Un jour nous montions avec peine le long d'un sentier rapide : l'aimable Rosalie était en avant ; son agilité lui donnait des ailes : nous ne pouvions la suivre.—Tout à coup, arrivée au sommet d'un tertre, elle se tourna vers nous pour reprendre haleine, et sourit à notre lenteur.—Jamais peut-être les deux couleurs dont je fais l'éloge n'avaient ainsi triomphé. Ses joues enflammées, ses lèvres de corail, ses dents brillantes, son cou d'albâtre, sur un fond de verdure, frappèrent tous les regards. Il fallut nous arrêter pour

la contempler : je ne dis rien de ses yeux bleus, ni du regard qu'elle jeta sur nous, parce que je sortirais de mon sujet, et que d'ailleurs je n'y pense jamais que le moins qu'il m'est possible. Il me suffit d'avoir donné le plus bel exemple imaginable de la supériorité de ces deux couleurs sur toutes les autres, et de leur influence sur le bonheur des hommes.

"Je n'irai pas plus avant aujourd'hui. Quel sujet pourrais-je traiter qui ne fût insipide ? Quelle idée n'est pas effacée par cette idée ?—Je ne sais même quand je pourrai me remettre à l'ouvrage.—Si je le continue, et que le lecteur désire en voir la fin, qu'il s'adresse à l'ange distributeur des pensées, et qu'il le prie de ne plus mêler l'image de ce tertre parmi la foule de pensées décousues qu'il me jette à tout instant.

"Sans cette précaution, c'en est fait de mon voyage."

Clearer mark of all is the delicacy in transition, as in the opening of Chapter xv, gauged at once to bring the servant on the scene swiftly and to explain the previous allusion to the wet sponge, that not a word may be displaced or wasted.

The fulness and minuteness of gesture is not only characteristic in itself ; it also shows that Maistre grasped as characteristic in this form that it should be applied to the most insignificant incidents and the smallest objects—a portrait, a house-dog, a bed, a coat, a rose,—and that it should be applied sentimentally. Maistre may have his passing sarcasm on sentimentality;¹ but his whole book is steeped in it. In form and in tone his *Voyage* is a sentimental journey. In form and in tone there is the same subtle unity—not a unity of the fable, for the *Voyage* has no more narrative unity than the *Journey*, but a descriptive unity. No wonder it closes like the *Journey*, but how much more delicately !

For the *Voyage autour de ma Chambre* is not a copy. It has not a single detail demonstrably borrowed, and as a whole it is original. That is what makes its imitation at once so interesting to study and so profitable. This is literary influence, that an author, in adopting a form, should use it for himself. Thus, for instance, that Maistre should so have modified the form as to present less drama and more essay follows from the temper of Maistre. From the temper of

¹ Cap. ix.

Maistre also comes the occasional tone of oratory,¹ the larger use of natural scenery, the very slight use of manners, the comparatively indistinct presentation of persons, the serious reflections philosophical and religious.² And the nobler soul had also the freer fancy; he is less concrete, or, to put it conversely, more abstract, more purely fanciful.³ In a word, he is always himself. He learned from Sterne precisely as one painter learns from another.

One book, then, in 1794, appears to sum up the influence of Sterne's best form on French literature. For the rest, one direct imitation of *Tristram*, and perhaps a score of passages here and there, reminiscent possibly of his sentimentality, possibly of someone else's. Yet "Sterne is so French." After all, is he? He has the quickest sensibility to French habits of expression, but not so much to manner in word as to manners, to attitude. He seems to like the language; but his sympathy is not from mastery. In mastery Sterne is at the first reader, without vocabulary, without syntax, and especially without idiom. The idioms of manners he read at sight; but it is at least doubtful that he knew enough French to appreciate French style.

So there is no promise for inquiry whether Sterne, teaching so remarkably little to France, may on the other hand have learned something from her. One looks again in his Prévost, the very man of men for Sterne; but ten pages of *Manon* bring him to a stand; a story always in motion, a story of passion, above all a style that is what Sterne's at its best never is—artless, a lovely simplicity. Not all the tears o'er faithless Manon shed persuade me that Sterne had anything from the Chevalier des Grieux; and on M. Brunetière's presentation of Prévost's later stories⁴ I will risk the assertion that he had nothing from them either. M. Jusserand⁵

¹ Capp. v, xl.

² Capp. xxi, xxix, xxx.

³ Cf. Cap. xxxiv, on old letters, which is somewhat in the strain of Donald G. Mitchell.

⁴ *Études Critiques*, vol. iii.

⁵ *English Essays from a French Pen*, page 147.

suggests Scarron: I cannot find even a clear reminiscence. Nor is it probable that he had anything from Crébillon *filz*. He visited that worthy; he alludes in the *Journey* to his *Égarements du Cœur et de l'Esprit*; he concocted with him the precious plan by which each was to attack the morality of the other's books; but nothing beyond these personal relations has been suggested by the hardy explorers of Crébillon *filz*.

Sterne's best art, then, seems underived and almost uncommunicated. There is some colour for calling *Tristram Shandy* Rabelaisian; but the *Sentimental Journey*, as it is one of the most exquisite pieces in literature, is also one of the most truly unique.

CHARLES SEARS BALDWIN.

VII.—THE HOME OF THE BEVES SAGA.

The question of the original home of the *Beves* saga has often been discussed, but no satisfactory conclusion has been reached. The conjectures regarding it have been various, but as yet unconvincing.

Amaury Duval¹ places the scene of the story in France at Antonne, but without giving definite grounds for this supposition. Turnbull² and Kölbing³ both adopt this view without argument. Pio Rajna⁴ was the first to suggest a Germanic home for the saga, locating Hanstone (Hamtown) on the continent near the French border of Germany. The arguments given are unimportant, but this view of the origin has been accepted by Gaston Paris,⁵ although he takes exception to Rajna's wildest suppositions as to the name Hanstone. Albert Stimming⁶ has exposed the weakness of Rajna's reasoning, but even he leaves the question still unsettled. Later in his introduction, he gives impartially the arguments in favor of French as well as those in favor of Germanic origin, but does not regard them as sufficient ground for forming an opinion. These comprise the conjectures thus far advanced, and all are weakly supported and inconclusive.

A resemblance between the *Beves* and the *Horn* seems to me to furnish at last the key to the complete solution of the problem. If the *Beves* can be shown to be but a romantically developed form of the *Horn* saga, its ultimate origin must at once be acknowledged to be the same as that of its more primitive base. Since such a relation can be proved, I pre-

¹ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xviii, pp. 750 ff.

² *Sir Beves of Hamtoun*, pp. xv ff. (1837).

³ *Sir Beves of Hamtoun* (E. E. T. S.), p. xxxiv (1885).

⁴ *I Reali di Francia*, pp. 123 ff. (1872).

⁵ *Romania*, II, 359.

⁶ *Der Anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone*, pp. clxxxi ff. (1899).

sent the proposition that the *Beves*, like its prototype, the *Horn*, is Anglo-Saxon and insular—not French, nor German.

The *Beves* romance is obviously a hotch-potch of adventures formed about a simple story. This simple base may be given briefly as follows:—A young man, driven from home, wins power in the service of a foreign king, gains the love of the king's daughter, returns home, and takes revenge on his enemies. This summary will be seen to serve admirably as an outline of the story of *King Horn*. Upon this relation, which has not been noticed heretofore, I base the proposition just given.¹

A closer examination of the two poems shows that this resemblance is not merely that of two "expulsion and return" romances, but that the central story of the *Beves* parallels the *Horn*, incident for incident. Naturally, this parallelism is not exact, nor would we have it so. The differences, however, can be explained in accordance with the method of the *Beves*-writer, who was developing a long romantic story, zealously religious, from the *Horn*, which is itself simple and almost savage in its roughness.

Even a brief examination of the two romances will make clear the close resemblance in their essential elements, although they have always been regarded as entirely unlike.

The first incident—the *expulsion*—is the one most changed and developed in the *Beves*. In the *Horn*, the hero and his companions are set adrift by the "Saracens," who have conquered his father's land. The *Beves*, however, uses an entirely different motive—the cruel mother. Beves, after his father's murder, wildly accuses his mother of instigating the crime, and opposes her marriage with the murderer. Her first attempt

¹Stimming, in his list of parallels, notices a resemblance in episodes only, not in the whole outline, and draws no conclusions. He says: "Das Liebesverhältnis zwischen Boeve und Josiane berührt sich in mehreren Punkten mit dem zwischen Horn und Rimel. Auch Horn wird von Winkle, gegen dem er sich freundlich bewiesen, verleumderischerweise angeklagt, Rimel beschlafen zu haben, und letztere soll gegen ihrem. Willen gewaltsam verheiratet werden." (p. cxc.)

on Beves's life is frustrated by the faithful old man, Saber, to whom she has given the boy to be put to death. He spares him, and shows the mother his coat dipped in the blood of a goat. Beves is too much enraged, however, to tend sheep quietly for his friend, and, rushing back to court, denounces his mother before them all. This time Saber is powerless to save him, and he is taken to the seashore and sold to some foreign merchants.

In this incident the *Horn* is absolutely simple, using only the conquest by the Saracens and the subsequent setting adrift of Horn and his noble friends. Such a situation would be obviously unfitted to the highly religious tone of the *Beves*; Saracens could not be permitted to destroy the hero's land, even in his youth. The author, therefore, in seeking an induction more suited to his purpose, made use of a well-known type of expulsion incidents, which had the additional advantage of giving him an opportunity for a wide romantic development later. This is exactly the treatment we should expect in the case of a late romance, developed from a simple early form. Any feature, not in accord with the author's time, would be changed to fit the later conditions. We seek, then, a similarity of fundamental elements only, and this we find in the retention of the "expulsion" itself, although the method employed is entirely different.

In the second incident—the *reception at the foreign court*—the two stories are closely parallel. Horn is at once received into favor by Aylmar, king of Westernesse, who is struck by the lad's beauty (l. 161 ff.). The king has him instructed in all arts and makes him his cupbearer (l. 229 ff.). In the *Beves*, also, the hero, by his beauty, wins immediate favor with King Ermin of Ermonie, to whom the merchants have presented him. Ermin at once appoints him chamberlain (l. 534 f. and 571 ff.¹). The slight difference here is due to the difference in age of the two heroes. The numerous inci-

¹ References in the *Beves* are to the A text of Kölbing's edition.

dents of the expulsion in the *Beves* necessitate a youth of riper years than in the simpler *Horn*.

In the court, Horn is beloved by all who know him (ll. 245 ff.) and especially by Rymenhild, the daughter of the king. As soon as he learns of her love, Horn loves her in return, but seeks knighthood and honor that he may be worthy of her. In the *Beves*, religion plays a much more important part. Beves is loved by all who know him, as in the *Horn*, and especially by Josiane, the daughter of King Ermin (ll. 578 ff.). Beves, however, unlike Horn, will have nothing to do with Josiane for a long time, and only after her promise to embrace Christianity does he become her lover. The change is characteristic of the religious tone of the whole *Beves*, the author of which could not allow his Christian hero to love a Saracen, until she had offered to renounce her false faith. The marriage, in the *Beves* as in the *Horn*, is not consummated until long after, when vengeance has been taken upon the youth's enemies in his native land. It is noteworthy in this episode that the hero in each case is knighted by the king at his daughter's request, in order to defend the country against foreign foes.

The *banishment*, which forms the third incident, is also closely paralleled in the motiving. The meetings of the lovers are falsely reported to the king in each case. Beves is betrayed by two knights, whom he had rescued in battle; Horn, by Fikenild, one of his twelve chosen comrades (*Horn*, 680 ff.; *Beves*, 1206 ff.). In the *Horn*, the king straightway banishes the hero, but, in the *Beves*, the incident is skilfully worked over to give an opportunity for the long episodes of Beves's imprisonment and his return adventures. This is accomplished by means of a sealed letter, which is given him to carry to Damascus. This letter contains instructions for Beves's instant death, but Brandimond, to whom it is delivered, throws him into prison instead. The difference in development is again perfectly characteristic; the author of the *Beves*, feeling the necessity of changing from the simple banishment

of the *Horn* in order to lengthen his story, drew upon this well-known device of mediaeval fiction,—the Uriah or Bellesophon letter.

The fourth incident in the *Horn*, which occurs during this banishment, although not found in a corresponding place in the *Beves*, is nevertheless closely paralleled. Horn journeys to the land of King Thurston, and, by his valor in battle, wins the offer of the kingdom after the king's death, and of the hand of the princess. The corresponding episode in the *Beves* occurs during the wanderings of Beves and Terri (ll. 3759 ff.). They come upon the land of Aumberforce, and in a tournament—a natural change for the romantic author—Beves wins the hand of the Lady of Aumberforce and the promise of the succession after her father's death. Horn refuses King Thurston's offer, but promises to remain and serve him for seven years. Beves likewise refuses to accept Aumberforce and its princess, but is retained by her as her "lord in clene manere" for seven years.

It is to be noticed, also, that the ultimate outcome of the adventure is the same in both cases. Terri, Beves's foster-brother, gains the Lady of Aumberforce when Beves finds Josiane; Athulf, Horn's most intimate and faithful friend, marries Reynild, the daughter of King Thurston, when Horn returns to Rymenhild.

The fifth incident—the *first marriage*—shows the same close resemblance. During Horn's absence when banished by King Aylmar, Rymenhild is wooed by King Modi of Reynes and at last forced to wed him. Horn, however, returns just in time to prevent the consummation of the marriage. This differs little from Josiane's experience during Beves's imprisonment by Brandimond. She is forced to marry King Yvor, but preserves her virginity by means of a charm. Horn, on his opportune return just alluded to, disguises himself in a palmer's weeds to gain admittance to his love's presence. He is served by her own hands and reveals himself by means of a magic ring she had given him.

Beves also returns after the same term of absence—seven years—although his adventures have been very different, as we are prepared to expect by the change in the method of banishment. He, too, gains admittance to his love's presence by adopting a palmer's weeds. Within the castle he is served by his mistress's own hands and reveals himself by his horse Arondel, which is endowed with supernatural powers. The parallel here is carried even into the replies which the assumed palmer makes to his lady's inquiries, granting always the partial rationalizing of the magic ring element by the substitution of the wonderful horse Arondel (cf. *Horn*, 1007 ff. with *Beves*, 2041 ff.). The plan of action after the recognition in the two stories is eminently characteristic. Horn straightway kills off most of his enemies; Beves, however, contrives to escape with Josiane in a highly romantic manner, well-calculated to bring in other adventures.

The *second marriage* forms the last important incident, and is, like the others, closely parallel in the two romances. Beves, before marrying Josiane, must set out from Cologne—where a long series of adventures has landed them—to relieve his foster-father Saber and to avenge himself upon his father's murderer. Horn in Westernesse will, also, neither marry nor rest until he has regained his hereditary kingdom. During Horn's absence, Rymenhild is again persecuted by Fikenild, whom Horn had unwisely spared. Horn a second time returns at the right moment; he assumes a harper's disguise to gain admittance to his enemy's castle, and this time makes his revenge more complete. After thus gaining his love again, Horn lives peacefully upon his own lands, crowning Arnoldin king of Westernesse and wedding Athulf to King Thurston's daughter. In the other story, Josiane, during Beves's absence, is importuned by Miles of Cologne and compelled by force to marry him. In desperation she succeeds in hanging him on the marriage-bed on the wedding evening. For this act she is condemned to be burned, and thus there is an opportunity for a romantic rescue. The *Beves* is then carried

on, page after page, by means of incidents varying in the different versions. The end, however, resembles the ending of the *Horn*. The conquered territories are distributed among the hero's intimate friends, or relatives, and Beves and Josiane grow old in peace upon their own possessions. The final touch in the *Beves* is of course the more elaborate. Beves and Josiane die at the same time and are buried together; the *Horn* simply says "Nu are hi both ded," and commits their souls to God.

In the second marriage episode, it is noteworthy that, in the *Horn*, the repetition is an exact one—the opportune return, the disguise, and all. This shows a much more primitive stage of development than the *Beves*, where the story is artistically varied by the incidents of the murder in the bed chamber, the trial, and the rescue.

These parallels account for everything in the central story of the *Beves*—the story with which the author worked as his original. The omitted parts are non-essential elements. An examination of these plus-incidents shows that, without exception, they are repetitions or romantic commonplaces, and hence cannot be relied upon as giving any definite evidence for the original home of the saga.

Of these plus-incidents, three can be at once dismissed. These are important in the English *Beves*, but are not found in the Anglo-Norman version, which Stimming has proved to be the source of our English form. These late additions are Beves's fight with fifty Saracens over a question of religious belief (ll. 585–738), the dragon fight (ll. 2597–2910), and the encounter with the burghers of London (ll. 4287–4538).

Another class among the plus-incidents may be set aside also as unimportant in our discussion. There is no method of developing or enlarging a romance better recognized than that of repeating in a modified form one of the original incidents. This appears in the *Beves* in Josiane's second marriage. This very repetition is seen in the *Horn* as well. There, however, as I have already noted, it is an exact repetition—the

simplest form of development. In the *Beves*, the repeated incident is carefully developed and this accounts fully for the changes. In the first marriage, Josiane preserves her virginity by means of a charm; in the second, the author gains variety by employing the well-known romantic feature of the murder in the bed chamber.

Other important repetitions may be seen in the numerous military expeditions (ll. 3303-3458, 3967-4004, 4109-4252). These repeat, with more or less variation, Beves's great battle against Brandimond immediately after being knighted (ll. 989-1068). This incident parallels, in its motiving, Horn's fight with the pagan freebooters, in which he proves his right to the knighthood just conferred upon him (Horn, 623-682).

A third class among the plus-incidents may comprise those features which are the direct outgrowth of feudal and chivalric conditions. Such features, unless they are parts absolutely essential to the story, are of course not portions of the simple original, which must have been formed in more primitive times. The sealed letter, the long imprisonment, the escape, and the many adventures of the return may safely be classed in this group. Here, too, we may place Beves's expedition in aid of Saber, and his subsequent journey to London to sue his estates.

Finally, there is a class of episodes which will at once be recognized as commonplaces of romance. The boar-fight, the encounter with the lions and the giant, Josiane's delivery in the forest, her capture by the treacherous page, and her search in minstrel's garments may be grouped here. No one of these is an essential part of the story, and each can be easily explained as a characteristic addition, or a change to fit the style of a more romantic writer.

These four classes include all the plus-incidents of the *Beves*,¹ which therefore have no weight against the propo-

¹Two episodes—Beves's swimming the sea on Trinchevis (1811-1818), and the island duel (4137-4239)—may, at first thought, be excluded from these classes. When considered in connection with their setting of commonplace romantic material, they show at once that they are elements quite unessential to the main story, and chosen by the author for variety only.

sition that the central story of the *Beves* is equivalent to the *Horn*. There is no essential incident in the *Beves* which is not found in the *Horn*, and, conversely, the *Horn* incidents reappear in the *Beves*, though with many romantic changes and developments. A more exhaustive study than is possible in this article shows that the close resemblance between the *Beves* outline and the *Horn* extends often to matters of minute detail.

The contention that the *Horn* is equivalent to the main story of the *Beves*, is strengthened by observing that the *Horn* shows a repetition which reappears in the *Beves*. This is the second marriage episode, which, in the *Horn*, is simply repeated, as I have shown. In the *Beves*, though more highly developed, it follows the outline of the *Horn* so closely as to be practically a proof of the correctness of the proposition. It is not held, of course, that the *Beves* is necessarily from the extant text of the *Horn*, but that it goes back to some form of the *Horn* saga, and is therefore Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Danish—insular, and not continental. That the original was a developed form of the saga, the repetition of the marriage episode shows, and it may well have borne the name of *Horn*, although the mere name is of little importance.

The Anglo-Saxon origin thus contended for fits well with what has already been proved regarding the *Beves*. Stimming has shown that the Anglo-Norman is the oldest extant version, and that this Anglo-Norman form is an insular product. His thesis is strengthened when we prove that the original story was also of insular origin.

The theory of an insular home for the saga explains well the nautical character of the *Beves*, which is quite unlike the air of the French *chansons*, and associates the romance rather with English and Germanic material.

It suits, too, the name Hamtoun, which, in the earlier versions, is unquestionably English, despite the efforts of Duval and Rajna to prove it French or German.

Finally, it fits the historical Beves¹ mentioned by Elyot,² Fuller³ and others. This Beves lived in the time of William the Conqueror, and, with a few followers, resisted ineffectually the power of the invaders. Whether this is real history or fiction, our proposition agrees well with it, especially as this Beves lived at first near Southampton, and nothing would be more natural than to group a series of adventures about a local hero.

Because we have seen that the central story of the *Beves* is equivalent to the *Horn*, and that its plus-incidents are easily accounted for as the work of a later romantic writer, and because all external evidence strengthens this proposition, we may confidently place the *Beves* in the rank of the *Guy*, the *Horn*, and the *Havelock* as insular and not continental material.

PRENTISS C. HOYT.

¹ This is probably what is alluded to as "a kernel of genuine English tradition" by Prof. George H. McKnight, p. vii of the introduction to his edition of *King Horn*, just published in the E. E. T. S. series (1901).

² Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named the Governour*, H. H. S. Croft's edition, i. 184.

³ Thomas Fuller, *Worthies of England*, under Souldiers of Hantshire.

VIII.—THE FIRST RIDDLE OF CYNEWULF.

I.

There are few questions concerning Anglo-Saxon literature which have been more widely discussed than the interpretation of the so-called First Riddle of Cynewulf. The subject was introduced by Heinrich Leo in 1857, in his celebrated monograph *Quæ de se ipso Cynewulfus Poeta Anglosaxonicus tradiderit*. Before that time the line had attracted little attention. As is well known, they occur in the Exeter Book, the collection of verse left by Bishop Leofric to his cathedral church in the eleventh century. Thorpe, in his edition of this manuscript, did not venture to translate them, which is scarcely to be wondered at, since both language and grammatical construction are unusually obscure. The investigations of Leo, however, with those of his followers and opponents, at once gave great interest and importance to the almost unnoticed lines. It may be well to mention briefly the principal theories¹ which have been founded on this bit of verse, some of which rival in ingenuity the familiar attempts to establish a Baconian cypher in the works of Shakespeare.

The Riddles of the Exeter Book are divided into three groups. The poem under discussion stands at the beginning of the first group. This circumstance, added to its brevity and obscurity, led to the conclusion that it might itself be a riddle. Such was Leo's view, and his solution was nothing less than the name "Cynewulf." This discovery, if correct, was obviously of great significance. Kemble and Grimm had already shown that the runes of the *Juliana* and the *Elene* were to be interpreted as the signature of the poet, and Leo

¹ For a more detailed review of these theories, and a bibliography, see Professor Cook's edition of Cynewulf's *Christ*, The Albion Series, Boston, 1900, pp. lii ff.

believed that Cynewulf had inserted his name here in the form of a charade. Dietrich's¹ solution of the last riddle as "the wandering singer" agreed well with the biographical details in the concluding lines of the *Elene*. So it was not unnatural to infer that Cynewulf might be the author of the whole series of riddles, since he had apparently concealed his name in both the first and the last one. Riddle 86 (90) was thought to bear out this view, *lupus* being taken as a reference to Cynewulf.

In order to translate these lines to accord with his hypothesis, Leo was obliged to treat the meanings of words and the principles of Anglo-Saxon syntax in a rather high-handed fashion. Even after the translation had been established, an elaborate explanation was necessary to make the solution clear, the whole being a process which would certainly have required extraordinary powers of deduction in an Anglo-Saxon hearer or reader. These difficulties did not, however, prevent wide acceptance of Leo's thesis. Dietrich, Eduard Müller, Grein, Sweet, ten Brink, Hammerich, Wülker, Letèvre, D'Ham, Sarrazin and others gave it their approval.² But there were some dissenting voices in the chorus. Rieger³ found flaws in Leo's reasoning, although he regarded the lines as a riddle. Trautmann⁴ published in 1883 a convincing destructive criticism of Leo's arguments, and tried to show the lines to be a charade on "the riddle." This he regarded as the solution also of the riddle which Dietrich had interpreted as "the wandering singer." He was supported by Holthaus⁵ and Ramhorst,⁶ and opposed by Nuck⁷ and by Hicketier,⁸ who presented an elaborate defence of Leo's interpretation. At this point a step was taken in an entirely new direction.

¹ For Dietrich's views, see *Haupt's Zs.*, XI, 448 ff., and cf. XII, 232 ff.; *Lit. Centralbl.*, March 28, 1858, p. 191; *Jahrb. f. rom. u. eng. Lit.*, I, 241.

² Cf. Cook, p. lvi.

³ *Zs. f. d. Phil.*, I, 215 ff.

⁴ *Anglia*, Anz. 6, 158-169.

⁵ *Anglia*, VII, Anz. 120 ff.

⁶ *Das Altenglische Gedicht vom Heiligen Andreas*, pp. 2, 23.

⁷ *Anglia*, x, 390 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 564 ff.

In the *Academy* for March 24, 1888, Mr. Henry Bradley suggested that "the so-called riddle is not a riddle at all, but a fragment of a dramatic soliloquy, like *Deor* and *The Banished Wife's Complaint*. . . . The speaker, it should be premised, is shown by the grammar to be a woman. Apparently she is a captive in a foreign land. Wulf is her lover and an outlaw, and Eadwacer (I suspect, though it is not certain) is her tyrant husband." This view was accepted, in the main, by Herzfeld,¹ and apparently by Bülbring,² in his criticism of Herzfeld. Professor Cook³ seems to favor Mr. Bradley's theory. Mr. Israel Gollancz,⁴ in a paper read before the Philological Society, modified Mr. Bradley's interpretation, making the poem "a lyric yet highly dramatic poem in five fittes, a life-drama in five acts." His interpretation has not been published in detail, so far as I am aware, but Mr. Stopford Brooke refers to it⁵ as being "a little story of love and jealousy between two men, Wulf and Eadwacer."

Leo's theories received a final blow in 1891, when Professor Sievers showed,⁶ by a critical examination of the language, that it is impossible to regard the poem as a charade on the name "Cynewulf."

Mr. Bradley's explanation is the most reasonable one that has thus far been offered. It rests, however, entirely upon considerations of spirit and subject. The poem is indeed far more like a lyric fragment than a riddle, but no reasons have yet been presented which make the old hypothesis absolutely untenable. What the origin and literary history of this "life-drama in five acts" may be, are questions which still remain to be answered.

¹ *Die Rätsel des Exeterbuches*, pp. 64 ff.

² *Literaturbl.*, 1891, No. 5, p. 157.

³ *Christ*, p. lix.

⁴ *Academy*, 44, p. 572.

⁵ *Eng. Lit. from the Beg. to the Norman Conquest*, 1898, p. 160.

⁶ *Anglia*, XIII, 19-21.

II.

The theory which I wish to present is that the so-called First Riddle of Cynewulf is a translation from Old Norse.

For convenience in analysis, it is well to reprint the poem.

- 1 Lēodum is mīnum swylce him mon lāc gife ;
 : : : : : : : :
- 2 willað hȳ hine āþeegan gif hē on þrēat cymeð.
- 3 Ungelīc is ūs.
- 4 Wulf is on īege, ic on ōþerre ;
- 5 fæst is þæt ēglond, fenne biworpen ;
- 6 sindon wælrēowe weras þær on īge ;
- 7 willað hȳ hine āþeegan gif hē on þrēat cymeð.
- 8 Ungelīce is ūs.
- 9 Wulfes ic mīnes wīdlāstum wēnum dogode ;
- 10 þonne hit wæs rēnig weder ond ic rēotugu sæt,
- 11 þonne mec se beaducāfa bōgum bilegde ;
- 12 wæs mē wyn tō þon, wæs mē hwæþre ēac lāð.
- 13 Wulf, mīn wulf, wēna mē þīne
- 14 sēoce gedydon, þīne seldcymas,
- 15 murnende mōd, nāles metelīste.
- 16 Gehȳrest þū, Ēadwacer ? Uncerne earnē hwelp
- 17 bireð wulf tō wuda.
- 18 þæt mon ēaþe tōslīteð þætte nāfre gesomnad wæs—
- 19 uncer giedd geador.

A careful examination of the lines before us reveals certain significant features in their arrangement. The short repeated line *ungelīc(e) is ūs* marks a natural division after the third and eighth lines. Then come four more verses (9–12). The thirteenth line and those following seem to belong apart on account of the abrupt change to impassioned address, *Wulf mīn wulf!*

Again, the last seven lines may be divided into two sections of three and four lines, the second division, which introduces a new appeal (*Gehýrest þū, Eadwacer?*) being composed of alternating long and short lines.

Mr. Bradley assumed the poem to be fragmentary; he supposed that something had been lost at the beginning and at the end. It will be seen, however, that it is not necessary to supply anything to complete the sense of the first line. It is perfect in itself. *Lēodum is mīnum swylce him mon lāc gife*, "It is to my people as if one give to them a gift (*or, gifts*)."¹ I should regard the lacuna as coming between lines 1 and 2. For *hine* and *hē* of the second line an antecedent is necessary, and this is not found in the first line. We should expect that the antecedent would immediately precede line 2, at least without the intervention of line 1, which appears to deal with other matters than those in which the *hē* of the second line is concerned. It seems reasonable, then, to assume a loss between lines 1 and 2. If we supply two lines, we shall have a group of four followed by a short line, which will form a perfect counterpart to the second group beginning with 4, and which will also end with the short line *ungelīce is ūs*. Let us assume this to be the case.

The four short lines 3, 8, 17, 19, must arrest attention, such verses being unusual in Anglo-Saxon poetry. They might be considered as the first halves of ordinary long lines, the remainder having been lost.¹ There seems to be no good reason for this assumption, however, since there is no break in the sense, and since they occur at regular intervals in the structure of the stanza, 3 and 8 at the end of the first and second divisions respectively, and 17 and 19 alternating with ordinary long lines in the last division. These short lines, each of which contains two alliterating words, represent a type of line common in Old Norse poetry.

The obvious conclusion, when we look at the poem thus divided, is that it presents traces of strophic formation.

¹ Cf. Bülbring, *loc. cit.*

The most characteristic feature which distinguishes Old Norse verse from that of the West-Germanic dialects is its strophic structure. It has been held by some that the Saxon folk-epic is at bottom strophic. But this theory, which has found its most ardent champion in H. Möller, has been shown to be inadmissible by the researches of Sievers and other metrists. The development is peculiar to Scandinavian, reaching its greatest perfection in the later artistic poetry. In Anglo-Saxon, on the other hand, strophic form is exceedingly rare. While admirably in accord with the terser style of northern verse, it is unsuited to the parallelism and variation so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon. The presence of stanzas in the poem before us thus creates a strong presumption that foreign influences have been at work.

It has already been noted by others that the Riddle shows this peculiarity, although no particular significance seems to have been attached to the matter. Hicketier, in his defence of Leo, comments in substance as follows:¹ The four short lines may have three *hebungen*, and be a relic of strophic formation. The strophes are indeed irregular, but the Anglo-Saxon lyric was obliged to conform to the metrical structure of the epic. In this riddle the attempt to make strophes out of unlike divisions is explained by the abrupt changes in the subject-matter, the charade being presented for solution in various ways. Irregularity in construction is also due to the fact that the poetry which served as models for this Anglo-Saxon strophic verse had almost disappeared.—It is scarcely necessary to remark that Hicketier's belief that the word "Cynewulf" was concealed in the lines prevents us from accepting his reasons for the presence of strophic structure.

Sievers² mentions the First Riddle and the Gnomic Verses as closely approaching true strophic form. "In den *Gnomica Exoniensia* und im ersten Rätsel [wird] der glatte ablauf der in halbzeilen gegliederten langzeilen widerholt durch unge-

¹ *Anglia*, x, 567.

² *Allgerm. Metrik*, § 98, p. 145.

gliederte vollzeilen unterbrochen, dergestalt dass strophen-ähnliche gebilde oder wenigstens strophenähnliche gliederung entsteht. Das Rätsel hat ausser dem zweimal widerkehrenden schaltvers *ungetlice is ūs am schlusse vier zeilen welche genau das bild einer nord. ljóðsháttstrophe geben.*"¹ This, it will be seen, is an extremely significant point. Here in these Anglo-Saxon lines we find not only a distinct division into stanzas, but also a metrical form peculiar to Old Norse poetry. Professor Sievers draws no inferences from this, however, nor has the presence of strophic formation led thus far to a connection of the Riddle with Scandinavian sources, so far as I have been able to ascertain.

The irregularity in the length of the stanzas and the combination of two different metres need not disturb us. Compare, for example, the *Eiríksmól* and the *Hákonarmól*. The former was composed in the tenth century by command of Queen Gunnhild in memory of her husband Eric Bloodaxe, the son of Harold Fairhair. It begins with long lines divided by caesura (*málahótt*), then changes, as do the lines in the Riddle, to *ljóðahótt*, long lines alternating with shorter "full lines" without caesura. It will be noticed that strophes 6 and 7 vary from the prevailing type. The *Hákonarmól* shows a similar blending of metres.

It should be remembered that we possess no Old Norse monuments composed at a date as early as the Riddle from which to draw conclusions in regard to style and metre. The Riddle is generally held to be a work of the latter part of the eighth century, but Professor Sievers, followed by Professor Cook, puts it and the other riddles earlier. Contrast the age of extant Old Norse material. "The so-called Eddic lays are preserved in Icelandic manuscripts, the oldest of which are from the thirteenth century. But these manuscripts are only copies of older codices. No one of the poems is older than the end of the ninth century. The majority of them belong

¹ The italics are mine.

to the tenth century, and some are still later.”¹ The *Lay of Guthrun*,² for instance, a poem which forms a striking parallel to the Riddle in spirit and subject, dates from the eleventh century.

The repetition in lines 7 and 8 is striking in as short a poem as the Riddle. It is noteworthy, also, that this group of two lines forms the close of both the first and the second strophes, as reconstructed above:

willað h̄y hine āþecgan gif hē on þrēat cymeð.
Ungelīce is ūs.

May not this be regarded as a kind of refrain? Refrain is a common stylistic device in Old Norse.³ In Anglo-Saxon, however, it is extremely rare. A familiar instance of it is in *Deor's Lament*, which Wülker⁴ calls “das einzige uns erhaltene [angelsächsische] Gedicht in Strophenform und mit Kehrreim.” There the poet, while reviewing the misfortunes of others, exclaims at intervals *þæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg!* “That he endured, this also can I!” Here the cry is “They will *āþecgan* him! Unlike is our lot!” The repeated lines in both poems seem to serve a similar purpose,—to express what is uppermost in the speaker's mind.

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that some three centuries must lie between the time of the composition of the Riddle and that of extant Old Norse poetry of similar character. The futility of forming conclusions in regard to refrain by comparison with this late verse must be evident. It proves nothing that poems like the *Lay of Guthrun* or the *Lament of Oddrun*,⁵ which resemble the Riddle in spirit and style, contain no similar refrain. All authorities agree that the repeated line in *Deor's Lament* must be a refrain, yet no

¹ Bugge-Schofield, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, Intro., p. xvi.

² *Guðrúnarkviða II* (Sijmons-Gering, *Aelt. Edda*, I, 395 ff.).

³ Cf. Meyer, *Stil der Altg. Poesie*, pp. 340 ff.

⁴ *Grundriss*, § 327, p. 334.

⁵ Sijmons-Gering, *Aelt. Edda*, I, 413 ff.

parallel of precisely the same sort can be indicated in Old Norse.

It is interesting to notice that the only Anglo-Saxon poem in which true refrain has been shown to occur stands in close relation to sagas with which we are familiar through Scandinavian sources. The author of *Deor's Lament* knew the story of Geat, of Wayland, of Hermanric, and the early form of the Guthrun saga. Wilhelm Grimm¹ noted that the treatment of the Wayland episode is similar to that in the Edda, and Wülker² points out that the material in general shows no distinctively English coloring. In the early days of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, Conybeare³ postulated a Northern origin for the poem. The questions of the date and place of composition are much disputed, and a discussion of them would lead us too far afield. The metrical structure is noteworthy. Müllenhof, ten Brink, Sweet, and Wülker agree in considering that it is strophic, while Sievers⁴ denies that the divisions of the poem are to be regarded as strophes "im strengen sinne des wortes." It is not without significance, perhaps, that *Deor's Lament* and the First Riddle, which are similar in so many ways, stand in juxtaposition in the Exeter Book, the one following the other.

If this riddle be a translation from the Old Norse, it is natural to expect traces of its origin to appear in the language. It should be borne in mind, however, that there are only nineteen lines upon which to base conclusions of this sort, and that two of these are repeated and four are practically only half-lines. The fact that extant Old Norse poetry is of so much later date further complicates the matter. A careful examination, however, reveals a number of signs of Scandinavian idiom.

The meaning of the word *prēat* in lines 2 and 7 is ambiguous. It was translated by the riddle-guessers as would best accord with their theories, generally being taken in its

¹ *Deutsche Heldensage*, No. 8.

³ *Illustrations*, p. 244.

² *Grundriss*, § 327.

⁴ *Altg. Metrik*, § 97.

literal sense of "throng." Mr. Bradley was the first to call attention to the Old Norse *at þrotum koma*, a common idiom which he renders "to come to want." Professor Cook objects that Cleasby-Vigfusson translates it otherwise,—“to come to one’s last gasp, be worn out from exhaustion.” The difference appears to be one of degree rather than of kind. The general sense in the Norse is plain. Compare the following passage from the *Fornmanna Sögur*:¹ “mátt-dregnir af matleysi ok kulda, ok mjök at þrotum komnir”—“exhausted by lack of food and cold, and come into heavy straits.” *On þrēat cuman* is found nowhere else in Anglo-Saxon,² while *at þrotum koma* is common in Old Norse.³ This interpretation of Mr. Bradley’s, which is the most probable one yet advanced, points unmistakably to Scandinavian influence.

It is not easy to give a satisfactory rendering of *to þon* in line 12 in accordance with Anglo-Saxon usage. Professor Cook translates “it was joy to me *to that extent*.” Mr. Bradley omits it altogether. The two possible meanings of the phrase as it occurs elsewhere are given in Bosworth-Toller as (1) “to that degree,” (2) “to the end that.” The second makes no sense here, and the first does not fit the passage well. “It was joy to me (I had pleasure) *to that degree*.” One would expect rather “I had pleasure *in that*.” May it not be an attempt to render the Norse *at því*? Compare the following line from the *Grípesspó*:⁴ “Hvat’s mik at því?” Gering⁵ translates “Was geht das mich an?”

Particularly noteworthy is the word *īg* in lines 4 and 6, the Old Norse equivalent of which is *ey*. The use of *īg* in

¹ Ed. Copenhagen, 1826, II, 98.

² It is of course difficult to state with certainty that a given word or phrase does not occur elsewhere. Such a statement should be taken to mean that a search through the lexicons has failed to reveal other references.—Compare also the rare *seldcymas* in line 14 with its Norse relative *sjaldkvæmr*, and *meteliste* in line 15 with the Norse *matleysa*.

³ Cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson, under *þrot*.

⁴ Sijmons-Gering, *Edda*, I, 293 ff.

⁵ *Glossar zu den Liedern der Edda*, 2nd ed., 1896.

Anglo-Saxon is extremely restricted. It appears to occur uncompounded only here.¹ The common term for "island" was *ēgland*. In Old Norse the case is reversed. There the word *ey* was the familiar one, *eyland* being only occasionally used. The inference is plain. We must assume Scandinavian influence, else why should the common Saxon term be displaced by the rare form *īg*?

The question immediately arises, however, why the form *ēglond* should be used in line 5. As has been said, we find in Norse the word *eyland* rarely used instead of *ey*. Since *land* meant "land" and *ey* alone meant "island," it is natural to suppose that to a Norseman the compound *eyland* would have had the sense of "island-land." It is of course difficult to determine how far this difference in meaning actually existed. Compare a sentence from the *Konungsskuggsjá*:² "forvitnar mér ok þat, hvárt þér ætlit, at þat sé meginland eða eyland"—"I am curious to know whether you think that is the mainland, or the land of an island." Again, in the *Saga of Magnus Barefoot*³ we find, in a skaldic verse, "oll hefir Íóta fellir eyland farit brandi." This instance of the use of *eyland* is glossed in the *Lexicon Poeticum* as "terra insularis." Professor Cook translates the line "Firm is the island, surrounded with bog," while Leo, Trautmann, and Bradley take *fæst* as an adverb, the latter's rendering being "The island is closely surrounded by fen." Whether *fæst* is an adverb or an adjective is not of great consequence for the matter under discussion. But the mention of the fen suggests that the land, the earth of the island, was emphasized by way of contrast to the marsh around. Hence it would have been quite natural for a Scandinavian to use *eyland* here, rather than the common word *ey*. We may well believe that *eyland* was the form in the original line, since a poet would scarcely have used the same word for "island" in three successive lines.

¹ Elsewhere as *īg-buend*, *īg-land*, and as the last half of compound proper names like *Meres-īg*.

² Ed. Christiania, 1848, 42, 7.

³ *Konunga Sǫgur* of Snorri, Cap. xi.

One of the most disputed words in the poem is *earne*, in line 16. Bülbring rejects Mr. Bradley's proposal to take it as the accusative of *earh*, "cowardly," on the ground that the *h* of the nominative represents an older *g*, and that only words with original *h* may lose it before the ending. The form is usually derived from *earu*, "swift." But Professor Cook points out a grammatical difficulty, that *earone* would be the regular form, although this objection, as he admits, is not necessarily conclusive.¹ *Earu* is the equivalent of the Old Norse *orr*, with similar meaning. I would suggest that it was this word which the translator had before him, in the form *orvan*, which, being dissyllabic, caused the use of *earne* in Anglo-Saxon, instead of the trisyllabic *earone*.

For the explanation of *Eadwacer* in line 16 as a translation of an Old Norse epithet, see Dr. Schofield's article, p. 267, note, below.

III.

We have seen in the preceding pages that the so-called First Riddle plainly shows the influence of Old Norse in strophic structure, refrain, and language. It seems most reasonable to conclude that it was originally written in Norse and later translated into Anglo-Saxon. Some might contend that it was produced by a Norseman writing Anglo-Saxon and showing traces of his mother-tongue in his work. This is, however, unlikely, apart from the antecedent improbability of such an occurrence. Under this hypothesis we should be obliged to suppose that a man sufficiently familiar with Anglo-Saxon poetry to write it on his own account would deliberately introduce stylistic peculiarities so foreign to its technique as strophic structure and refrain, neglect its characteristic parallelism, and violate its alliteration.² He must have known the usual Saxon expression for so common a word as

¹ Cf. Sievers, *AgS. Gram.*, § 300, Anm.

² In regard to faulty alliteration compare the following paragraph, and also Herzfeld, *loc. cit.* p. 67.

"island," yet he deliberately employs a term not found in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon poetry. The same is true of the use of *tō þon*. This is not the habit of a man writing in a foreign tongue. The tendency is rather to use well-established idioms.

On the other hand, the peculiarities of the poem become perfectly natural on the theory that it is a close translation. We may infer from the retention of such distinctively Norse traits as strophic formation, a perfect *ljóðahótttr* verse, and refrain, that we have to deal with no free rendering, no retelling of the story in different words. The transcription will be made as nearly as possible word for word, with due regard to metre. It will sometimes happen that the literal rendering of a line will destroy the alliteration, and no convenient substitution of synonymous words can be made. Under these circumstances the translator has two choices, to strain the alliteration or to change the sense of the lines. Every one familiar with the ways of mediæval writers will recognize that the former alternative would have been chosen. We have an instance of precisely this sort in line 12, in which *hwæpre* alliterates with *wyn*. Faulty alliteration has been urged by ten Brink in another connection, as a test of determining translation in Anglo-Saxon poetry.¹ The desire to preserve the same number of syllables may explain the occurrence of the shortened form *earne*, as has already been suggested. In short, all signs point to the conclusion that the poem was first written in Old Norse by a Norseman, and that it was later rendered literally into Anglo-Saxon.

It is not possible, however, to dogmatize about the matter, for absolute proof that the poem is a translation can at present not be offered. In any case, the lines are clearly connected with Scandinavian, and must have been composed by a man whose mother-tongue was Old Norse.

The celebrated controversy over the authorship of the interpolated portion of the Anglo-Saxon *Genesis* is an analogous

¹ *History of Eng. Lit.*, I, 378.

case. Although familiar to scholars, it may be reviewed with profit at this point. In 1875, Professor Sievers presented the theory that certain lines in the *Genesis* were translated from a Biblical paraphrase written in Old Saxon by the poet of the *Heliand*, and later inserted into the Cædmonian *Genesis*. The arguments which have been brought forward here in connection with the Riddle are not unlike those upon which Professor Sievers based his views. It was, however, maintained by some distinguished authorities, notably ten Brink, that the lines were not translated, but written in Anglo-Saxon by a man whose mother-tongue was Old Saxon. A fortunate occurrence settled the question. In 1894 there was discovered in Rome a portion of an Old Saxon paraphrase of the Bible, twenty-six lines of which were found to agree perfectly with a passage of the interpolation in the *Genesis*. Professor Sievers could scarcely have desired a more complete vindication of his hypothesis.

We cannot hope to discover the poem from which we may believe the lines before us to have been translated, but it is possible to show that this dramatic lament is an incident of a tale familiar to the early Scandinavians and preserved to us at the present day. Mr. Bradley, it will be remembered, was unable to throw any light upon the literary origin of the poem. He says: "Whether the subject of the poem be drawn from history or Teutonic legend, or whether it be purely the invention of the poet, there seems to be no evidence to determine." The identification of the situation here described with one in an Old Norse saga, and a discussion of the important bearings of the subject upon the history of early Scandinavian literature will be found in the accompanying article by Dr. Schofield. This furnishes a substantial proof of the correctness of the general theory of Scandinavian influence in the Riddle advanced above. It will be seen that we have in all probability in these lines a bit of Old Norse verse at least a century older than the earliest extant monuments,—a fact which is not without interest to students of Scandinavian literature.

The inferences to be drawn from the preceding analysis are of particular significance for Anglo-Saxon. The old and widespread conception that the lines form a riddle must now be definitely abandoned. It has indeed been shown by others that the solution "Cynewulf" is impossible, but not that the poem may not be a charade of some sort. Mr. Bradley's theory of a dramatic soliloquy, while plausible, lacked direct proof. Arguments based on style and spirit alone are not absolutely convincing. All that Professor Cook ventures to say is that "in all probability" the poem is not a riddle at all. We now see that the probability must be regarded as a certainty. The lines cannot be a riddle. Examination of the more formal elements of the poem confirms the correctness of Mr. Bradley's literary judgment.

It is worth while to call attention to the fact that there is nothing to connect the poem with Cynewulf. He cannot have been the author, and there is no reason to think that he, more than any other man, was the translator. Indeed, there is no convincing ground for thinking that any of the riddles are the work of Cynewulf. Sievers says:¹ "Aber was führt denn überhaupt zur annahme der identität des rätsel-dichters mit Cynewulf? Im grunde doch nichts, als Leos unmögliche deutung des ersten rätsels auf den namen *Cynewulf*." Yet the old idea that Cynewulf was the poet of the riddles has not been completely abandoned. If this discussion may incidentally furnish additional proof of the falsity of the argument underlying this assumption, it will perhaps be of service in settling the vexed question of the authorship of the poems ascribed to Cynewulf.

WILLIAM WITHERLE LAWRENCE.

¹ *Anglia*, XIII, 19.

IX.—SIGNY'S LAMENT.

In the preceding article my friend Mr. Lawrence has shown clearly that all indications point to an Old Norse source for the Anglo-Saxon poem usually termed *The First Riddle of Cynewulf*. After he had come to a conviction on this point, he communicated his theory to me in private conference, in the hope that I might perhaps be able to supply confirmatory evidence by showing what that source was. It was my fortune to make what I believe scholars will agree to be the correct identification of the material, and, with the new light thus thrown on its meaning, to interpret the poem more satisfactorily, I think, than has hitherto been done.

I.

In my opinion we have here to do neither with a riddle¹ nor with "a little story of love and jealousy between two men Wolf and Eadwacer,"² but with an ancient Norse lay of the *Völsungs*, which may properly be entitled "*Signy's Lament*."

The narrative necessary to an understanding of the situation is extant only³ in certain introductory chapters of the *Völsungasaga*,⁴ a work composed in the second half of the thirteenth century, and preserved in a parchment manuscript of the end of the fourteenth. Of these chapters it seems well to give first a detailed summary.

¹ The prevailing view from the time of Leo (1857) to that of Mr. Bradley (1888), and not even now entirely abandoned. For a review of previous opinion, see Mr. Lawrence's discussion, above, pp. 247 ff.

² Mr. Gollancz's interpretation, according to Mr. Stopford Brooke (*Eng. Lit. from the Beg. to the Norman Conquest*, 1898, p. 160). In the *Academy*, 44, 572, Mr. Bradley is said to have accepted Mr. Gollancz's view.

³ Unless we include the late Icelandic *Rímur frá Völsungi hinum óborna*, ed. Möbius, *Edda*, Leipzig, 1860, pp. 240 ff.; ed. Finnur Jónsson, *Fornir Fornislenskir Rímnaflokkar*, 1896.

⁴ Ed. Ranisch, "nach Bugges Text," Berlin, 1891, chs. 3-8.

Volsung, king of the Huns, has ten sons and one daughter, of whom the most distinguished are the two eldest, the twin brother and sister, Sigmund and Signy. Siggeir, king of Gautland, presents himself as a suitor for Signy's hand. Notwithstanding her disinclination, the marriage is arranged; but the day after the ceremony Siggeir, feeling himself insulted by certain remarks of Sigmund, determines to return immediately to his own land. Signy begs her father to let her remain at home, for she dislikes Siggeir and foresees misfortune from the marriage. Volsung, however, will not hear of a covenant's being broken, and insists that the bride shall accompany her lord. Before Siggeir leaves, he invites King Volsung, his sons, and as many retainers as he may wish to bring, to a feast in Gautland at a respite of three months—thus appearing to compensate for his discourtesy in leaving so abruptly the marriage feast which his father-in-law has prepared.

At the appointed time Volsung and his followers set sail for Siggeir's land. They arrive late in the evening, and are met at once by Signy, who warns her father and brothers that her husband has collected a large army and intends to deceive them. She urges them to depart without delay, assemble men, and return with power to defend themselves. But Volsung has never before fled from any man and swears he will not now; he will abide whatever fate has in store for him. Thereupon Signy weeps bitterly and begs that she may not be sent back to Siggeir. "Volsung the king answers: 'Thou shalt certainly go home to thy husband and dwell with him, howsoever it fare with us.'" And she obeys her father's command.

The next day, after a valiant defence against the hosts which the treacherous Siggeir has assembled, Volsung and his followers are all slain, except Sigmund and his brothers, who are taken prisoners. Signy asks that they be not then put to death but set in the stocks, where they will perish more slowly. Siggeir marvels that she should desire for her brothers this added torment, but accedes to her request. On nine successive nights a she-wolf devours one of the brothers, until only Sigmund remains. By a device of Signy's, he gains his freedom and escapes to the forest. Trusted messengers acquaint Signy with what has happened. "She goes now and meets her brother, and they agree that he shall make himself an earth-house in the forest; and for a while Signy conceals him there, and provides him with what he needs to have; but Siggeir the king thinks that all the Volsungs are dead."

Signy bears her lord two sons. When the elder is ten years old, she sends him to Sigmund to aid him in avenging their father. But the boy's courage being tested, he is deemed unworthy by both, and at Signy's request is slain. So it fares with the second son when he too shows himself a coward.

Signy now decides upon a desperate plan to accomplish her secret purpose of revenge. Disguised as a witch, she makes her way alone to her brother's retreat, represents herself as lost in the forest, and begs for shelter. Thinking her simply a poor unhappy woman, Sigmund allows her to come in; but pity for her soon becomes desire, and he finally shares with

her his bed. Unrecognized she returns home. "And when her time comes, Signy gives birth to a boy, who is named Sinfjötli; and when he grows up, he is both big and strong and fair in face and much like the Volsungs, and he is not yet ten years old when she sends him to Sigmund's earth-house." Already, before she commits him to her brother's care, she tests his spirit and finds him brave according to her hopes, and Sigmund's test proves the boy admirably bold. Still the hero considers him as too young then to undertake revenge, and in order to accustom him to hard trial takes him to the woods, where together the two lead a life of adventure and "perform many deeds of might in the realm of Siggeir the king."

"And by the time Sinfjötli is grown up, Sigmund thinks he has tested him well. Now it is not long before Sigmund will attempt to revenge his father, if so it may be; and so on a certain day they depart from the earth-house and come to the court of Siggeir the king." By accident they are discovered and captured, but with Signy's aid regain their freedom the same night, and set fire to the hall while all within sleep. The king awakes and asks who has made the fire. "'Here am I, and Sinfjötli, my sister's son,' said Sigmund, 'and we intend that thou shalt know that all the Volsungs are not dead.' He bids his sister go out and receive from him good consideration and great honor, and he will thus atone for her griefs. She answers: 'Now thou shalt know whether I have remembered to Siggeir the king the slaying of Volsung the king; I had our children killed because they seemed to me too slow to revenge my father, and I went into the forest to thee [Sigmund] in the likeness of the witch, and Sinfjötli is our son; great bravery he has from this that he is both the son's son and daughter's son of Volsung the king; I have done all these things that Siggeir the king should get his death; so much have I done to accomplish revenge that it is now nowise possible for me to live; I will now die gladly with Siggeir the king, though I married him by compulsion.' Thereupon she kisses Sigmund her brother and Sinfjötli and goes into the fire and bids them farewell; so she dies with Siggeir the king and all his court."

II.

Before offering a new interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon poem as based on an old version of this story of Sigmund and Signy, I would first explain that Sigmund, the Volsung,¹ was also head of the race of the Wolfings² (O. N. *Ylfingar*, A.-S.

¹ That is, "the descendant of Vols," *Wælses eafra*, according to *Bēowulf*, 896. The Saga by confusion gives *Volsungr* as the father's name. See Symons, Paul's *Grundriss*, 2nd ed., III, 653.

² In the prose introduction to H. H., II, we read: "Sigmundr konungr ok hans ættmenn hétu Volsungar ok Ylfingar." Cf. H. H., I, sts. 35, 51; H. H., II, sts. 4, 8, 46.

Wylfingas) and therefore correctly called Wolf. How this name arose in the beginning, there is insufficient evidence to determine, and for our present purpose it is a matter of little moment. Sigmund's ancestor Sigi, it may be said, was "called wolf" (*i. e.*, outlawed) according to the saga before us, because he murdered a thrall, and might not afterwards remain at home with his father.¹ The words *ulfr* and *vargr*, meaning wolf, were both used in Old Norse as the designation of an outlaw,² and among the Anglo-Saxons when a man was proclaimed an outlaw he was "called wolf's head."³ The term "Wolf" was suitable to Sigmund, then, if only from his outlawed condition. Still another reason some will find for the appellation Wolf as applied to Sigmund in the fact that, according to the saga just mentioned, he and Sinfjötli are said to have lived for a while as werewolves in the forest; but this seems to me a late addition, introduced probably to explain the name of the race, Wolfings, or the obscure references in certain Eddic poems to Sinfjötli as a companion of wolves, and not likely to have been a part of the story in the

¹ *Völsungasaga*, ch. 1: "þá kalla þeir hann varg í véum, ok má hann nú eigi heima vera með feðr sínum."

² Examples are cited in Fritzner's *Ordbog*: "Björn ok ulfr skal hvervetna útlagr vera"; "Eyvindr hafði vegit í véum, ok var hann vargr orðinn"; "sá er gengr á görva sett—hann skal svá víða vargr heita sem veröld er bygð, ok vera hvarvetna rækr ok rekinn um allan heim, hvar sem hann verðr stadinn á hvjeru doegri" (*Grágas*); "skal sá rekinn vera frá guði ok frá allri guðs kristni svá víða vargr í véum." In the *Rune-Poem* we read (st. 1): "fé vældr frénda róge; fœðesk úlfr í skóge" (ed. Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*, pp. 276 ff.). See also examples in Cleasby-Vigfusson, *Dictionary*, s. v. *vargr*, *ulfr*. *Ulf*- is very common as a component part of proper names of persons.—Cf. H. H., II, st. 32.

³ The laws of Edward the Confessor (§ 6) speak as follows of one who has fled justice: "Si postea repertus fuerit et teneri possit, vivus regi reddatur, vel caput ipsius si se defenderit; lupinum enim caput geret a die utlægacionis, quod ab Anglis *whuesheved* nominatur. Et hæc sententia communis est de omnibus utlagis"; see Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, etc., I, 445. The phrase "to cry wolf's-head," as synonymous with outlawry, is several times used in the Middle English *Tale of Gamelyn* (ed. Skeat, ll. 700, etc.; cf. p. 45, where the above passage from the laws is quoted).

eighth century.¹ Without this consideration, it is clear that there was sufficient reason for Signy to address Sigmund as Wolf.

Here follows a translation of the Anglo-Saxon poem :

Signy's Lament.

1. It is to my people as if they are to be given (or, are being
given²) gifts (or, a gift);

.
.

They will oppress³ him if he comes into straits.

Unlike is our lot.

2. Wolf is on an island, I on another ;
Firm is the island, surrounded by fen ;
Cruel men are there in the island ;
They will oppress him if he comes into straits.

Unlike is our lot.

3. I thought⁴ of my Wolf with far-reaching hopes ;
When it was rainy weather, and I sat sorrowful,
Then the hero took me in his embrace ;
There was joy to me from that, yet to me
was there also loathing.

¹ For a discussion of this matter, see below, pp. 280 ff.

² For the difference in the rendering of the passage, see the commentary on stanza 1 below.

³ The word *āþecgan* in the text has much disturbed scholars. Mr. Bradley, interpreting it as the causative of *þiegan*, translates "to give food to." *þecgan*, however, without the prefix, means "to trouble, to consume," e. g. *hine þegeð þurst* (Lhd., II, 60, 7). The prefix *ā-*, according to Bosworth-Toller, "is often used to impart greater force to the transitive meaning of a single verb," as in *āþeodan*, *āslēan*. Therefore, *āþecgan* would seem to be best translated "oppress." Compare also the force of the compound *ofþecgan*, e. g., *ecgum ofþegde willgesippas* (Gen., I. 2002), "destroyed, slain by the sword."

⁴ The text reads *dogode*; but there exists in Anglo-Saxon no verb **dogian* of which this can be a part. Hicketier (*Anglia*, x, 579) amends to *hogode*, which is doubtless the correct reading. *hogode* occurs in the *Battle of Maldon* (l. 133) governing a genitive: *ægþer hyra oðrum yfeles hogode*.

4. Wolf, my Wolf, hopes for thee
Have made me sick, thy seldom-coming,
[My] mourning mind, not at all lack of food.
5. Hearest thou, Very Vigilant One?¹ The brave whelp
of us two
Wolf bears to the wood.
One easily severs what never was joined—
Our fellowship together.²

Commentary.

1. The first stanza is evidently fragmentary, and it is therefore impossible to determine exactly the situation. If it were not for the fact that the verbs in the first line are in the present tense, I should regard it as containing an allusion to the deception of Vǫlsung by Siggeir. The latter had given his father-in-law a very pressing invitation to visit him together with his ten sons and as many followers as he cared

¹ *Ēadwacer*, I interpret, not as a proper name, which is nowhere else found, but as a translation of an Old Norse epithet *Auðvagr*, i. e., "The Easily (or, Very) Vigilant One." *Vagr* is a name of Odin; see *Grimnesmǫl*, st. 54. *Arvagr* ("Early-Awake") is the name of one of the steeds that draw the chariot of the sun; see *Grimnesmǫl*, st. 37; *Sigrdrífomǫl*, st. 15; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 11.—*Auð-* is an extremely common adverbial prefix in this sense; cf. *auðmjukr*, *auðviss*, *auðtryggr*, *auðtruinn*, *auðginntr*, *auðmildingr*, etc.; also A.-S. *ēadhrēðig*, *ēadmod* (*ēaðmod*). The O. N. proper name *Auðunn*, *Vigfusson* derives from *Auðvinr*, "a charitable friend"; cf. A.-S. *Ēadwine*.

Likewise, on a similar occasion (see below, p. 294), Guthrun addresses her husband, not by his actual name, but by various epithets: *pengill*, *sverða deilir*, *móðugr*, *gulls miðlendr* (*Atlakviða*, sts. 36, 39, 40). Here, it should be observed, the epithet "Very Vigilant One" is especially applicable to Siggeir.

² The text reads *giedd geador*, "song together." This makes good sense, metaphorically considered; but Herzfeld (*Die Rätsel des Exeterbuches*, Berlin, 1890, p. 66, note 1) is probably right in emending to *gæd geador*, which phrase occurs in another A.-S. poem, *Salomon and Saturn* (ed. Kemble, ll. 899 ff.), where we read: *noðde gæd geador in godes rice, ēadiges engles and bæs ofermōdan*.

to bring. Despite Signy's suspicions expressed in advance, her people came expecting fair treatment and the gifts which were always provided by the host for distinguished guests at a festival. In the two lines which we assume to be necessary to make the stanza correspond in length to the second, Signy might be thought to recall afterwards the death of her father and the escape of Sigmund. But since such statements would naturally be made in the past tense, I would not urge this interpretation. It is worth while, nevertheless, to compare the opening of the story of Guthrun and Atli in the *Atlakviða*, which follows throughout the same course. When with evil purpose Atli invites his wife's brothers to his court, his messenger offers them as inducement rich gifts, which are enumerated at length.¹

Whatever be the meaning of the opening line,² the last part of the stanza is clear. Signy's anxious thought is for her brother out in the lonely forest, in perpetual fear of discovery by his enemies. With his sad circumstances she contrasts her own position at the king's court in luxury and power.

¹ *Atlakviða*, sts. 4, 5 (ed. Sijmons-Gering, I, 424):

skjöldo knegöþ [þar] velja ok skafna aska,
 hjalma gollhroþna ok Húna menge,
 silfrgyld soþolklæþe, serke valrauþa,
 dafar ok darraþar, drosla mélgreypa.

Völl lézk [ykr ok] gefa munda víþrar Gnitaheiþar,
 af geire gjallanda ok af gyldom stöfnom,
 stórar meiþmar ok staþe Danpar,
 hrís þat et méra es [meþr] Myrkviþ kalla.

Cf. also *Atlakviða*, st. 13, where Högni, in reply to Kostbera's objections to their journey, remarks: "okr mon gramr golle reifa glóþrauþo." See the paraphrase of the first passage in *Völsungasaga*, ch. 33.

² It may be, as Mr. Lawrence suggests, that the first line refers to the immediate situation. Signy has reared Sinfjötli in the hope of seeing her relatives revenged by his aid. She now sends him forth to her only surviving brother, the best gift she can offer her race, a gift she has bought at a terrible price. Thus the keynote of the poem would be struck in the opening line.

2. This contrast is enforced in the second stanza, where she pictures more definitely Sigmund's dwelling. The island which he occupies is, of course, not in the sea, or in a river, but a fastness "surrounded by marsh." It was like Athelney (The Aetheling's Island) to which the royal fugitive Alfred withdrew when in danger from his enemies. Athelney was a hill surrounded by marsh in Somersetshire. Asser¹ describes it as "a place surrounded by impassable marshes and rivers which no one can enter but by boats or by a bridge." The dangers which Sigmund and Sinfjötli encountered from hostile men are emphasized in the eighth chapter of the *Völsunga-saga*.

3. The third stanza refers to the most tragic incident in Signy's life, namely, the conception of Sinfjötli. Coming to the conclusion that no son she bore to Siggeir would ever have courage to achieve revenge for the Völsungs' betrayal, she determined to do what only the direst necessity would ever have caused to enter her mind, to lie with her own twin brother and conceive by him a son, who, when he grew to manhood, might perhaps accomplish the revenge which to her was more than life. These "far-reaching hopes" she naturally could not share with Sigmund. He, she well knew, would never have agreed to his sister's shame, even as a last resort to bring about an end he eagerly desired. So Signy resolved on deception, and in disguise went one stormy night to his secret dwelling. He did not refuse her admittance, and she lay beside him unrecognized.

The last line of the stanza becomes now an utterance of anguish. In attaining her end without Sigmund's knowledge, Signy had joy; but she dearly bought her satisfaction, for it was secured by an act she loathed—physical union with her twin-brother.

¹ *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*, A. D. 888, trans. Giles, *Six O. E. Chrons.*, p. 79. Note that the *-ey* of Athelney is the same word as that used in the poem before us. Sigmund might well have been called Eyjolf, i. e., Island-wolf.

4. The fourth stanza is an extenuating plea for her conduct. In imagination she converses with Sigmund and urges with passionate earnestness that she had reasons for her offense. In all her doings, she had thought not of her own happiness but of his, not of her husband but of her father and brothers. Siggeir provided for her well; she had no need to complain of physical discomfort; but her heart was sad thinking of her brother's sorrow, of the cruel fate by which they were kept apart except on rare occasions, till at last she could bear the temptation no longer: her grief made her willing to shame herself for his sake.

5. Having thus offered her vindication to him whom she feels she has most offended, she imagines her husband before her, and addresses him boldly, throwing away for the first time the mask of friendliness which she has long worn in his presence in order the better to work out her schemes. She exultingly bids him observe that, though very vigilant, he has not thwarted her purpose. Sigmund is now conducting to the woods, to train in warlike accomplishments, the "whelp" (so called because he was doubly of the race of the Wolfings) which the two have had together. Her mission is fulfilled. The end approaches.

Her apology to her husband is scant. She was married to him against her will. She remained with him after she discovered his treachery, first in obedience to her father's command, then to honor her race by revenge. Their married life was a mockery. "One easily severs what never was joined."

Thus we must imagine the moment when this soliloquy was uttered to have been just after Signy learns that Sinfjotli, having valiantly submitted to the various tests of his worth by her and her brother, is being taken to the woods for the training that Sigmund thought the boy needed before he could undertake the Volsungs' revenge. Into Sigmund's hands Signy has now committed this precious life for which she has suffered agony and shame. She has reached the limit of her

power to aid. Sigmund and Sinfjötli together will give her treacherous husband his due. Now her life's work is done. She pours forth her lament. She is ready to die. The climax of the poem is indeed powerful.

Attention has been frequently directed by scholars to the scene in the Saga between Sigmund, Siggeir, and Signy as unquestionably poetic in foundation.¹ In "Signy's Lament" we may perhaps have an early form of the very lay on which it is founded. Signy's words are, as we have seen, a soliloquy, in which she is represented as addressing Sigmund and Siggeir, whom in imagination she conjures up before her. In the Saga similar speeches are represented as delivered by Signy to the same persons; yet now not simply imaginatively but as if she were actually in their presence. On no occasion except when Sigmund and Siggeir came together in the final struggle, could Signy be pictured as thus addressing both at once. It was an impressive moment, when the royal palace was burning and King Siggeir's doom was sealed, just before the queen herself, the implacable avenger, desperate, but exultant, in death, went willingly to perish in the flames with the husband whom she had so long striven to involve in calamity.²

¹ Cf., for example, Symons's statement (Paul's *Grundriss*, 2nd ed., 1898, III, 652): "Die schönen letzten Worte der Signy, bevor sie sich in das Feuer der brennenden Halle stürzt, sind unverkennbar Wiedergabe eines Liedfragments." Professor Bugge, commenting long ago on the poetic basis of the story, remarked justly that in general it is only where the characters speak in person that the author has followed his sources exactly; where, on the other hand, events are merely related, the prose account varies more from the lays on which it is based. (*Norraen Fornkvæði, Fortale*, p. xxxvi).

² As Symons says (l. c.): "Der Verlust dieser Lieder aus der Sigmund-sage ist aufs tiefste zu beklagen; noch im Prosagewande der Saga verraten sie eine kernige epische Haltung und eine Altertümlichkeit des Stils, womit nur wenige der erhaltenen eddischen Heldenlieder sich messen können. Und auch die Sage selber wird, wie kaum eine zweite, vom Geiste des germanischen Altertums getragen."

III.

It is obvious that if this interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon poem is correct a very significant fact has been brought to view, namely, that an Old Norse poem, which may perhaps have been one of the ancient lays used in a later form by the compiler of the *Völsungasaga*, existed in England in the eighth century, when it was translated into Anglo-Saxon verse. The story of Sigmund and Signy, further, is thus attested in an Old Norse version at least five hundred years earlier than any hitherto thought to exist, earlier by over a century than the oldest of the Eddic poems in its present form; and literary contact between Englishmen and Norsemen, at a period antedating the extensive Scandinavian settlements in the West, is evident beyond a doubt.

These results are important as throwing new light on the vexed questions of the home and nature of the Eddic poems, and of the *Völsungasaga*.¹

The story of Sigmund and Sinfjötli, all scholars agree, is of Frankish origin and was carried from Germany northward. But how it reached Scandinavia is still a matter of dispute. Professor Bugge has recently expressed the opinion that "the *Völsung* stories in the poetic Edda and in the *Völsungasaga* were first composed by Scandinavians in the West, partly with Anglo-Saxon poems as models."² The existence of "Signy's Lament" would seem to support this view, since it affords evidence of the treatment of primitive Teutonic material by Northerners in Northumbria long before there is any trace of the same material in Scandinavia. An important passage in

¹ Readers will, I hope, recognize that the following part of this investigation is of a different character from what precedes. There are some distinguished scholars, I am well aware, who have a rooted aversion to the "Western hypothesis." Naturally, they will not incline to the views here expressed. Whether these are right or not, however, is a matter quite independent of the interpretation of "Signy's Lament."

² See my translation of Professor Bugge's *Home of the Eddic Poems*, Grimm's Library, xi, London, 1899, p. 374 (original edition, p. 340).

Bēowulf, which we shall examine more minutely presently, attests the familiarity of Englishmen with the Sigmund story at a still earlier date. There is nothing specifically Norse about the material in the "Lament," and there is no reason to doubt that the poem was composed in England. At all events, its author was a Norseman,¹ and by him, or by some other Norseman in England, the poem was communicated to the Anglo-Saxons. If one Old Norse poem containing primitive Germanic material was current in Northumbria as early as the eighth century, more of the same sort were doubtless also in circulation there at the same time, and naturally still others later when large numbers of the most enterprising and enlightened Scandinavians resided in the British Isles and brought up families there. Now, the Norsemen who repeated the stories of Sigmund and his kin at this early period in Northumbria were in constant association with the people of unlike strain who then occupied that land. And if an Anglo-Saxon understood their language well enough to translate their poetry into his own tongue, he could easily communicate to them native stories in return. Not only *could*, I believe, but almost certainly *would*; for since the world began there has always been a "give and take" of popular tradition whenever races joined in fellowship of any kind. And when, as in Britain later, intermarriage between Scandinavian, Saxon, and Celt was very common, a blending of legend and belief accompanied inevitably a blending of blood. Old Norse poets in the West, under the abiding influence of foreigners, must have gradually assimilated foreign ideas, developed a modified habit of thought and come to accept British traditions as if they had always been theirs. Unconsciously they became westernized, and then expressed themselves in a manner different from that which would have been natural to them had they remained in isolation at home. It may, indeed, be doubted whether the Norse poets, had they not thus come into stimulating contact

¹This is true even if it be held that the Anglo-Saxon poem is not a translation, which is a very improbable view.

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with outsiders, would have attempted to make permanent record of even native traditions. One thing at least is certain: such of their lays as were produced or repeated in the West could have been kept wholly pure from outside elements only by a miracle of chance.

Indisputable proof of foreign influence in any particular instance is difficult to present to the satisfaction of all, because the early material at hand is unfortunately so scant. And therefore much of the evidence that has been offered in the past, has, from the very nature of the case, been so hypothetical and uncertain, that it has not been generally accepted. Yet we must not be content to sit down in darkness while there is a chance to grope our way into the light. Constantly new texts are appearing and new researches in many quarters illuminate our path. Vigfusson and Professor Bugge, both men of broad vision, have, I believe, turned us in the right direction, and, whatever be the final opinion on details in their theories, time will surely establish the correctness of their general point of view. It is not my intention to enter at large into this question. The story of Sigmund and Sinfjǫtli, as preserved particularly in the opening chapters of the *Vǫlsungasaga*, does, however, claim present attention. With the new evidence that "Signy's Lament" contributes to the elucidation of the problem, we can now more intelligently study the nature of the material there curiously combined.¹ Perhaps we may thereby come to a conviction as to the place where it was most probably brought together.

¹Symons sums up as follows the results of his thorough researches regarding this part of the Saga (Paul-Braune, *Beitr.*, III, 302): "Diese ersten, die vorgeschichte behandelnden capitel unserer saga sind also—dies ist das resultat unserer untersuchung—nicht als reine, ungekünstelte niederschrift eines stückes alter sage aufzufassen, sondern als ein conglomerat von halb zerstörten liederresten, dunkler überlieferung verschiedenster einzelsagen, ausgeweiteten andeutungen der Eddalieder und tendenziöser erdichtung. Für die kenntnis der ältesten gestalt unserer heldensage sind sie im grossen und ganzen ohne gewicht, denn das ächte, das sie bieten, ist uns in den hauptsächlichsten punkten auch anderwärts überliefert; ihre eigenen angaben aber unterliegen dem berechtigten verdachte."

IV.

At the outset, it is important to examine carefully what still remains the oldest witness to the tradition of Sigmund and Sinfjötli. In affirming the familiarity of the English with this tradition, we are fortunately not limited to the evidence here first offered, convincing though that is in itself; for as early as in *Bēowulf* twenty-six lines are occupied by references to the same heroes. In King Hrothgar's hall the gleeman,

sē þe eal-fela eald-gesegena
worn gemunde (870-1),

told with enthusiasm of Sigmund's career, and was apparently acquainted with more primitive traditions concerning him and Sinfjötli than any that are now clearly preserved.¹

þæt hē fram Sigemundes secgan hȳrde
ellen-dædum uncūðes fela
Wælsinges gewin, wīde sīðas,
þāra þe gumena bearn gearwe ne wiston,
fēhðe ond fyrena, būton Fitela mid hine,
þonne he swylces hwæt secgan wolde
ēam his nefan, swa hīe ā wæron
æt nīða gehwām nȳd-gesteallan:
hæfdon eal-fela eotena cynnes
sweordum gesæged (876 ff.).

This passage will be found presently to have considerable significance in helping us to determine the form of the original saga. As a seventh-century record it deserves peculiar prominence.

Here, it should be observed, Sinfjötli (Fitela) is represented as Sigmund's nephew, not as his son. And, in truth,

¹ The author of *Bēowulf* knew Sigmund, and not his son Sigurth (Siegfried), as the slayer of the dragon. In this adventure he expressly states that Fitela was not with Sigmund. In the *Eiríksmál*, composed soon after 950 in honor of a prince of Northumbria, Sigmund and Sinfjötli are mentioned together as both occupying a prominent position in Valhöll, being designated by Odin to go to welcome Eric. On the Völsung story in England, see Binz, Paul-Braune, *Beitr.*, xx (1895), 190-192.

while the two performed the deeds of which mention is made, both thought that no other relationship existed between them. On the other hand, references to Sinfjötli in the Elder Edda as "the son of Sigmund" and "the step-son of Siggeir," indicate the familiarity of the Norsemen with the circumstances of the boy's birth.¹ But first in the "Lament" have we the incest of Sigmund and Signy plainly stated: Signy there confesses that on a rainy night she lay with her brother in his lonely retreat, and she acknowledges Sinfjötli as her son as well as his. Still, there is nothing to prove that the circumstances of their union were as described in the Saga. Usually in such tales of incest brother and sister unite by mutual misapprehension, or by the deliberate device of one, under the cover of darkness, and there is no question of shapeshifting by supernatural means. In the Saga the original situation is obscured by the introduction of unsuitable elements. Into connection with the primitive tale of incest, which never perhaps was told in detail, appears to have been brought a widespread story,—similar enough to make the combination easy, but nowhere else so connected, and of entirely different origin,—namely, the Irish tale of The Sovereignty, the basis of the narrative ascribed by Chaucer to the Wife of Bath. The history of this tale has recently been carefully studied by Dr. Maynadier,² who has discussed the incident in the Saga as one of many parallels, of which the most primitive are clearly shown to be Celtic, and doubtless of very early origin, though not preserved in manuscripts older than the twelfth century.

In all but one of the English versions of the story we have the common feature that "a man whose life depends on answering correctly the question, 'what women most desire,' is saved by a loathsome hag on condition that he shall marry her. She turns into a fair young woman after getting all her

¹ See H. H., I, 43; H. H., II, prose after st. 16; *Frá Daupa Sinfjötla*. In *Skáldskaparmöl*, ch. 64, we are told that Siggeir was "mágr Völsungs."

² *The Wife of Bath's Tale, Its Sources and Analogues*, Grimm Library, XIII, London, 1901, pp. 49 ff.

will.”¹ In the ballad of “King Henry,”² however, there is no introduction like that in the others; a hag simply visits a king when he is sitting alone in his hunting-hall, induces him to let her share his bed, and is thereupon transformed to beauty. She was, it appears, under a spell, which was thus broken.

In an Old Norse saga of the fourteenth century, the *Hrólfs Saga Kraka*,³ we have a similar story told of King Helgi. This parallel deserves here more careful attention. One Yule evening, we read, when King Helgi is in bed, and the weather is ill without, there comes to his retired dwelling a poor, tattered creature who craves admittance. Considering that it would be unkingly to turn her away in her wretchedness he decides to incur whatever risk her coming may cause, and lets her in. Soon she begs leave to lie beside him, declaring that her life depends on his acquiescence. He is loath to consent, but finally yields, and permits her to rest in his bed with her clothes on, for that, he concludes, can do him no harm. At first he turns his back on her, but after a while, looking over his shoulder, and observing to his astonishment that she has become extraordinarily fair and is clad in silk; he turns towards her quickly with gladness. She explains that he has dispelled a stepmother's curse laid upon her, and makes as if to leave him without delay; but Helgi, now charmed by her appearance, detains her and they spend the night together. In the morning she tells him that she shall bear a child as the result of their meeting, and bids him receive it when it is sent him. Then she goes away, and Helgi forgets about the affair; but after three years she brings him the child one night and leaves it with him to care for. “Skuld grows up there, and soon reveals a fierce (*grimmúðug*) disposition.”

¹ See Maynadier, l. c., p. 15.

² Child, *Ballads*, I, 297 ff.

³ *Fornaldar Sögur Norðrlanda*, ed. Rafn, Cop., 1829, I, 30, chap. 15. It should be observed that this saga also contains material apparently borrowed from the English *Bēowulf* story; see ten Brink, *Beowulf*, p. 188, and, for other references, Symons, Paul's *Grundriss*, III, 649.

The account in the *Völsungasaga* is strikingly similar. Signy appears at Sigmund's lonely dwelling, says that she has lost her way in the forest, and asks shelter. He considers a while before letting her in, but finally decides to do so, because, he argues, she is a woman in distress, and it is unlikely that she will reward his hospitality by betraying him. When she enters, she is no doubt repulsive in appearance, for she has shifted shapes with a witch and come to Sigmund in this disguise; but apparently she is soon transformed, for after a while he discovers her to be fair and beautiful ("væn ok fríþ"¹) and then, but not before, suggests her sharing his bed. On this occasion Sinfjötli is begotten, and at an early age he is sent to his father to be reared. The boy speedily betrays an extraordinarily fierce disposition.

The situation here is unintelligible unless we postulate the influence of a story in which the transformation of a woman from ugliness to beauty is effected by her being granted a man's favor. Such a story, as we have seen, is more clearly told in the *Hrólfs Saga Kraka*, a work of later date. Whatever the exact relationship that the two sagas bear each other, they undoubtedly both show in this episode foreign influence.

It is expressly stated in the *Hrólfs Saga* that the ugly woman was a fay (*alf-kona*²), which points back to the primitive situation in the Irish stories, where the hideous woman is a fay in disguise, who simply assumes ugliness the better to test her mortal favorite. That fays could shift their shapes at will, was something which in the beginning everybody understood; but later this was not obvious to all, especially to such as were unfamiliar with Celtic tradition, and the loathly appearance of the lady was explained as due to a stepmother's curse, a much overworked mediæval explana-

¹ Cf. the words of the *Hrólfs Saga*, where the king suddenly discovers the former hag "svá væn at eigi þikist hann aðra kónu fríðari sett hafa."

² This is the word used to translate the French *fée* in *Strengleikar*, p. 12, l. 4 f.: "funndu þeir þar æina fríða fru sœm alfkona vøre;" see other passages in Fritzner's *Ordbog*.

tion of any deformation. In the *Völsungasaga* both the shape-shifting and the transformation are preserved, but the former is represented as due to an outside agency and the latter is so slurred over as to be obscure. That no external reason could be given for the second alteration of shape, from ugliness to beauty, doubtless troubled the writer and he left the matter dark. Signy was not represented as an *alf-kona*, eager to test a hero she loved; nor was she thought of as under a spell, which could only be broken by intercourse with a man. She was simply pictured as a mortal lady who determined if possible to conceive a son by her brother, and to bring it about went alone one rainy night in disguise to his solitary hut and returned home without being discovered.¹ There is no likelihood that the features of the shapeshifting by the hag or the transformation in the hut were connected with the story when "Signy's Lament" was written. These features were borrowed directly or indirectly from a Celtic tale.

V.

In *Bēowulf*, in the passage above quoted, it is distinctly stated that Sigmund and Sinfjötli (Fitela), uncle and nephew, together performed many deeds of might, of which the particulars were little known. In wide journeys of adventure

¹ In the "Wooing of Emer," an Irish tale of the eleventh century, but belonging, in the opinion of Prof. Kuno Meyer, to "the oldest, or heroic, cycle of early Irish literature," to a body of tales which were "written down perhaps as early as the sixth century," we have a strange parallel to this situation, in the account of how Queen Macha deceived her enemies, the sons of Dithorba, who were then living as exiles in the wilds of Connaught:—"Macha went to seek the sons of Dithorba in the shape of a leper, viz.: she smeared herself with rye-dough and . . . She found them in Buirend Connacht, cooking a wild boar. The men asked tidings of her and she gave them. And they let her have food by the fire. Said one of them: 'Lovely is the eye of the girl, let us lie with her.' He took her with him into the wood. She bound that man by dint of her strength, and left him in the wood." In like manner she made captive all the rest one after another. (Translated by K. Meyer, *Archeological Review*, I, 152; cf. p. 68.) For this parallel I am indebted to Prof. Kittredge.

they encountered feud and enmity, but when in difficulty assisted each other with mutual devotion and slew with swords many gigantic foes. From the "Lament" we learn that Sigmund took his nephew to the woods to prepare him, it is to be inferred, by hard trial for revenge on Siggeir, and Signy knew that there cruel men would oppress them if they came into straits. In the *Völsungasaga* the situation is the same. The eighth chapter begins as follows: "Now is this to be told, that Sinfjötli seems to Sigmund too young to undertake revenge with him, and he will now first accustom him to some hard trial; they go now in the summers on wide journeys in the woods, and slay men to get provision." They live continuously in this fashion until "when Sinfjötli is grown up, then Sigmund thinks that he has tested him much," and he determines to delay no longer the revenge he has planned. During the period of their association in conflict, "they performed many deeds of might in the realm of Siggeir the king." Of this period of dangerous adventure, however, little is said, probably because there was "uncūðes fela" in connection with them. Of the "wide journeys" of Sigmund and Sinfjötli the author of *Bēowulf* took occasion to remark that children of men knew but little, and the author of the *Völsungasaga* had surely no fuller sources of authentic information. Certain elements in his narrative of the hero's wanderings seem late and unwarranted additions.

Of these the most important is the account of how the two heroes became werewolves. "Now it happened one time when they were going about in the forest procuring provision for themselves, that they discovered a house in which two men were sleeping, with heavy gold rings; they had [evidently] fallen under enchantment, because wolf-cloaks hung over them; every tenth day they might remove the cloaks; they were kings' sons. Sigmund and Sinfjötli put on the cloaks and might not remove them, and acted as the others before: they also emitted wolf-cries; they both understood

the cries." In my opinion,¹ this feature was not present in the early saga of Sigmund.

In *Bēowulf*, not only is there not the slightest hint that Sigmund and Sinfjötli were werewolves when they associated together, but every indication is opposed to that view. The heroes, for example, slew their opponents *with swords*, and their exploits are obviously those of men in the full vigor of manhood, not of unhappy creatures cursed by fate. The same may be said of their conduct in the Saga itself. The arrangements they made for mutual assistance when in difficulty are not what we should expect of afflicted werewolves. They desired struggle, and fought willingly with overwhelming odds. Sigmund was solicitous about his nephew because he was "young and rash" and warned him not to fight alone with more than seven men; because that was as many as he even cared to engage. But the youth was daring. Before Sinfjötli had been long in the forest, he encountered eleven men and fought with them; and it turned out that he killed them all; being on this account much exhausted, he went under an oak to rest. A defect in the manuscript here obscures the story; but it appears that when Sigmund reproved him for his rashness, the youth answered boastfully, and his uncle in anger knocked the boy down so violently that he lay long ill. Sigmund, filled with remorse, then bore him on his back to their dwelling, sat beside him where he was prostrate, and finally effected his cure. All this is strikingly unlike the procedure of werewolves in any clime. The situation of two werewolves together, uncle and nephew, both seeking adventure, each ready to slay seven men without aid, able to understand each other, is surely unparalleled anywhere, and would in itself make us suspect the story to be a late addition; but there is one consideration which alone shows conclusively that the motive is here introduced without warrant and clumsily united with the rest. It is an invariable law with werewolves that though they can assume human shape at fixed intervals, they can

¹ Cf. above, p. 265.

never free themselves of the curse of their own accord. An outside agency is absolutely required. If the cloaks are to be destroyed it must be by another person on some occasion when they have been taken off by the unfortunate wearer. Yet in this instance Sigmund and Sinfjötli burn their own, as soon as it pleases them, after they have got tired playing werewolves, when Sigmund thinks his nephew sufficiently trained in war-like accomplishments to aid him in revenge.

The werewolf story connected with Sigmund and Sinfjötli is evidently not based on early tradition.¹ It was an after-thought of some one who, not understanding why Sigmund and his kin were called Wolfings, not understanding perhaps certain obscure references in the Helgi-lays² to Sinfjötli as a companion of wolves, ventured upon an explanation such as was intelligible to people of his time. No reference in the Poetic Edda to either Sinfjötli or Sigmund points back, I believe, to this episode, which, it should be observed, is not introduced even in the late *Rímur*. It may well be doubted whether it antedates the present redaction of the Saga. As all are aware, werewolf stories were familiar the world over, and this feature might as easily have been introduced in Iceland as in Britain. It is worth while noting, however, that the most famous tales of the kind are preserved in the "Breton lays" of *Bisclavret*, and *Melion*, the former by Marie de France.³

Connected with the werewolf episode in the Saga is another folklore feature, which is even more easily recognized as extra-

¹ Since the above was written, my attention has been called to the fact that Golther has expressed a similar opinion (*Handbuch der Germ. Myth.*, 1895, p. 102): "Die Sage mag auf einem alten Missverständniss beruhen. Warg, Wolf hiess der Geächtete in der germanischen Rechtssprache. Warg wurde wörtlich als Wolf verstanden, und so bildete sich die Werwolfs-geschichte."

² See below, p. 287.

³ Marie's lay of "Bisclaret" ("Norðmandingar kallaðo hann vargulf") was translated into Old Norse about the middle of the thirteenth century; but this was not the source of the material in the *Völsungasaga*. The author drew rather from a floating tale.

neous to the original narrative, namely, the account of how Sigmund restored Sinfjotli to health. "Sigmund observed one day two weasels, one of which bit the other in the throat. Thereupon it ran to the forest and got a leaf and placed it over the wound and the weasel sprang up hale. Sigmund went out and saw where a raven flew with the leaf and bore it to him; he placed it over the wound of Sinfjotli, who sprang up immediately as if he had never been wounded (ch. 8)."

The raven perhaps is Odin in disguise, who appears several times in the Saga to direct his favorite's career; but the rest of the story is an extremely common tradition as old as Apollodorus, Hyginus, and Pliny. Reinhold Köhler, in his notes on the lay of *Eliduc*¹ by Marie de France, cites nearly thirty examples, of which this is the only one in Scandinavian. He points out that of all these only in the Breton lay and in the Saga is a weasel² the animal whose actions indicate the plant of healing. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to attribute a Western origin to the motive as it appears in Old Norse.

¹ See *Die Lais der Marie de France*, Warnke, 2nd ed., Halle, 1901.

² Fritzner observes (*Ordbog*, s. v.) that *hreysikotr* is regularly used to translate the Latin *mustela*. In *Eliduc* (l. 1032) the animal is named *musteile*. Professor Kittredge has kindly called my attention to the following interesting passage, "De mustelis, earumque naturis," in the *Topographia Hibernica* (I, 27) of Giraldus Cambrensis, which shows that the story was familiar in Wales:

"Item fetus haec teneros, læsione quacunq̃ue mortificatos, crocei cujusdam floris beneficio, refocillare solet et vitæ restituere. Ut enim perhibent qui viderunt, et catellos peiculi istius causa morti dederunt, primo læsuræ, postmodum ori et naribus quasi inspirando, ceterisque per ordinem corpusculi fenestris omnibus allatum ore florem apponit. Et sic demum tam floris illius quam oris spiraculo, vel potius herbæ virtuosissimæ tactu, qui penitus expirasse videbantur, aliquo forte vitæ vestigio adhuc manente licet occulto, respirare compellit." (*Opera*, ed. Dimock, Rolls Series, v, 60-61.)

VI.

That the saga of Sigmund agrees with that of Arthur in certain striking features has long been known. As early as 1871, Liebrecht¹ noted, among other points of resemblance, that both heroes had as it were a double parentage. Ygerne, the wife of the Duke of Tintagel, conceives Arthur unwittingly by intercourse with King Uter Pendragon. Sigmund is the son of Völsung by a valkyrie who is said to be the beloved of Odin. Odin is represented as the head of Sigmund's race, and interposes regularly in his aid. Again, Arthur proves his right to rule by being the only one able to draw a sword from a stone; Sigmund in like manner shows his distinction by being the only one able to draw a sword from a tree. In both cases the weapon thus secured is of special virtue and contributes largely to the hero's success in his later career. The sword-test in the Arthur story² as we have it now is apparently an arrangement of the mage Merlin, in that of Sigmund it was planned by Odin. Arthur's last battle is signalized by the return of this sword to its supernatural owner. Sigmund recognizes Odin's hand determining his end when his sword falls before him broken, and he arranges for the preservation of the pieces until such time as by supernatural agencies they shall again be joined, and serve his heroic son.

Professor Bugge has emphasized³ the agreement of the Norse account of the sword-proof with that of Arthur as showing the influence on the former of a Celtic tale. Both Sigmund and Arthur resemble the classical Theseus in respect to this feature, as well as in their so-called double parentage.

¹ *Germania*, xvi, 214.

² See *Le Roman de Merlin*, ed. Sommer, London, 1894, pp. 84 ff.; *Huth Merlin*, ed. Paris and Ulrich, 1886, S. A. T. F., I, 135 ff.; Malory, *Morte Darthur*, bk. I, chs. 3, 4.

³ *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, v (1889), 38 ff.; xvii (1901), 53.

But the Sigmund story agrees with that of Arthur, and is unlike that of Theseus, in the important circumstance that the hero's success in getting possession of the famous sword is preceded by the failure of many others,—that he shows his peculiar power in a test in which all participate, while Theseus has no rival for the honor.

In the matter of their incest, the stories of Sigmund and Arthur show, I think, greater similarity than has hitherto been observed. An account of Arthur's incest is preserved only in versions of the French prose *Merlin* of the thirteenth century, earlier, it appears, than the *Völsungasaga*, but by no means to be regarded as originating in that period. The discovery of part of the Sigmund story in perfected form five centuries before it has hitherto been thought to exist, should surely make us less prone to confuse the date of origin of a tale with that of its preservation. In the *Merlin*, Arthur's union with his sister, the wife of King Lot of the Orkneys, is attributed entirely to chance, and brother and sister are said not to have recognized each other. But it is of course not necessary to regard this as the original situation. At the time of the record, to picture the great Christian king (for as such he had come to be regarded), or his sister, as committing wilful incest, would not have been tolerated by the public. The whole incident, though represented as accidental, was considered as sadly discreditable, the great blot on Arthur's scutcheon, and moralists found it easy to attribute the final collapse of the fellowship of the Round Table to this offense. Therefore, the way it was brought about is seldom related in detail. Enough is said, however, to show that the material is ancient, that it was an abiding tradition the romancers could not get rid of and treated as best they could.

Just what form this tradition, early connected with Arthur, assumed in primitive times, we cannot now say, for even in the extant versions of the story there is inconsistency. In

the so-called *Vulgate Merlin*¹ the incest is represented as happening while Arthur is still a young man, before he has been crowned; and Arthur was then ignorant of his relationship to his paramour. It is interesting to observe the attitude of his sister towards him and her husband, as recorded in the following words: "Quant ce vint al terme que li enfes fu nes, et la nouele fu par tout le pais qui cil seroit rois qui fu fiex Uter Pandragon, si l'ama miex la dame en son cuer que que nus ne poroit dire, mais ele n'en osa faire samblant, por le roy Loth son seignor, et mult li pesa de la guerre qui fu leuee entre lui et cels du pais." She induces her children by King Lot to join her brother Arthur and fight with him in his strife against her husband, their father. Mordred, her child by Arthur, later also joins the king, who, thus aided by his sister's children, is represented as completely destroying the host of his brother-in-law.²

There is one aspect of the incest which is particularly emphasized in the *Suite de Merlin*,³ namely, that Mordred, the fruit of it, is to have an evil nature and bring untold harm to the land of Logres (England). Mordred, it is predicted, will be a "chaitive personne," who will cause "grant dolour" to all—"grant maus" will happen "par ses oevres." Merlin thus addresses the king: "Artus, tu as fait si très grant desloiauté que tu as geu carnelment a ta serour germainne que tes peres engendra et ta mere porta, si i as engené un fil qui iert teuls comme Dieus set bien, car par lui verra moult de grant mal en terre"; and again: "tous chis roiaumes en sera destruis, et li preudomme et li boin chevalier dou roiaume

¹ *Roman de Merlin*, ed. Sommer, London, 1894, pp. 136-137; cf. p. 218. Merlin assumes various disguises in this romance to help Arthur; cf. p. 219. The account of "The Birthe and Engendrure of Mordret" in the French prose, and in an English metrical version of it by Lonelich Skynner, a writer of the 15th century, may be found in an edition of Lonelich's *Sank Ryall*, by Dr. Furnivall, Roxburghe Club, 1863, II, Appendix; cf. ch. lii, ll. 1145 ff.

² Cf. the *Huth Merlin*, ed. Paris and Ulrich, S. A. T. F., I, 261.

³ *Huth Merlin*, I, 154 ff.

de Logres en seront detrenchiet et ochis. Et li pais en remanra orphenins de boins chevaliers que tu i verras a ton tans. . . . Ensi remanra ceste terre deserte par les oevres de lui pecheor."

These statements regarding Mordred, the fruit of incest,¹ may perhaps throw light on some very obscure remarks concerning Sinfjötli in the Helgi-lays. Guthmund, who there engages him in a coarse word-combat, addressing him as "step-son of Siggeir," declares² that he has made himself "notorious for evil deeds" (*frægjan af firenverkom*), and was "everywhere hated" (*hvarleipr*); "all crimes fell to his lot" (*kvómo þer ógögn öll at hendi*). According to the *Völsungasaga* (ch. 8), Sigmund observes that Sinfjötli has an ill disposition, and concludes that he must have got it from Siggeir, and not from Signy. He marvels how it has come about that the youth appears so little "considerate of his relatives" (*frændrækinn*). His fierce disposition Sinfjötli shows later at Siggeir's hall, when he kills unhesitatingly his mother's two children who have betrayed him, a deed which Sigmund, horrified at the mere suggestion of it, refuses to commit.

It was because of his evil deeds that Sinfjötli was represented in the North as an outcast from society, an exile in the forest, where he lived in association with wolves.

In the First Lay of Helgi Hundingsbani (in the same stanzas from which the quotations above are taken) Sinfjötli is said to have slain his brother; but we have no account of such an occurrence. The reference can hardly be, as some have suggested, to the incident of the killing of Signy's two

¹ According to Sievers and Koegel, the very name of Fitela (O. H. G. Fizzilo, Fezzilo) reveals his incestuous origin (See Paul-Braune, *Beitr.*, xvi, 363, 509; cf. Kluge, *Engl. Stud.*, xvi, 433; Symons, *Paul's Grundriss*, 2nd ed., III, 653). For a discussion of "The Sister's Son" in mediæval literature, see an important article by Prof. F. B. Gummere in *An Eng. Miscellany*, presented to Dr. Furnivall, Oxford, 1901, pp. 133 ff.

² H. H., I, sts. 38, 43.

children, which has just been mentioned.¹ It may, however, be noted that the rhetorical Geoffrey of Monmouth in 1136 represents Mordred, to whom his uncle entrusted the kingdom in his absence, as indulging in "corrupt and treasonable practices," and as slaying his half-brother Gawain (who offers the same contrast to Mordred as Helgi to Sinfjötli) shortly before he himself was slain in the battle of Camlan. (Bk. XI, ch. 1-2.)

The description in romance of this last great battle of Arthur is strangely like that of Sigmund in the Saga (chs. 10-12). In Malory's words (bk. XXI, chs. 4, 5): "Then they blew beames, trumpets, and horns, and shouted grimly. And so both hosts dressed them together. And King Arthur took his horse, and said, alas this unhappy day, and so rode to his party: and Sir Mordred in like wise. And never was there seen a more dolefuller battle in no christian land. For there was but rushing and riding, foining and striking, and many a grim word was there spoken either to other, and many a deadly stroke. But ever King Arthur rode throughout the battle of Sir Mordred many times, and did full nobly as a noble king should; and at all times he fainted never." The fight continues fiercely all day, but, as if by miracle, Arthur escapes harm. "Then was Arthur wroth out of measure, when he saw his people so slain from him. Then the king looked about him, and then was he ware of all this host, and of all his good knights, were left no more on live but two knights, that was Sir Lucan de Butlere, and his brother

¹ In the Saga (ch. 10) the circumstances of Sinfjötli's murder of Borghild's brother are told as follows:

"Sinfjötli leggz nú í hernað af nýju; hann sér eina fagra konu ok girniz mjök at fá hennar; þeirrar konu bað ok bróðir Borghildar, er átti Sigmundr konung. Þeir þreyta þetta mál með orrostu, ok fellir Sinfjötli þenna konung; hann herjar nú víða ok á margar orrustur ok hefir ávalt sigr, geriz hann manna frægstr ok ágætastr ok kemr heim um haustit með mörpum skipum ok miklu fé."

There is no more question of Mordred's than of Sinfjötli's power. Geoffrey calls Mordred "the boldest of men."

Sir Bedivere. Jesu mercy, said the king, where are all my noble knights becomen? Alas that ever I should see this doleful day. For now, said Arthur, I am come to my end." Thereupon he encounters Mordred and slays him, but is himself wounded. Lucan dies helping the king. Arthur, aware of his approaching departure, gives his good sword Excalibur to Bedivere, to be returned to the Lady of the Lake, and bids the sole survivor of his host a noble farewell.

With this we may compare the following words in the Saga: "King Sigmund and Eylimi set up their standards, and then trumpets were blown. King Sigmund now let blow his horn, which his father had had, and incited his men. Sigmund had a much smaller host. Now began there a hard battle, and though Sigmund was old yet fought he now valiantly and was always foremost among his men; no shield or byrny held against him, and ever he went through the ranks of his foes on that day, and no one might see how it would fare between them. Many spears and arrows there were in the air; but his protecting-spirits so guarded him that he got no wound, and no one knew the tale of the men that fell before him." The battle continues fiercely until Odin appears, and causes Sigmund's sword to fall. "Then the slaughter turned, for the good-fortune of King Sigmund had departed from him, and his people fell fast from him. The king did not spare himself, and urged on his people. But, as goes the saying, no might [prevails] against many: in this battle fell King Sigmund and King Eylimi, his kinsman, in the forefront of his company, and the greater part of his host." Hjördis, Sigmund's wife,¹ remains alone with him on the battlefield, and thus he addresses her: "Many a man lives when there is little hope; but my good fortune has departed from me, so that I shall not be healed; Odin wills not that I draw my sword again since it is now broken; I have

¹ She is the cause of the dispute which led to this battle, even as Guinevere that which occasioned Camlan. On the possible confusion of Hjördis and Sigrlin, see *Home of the Eddic Poems*, pp. 273 f.

fought while it pleased him." He commits to her the broken sword for her unborn child, who with its help will achieve fame. These are his last words: "But now I grow weary from my wounds, and I will now visit our kin who have gone before."¹

The manner of Arthur's forthfaring also deserves notice. "Alas, said the king [to Sir Bedivere], help me hence, for I dread me I have tarried over long. Then Sir Bedivere took the king upon his back, and so went with him to that water side. And when they were at the water side, even fast by the bank hove a little barge, with many fair ladies in it, and among them all was a queen, and all they had black hoods, and all they wept and shrieked when they saw King Arthur. Now put me into the barge, said the king: and so he did softly . . . And so then they rowed from the land; and Sir Bedivere beheld all those ladies go from him . . . And as soon as Sir Bedivere had lost the sight of the barge, he wept and wailed, and so took the forest, and so he went all that night."

It would be fitting were the same account given of Sigmund's end. In truth, we do find a very similar situation described in the Saga² in the chapter preceding that narrating the last battle; but strangely enough, probably by confusion, it is Sinfjötli, the murderer and criminal, who receives this special mark of divine favor. Sigmund is represented as

¹ We may note also the appearance of pillagers on the battlefield. In Malory (xxi, 4), it is said of Lucan: "And so as he went, he saw and hearkened by the moonlight, how the pillers and robbers were come into the field to pill and to rob many a full noble knight of broaches and beads, of many a good ring, and of many a rich jewel,"—with which compare the following from the Saga (ch. 12): "She [Hjördis] sees that many ships are come to land; . . . the vikings behold the great slaughter of men . . . and they find abundant treasure, so that the men deem they have not seen equally much together in one place, or more jewels: they bear it to the ship of King Alf."

² The same story is told in the prose passage *Frá Dauða Sinfjötla*, which follows the Helgi-lays in the Poetic Edda.

carrying the dead Sinfjotli alone to the waterside. There he observed a little boat, in which, as bidden, he put the hero. Immediately the boat and its inmates disappeared, and Sigmund made his way solitary along the shore, burdened with grief.¹ In this Old Norse account Odin evidently takes the place of the Celtic fairy queen and in a like mysterious boat conducts his favorite to the other world.

The judgment of the saga-writer upon Sigmund (not Sinfjotli) with which he concludes his account of this episode is that he "appears to have been the greatest warrior and king in olden times." Even such was the attitude of the British towards King Arthur.²

We need not attempt to define the exact relationship between the stories of Sigmund and Arthur. No filiation can certainly be established between the late versions now alone extant in both cases. We do not know for certain when either Arthur or Sigmund was fashioned in his present likeness. But we can safely assert that they present kindred conceptions. Inasmuch as in the North Sigmund was for the first time brought into connection with Helgi and Borghild, and represented in a light different from that in primitive Germanic saga regarding him, it is natural to suppose that the features in which he agrees with Arthur are due to the influence of Celtic tales. These tales may or may not have been then attached to Arthur; but it is likely that they were, for he very early was pictured as the greatest hero of Britain, and drew irresistibly to him current myths. It would be absurd, of course, to suppose that Arthur was conceived in the image of Sigmund.

¹ *Ok gekk harmr sinn nær bana.*

² In early saga Arthur, like Sigmund, was famous for his physical prowess. In *Bēowulf* it is Sigmund who is said to have slain the dragon in an adventure attributed later, according to a common shift in mediæval romance, to his son. Already in Nennius's *Historia Britonum*, mention is made of Arthur's famous fight with the wild boar Troynt; and one of his most celebrated achievements was his struggle against the demon-cat of Lausanne.

VII.

Thus in the *Völsungasaga* we have found foreign material connected with the primitive story of Sigmund and Sinfjötli. All of this appears in its purest form in British tales. The shape-shifting and transformation of Signy apparently show the influence of a Celtic narrative. Werewolf stories were indigenous in Britain, and the most famous extant versions reveal their Celtic descent. Only in Britain has as yet been noted a weasel-guide in the resuscitation feature. And the striking similarity of Sigmund and Sinfjötli with Arthur and Mordred¹ in features peculiar to the latter seems more than accidental. No one, of course, can deny that all the foreign matter in the Saga may have been introduced at home in Iceland or in Norway by men, or under the influence of men who had sojourned in the West; and it is not susceptible of proof that the composition of the Saga, or of the poems on which it is based, actually took place abroad. But nevertheless, it must be conceded, that this is most likely. The hypothesis of Professor Bugge, that the Northern tales of the *Völsungs* took their present shape in the British Isles,² explains best, I think, the obvious combination that confronts us, for there the various elements could most naturally be

¹ To say nothing of Odin and Merlin, of King Siggeir and King Lot, of their respective queens, or of Helgi and Gawain, all of whom are in certain respects parallel. Lot, it may be observed, was very early represented as a king of the Orkneys, and no doubt his history was familiar to the Scandinavian settlers there.

² In a recent number of the *Arkiv för Nord. Filologi*, xvii (1901), 52, Professor Bugge argues that the story of Sigi, Skathi, and Brethi, in the first chapter of the Saga, was composed, not earlier than the ninth century, by a West-Norwegian poet in Britain, most likely in Ireland, under the influence of narratives accessible there. (Professor Finnur Jónsson states his unbelief in *Litt. Hist.*, II, 843 note). Professor Bugge thus expresses himself in conclusion: "Den norske Digtning om Sigurd Faavnesbanes Forfædre opstod tidligst hos Normændene i Britannien ved en Omdigtning af angelsaksiske Sagn og kvæder om Wælsingerne under Indflydelse fra andre vesterlandske, germanske og celtiske Sagn."

joined. The new evidence contributed by "Signy's Lament" will, I believe, be taken by unprejudiced scholars to confirm a view in itself so reasonable and attractive. At all events (and this, in truth, is the most important matter) there can be little doubt that the influence of British tales is manifest in the introductory chapters of the Saga which we have been discussing. When this influence was exerted remains unsettled. There is no reason to suppose that all the foreign ideas were introduced at once. In the thirteenth century much of the "matter of Britain" was familiar to Norsemen in literal translation. But five centuries before, we are now aware, Volsung lays were subjected to foreign influence, and no one can now tell just when, during this long intervening period of continuous intercourse, any particular motive was gathered in. Some combinations may be due to the Icelfander who fashioned the Saga in its present form as an introduction to that of Ragnar Lothbrok, but others were no doubt already old in his time.

It is true that the story in the late redaction is at times obscured by the presence of foreign elements. Certainly, we should prefer to have the saga of Sigmund and Signy in its primitive form. But it is well to remember at the same time that its record in any Old Norse literary form may perhaps be largely due to the very circumstances that occasioned the combination. Had it not been, I believe, for the intellectual awakening of the Norsemen in the West, we should hardly have preserved so many excellent poems, which, whatever be the conditions of their origin, bear the final impress of Scandinavian thought. Never has any nation had an hegemony in literary affairs while isolated from others. If in the Middle Ages, for example, French writers set the fashion of literary production in Europe and were slavishly imitated in all lands, it was not because they treated only subjects of native origin. On the contrary, they won much of their success in redacting Celtic, classical, and Oriental stories to which they had but slender claim. In truth, when

the authors of any land become narrow in outlook, provincial in sympathy, inhospitable to foreign ideas, the knell of significant literature in that country speedily sounds. The association of Norsemen with Britons in early times, the interchange of thought, and the stimulus to literary production thereby occasioned, are matters for great gratitude and little regret.

VIII.

Before bringing this paper to a close, I would make hasty reference to the story of Guthrun and Atli as recorded in two splendid poems, one of which we know to have been written in Greenland, the *Atlakviða* and the *Atlamoł*. No one familiar with these lays can have failed to observe the striking likeness they present in narrative to the tale of Signy and Siggeir now before us.

Guthrun has been married against her will to Atli, king of another land. Apparently in all friendliness, but with evil intent, Atli invites his wife's brothers and kin to come to his court, promising them unusually rich gifts. They arrive, a goodly company, and Guthrun hastens forth to meet them. Before they had left their home, she had communicated to them her suspicions of Atli, but they had paid no heed. Now she again warns them of her husband's treachery, earnestly urging them to return and collect an army strong enough to cope with his. But Gunnar and Hogni, her brothers, are not minded to withdraw, and a fierce fight ensues. The visitors are completely overpowered. Gunnar is taken prisoner and placed for torture in a serpent-pit, where he is finally pierced to the heart by an adder¹ before the young queen can render assistance. Like Signy, Guthrun has but one object after her

¹ This adder is represented as Atli's mother in disguise. Likewise the she-wolf who devoured Signy's brothers is said in the *Völsungasaga* (ch. 8) to have been the mother of Siggeir. But the writer only reported it as the "sogu sumra monna" and this feature of the Saga is best regarded as a borrowing from the Guthrun story. Cf. Symons, *Beitr.*, III, 351.

kin are slain, namely, to get revenge on her husband. Remorselessly she sacrifices the two sons whom she has borne Atli, and sets fire to the royal hall, in which he and his men perish.

That one of these stories influenced the other is obvious. But it is not easy to decide which is the older. In the light of "Signy's Lament," this question of long dispute¹ must be examined anew. To me it looks now as if in the main the Signy account were the more primitive, though I would admit the possibility of a reactionary influence apparent in the Saga.

Whatever be their kinship, whatever be their origin, the stories of Signy and Guthrun are both magnificently dramatic. They are of the best that Germanic heathendom has bequeathed us, possessions of enduring worth. Over eleven hundred years ago men of England were moved by "Signy's Lament," and to-day in like manner we their descendants are stirred by its power.

WILLIAM HENRY SCHOFIELD.

¹ See Symons, *Beitr.* III, 296 ff; id., Paul's *Grundriss*, 2nd ed. III, 653; cf. Finnur Jónsson, *Lit. Hist.*, II, 843.

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X.—THE AMELIORATION OF OUR SPELLING.

Let me first of all account for the title of this paper by quoting a few words from a recent editorial of the *New York Evening Post*:

"If time-worn phrases prevent a calm scrutiny of the facts, and a clear perception of the best fiscal policy for this nation . . . let us abandon them for some fresher and truer form of words. . . . Instead of taking free trade for a watchword, if that offends any, we may say that we stand for freer trade. Instead of talking about protecting American industry, let us talk about facilitating it."

The indications are that spelling reform is one of those time-worn phrases the use of which tends to prevent a calm scrutiny of the facts. It seems to excite in many minds on both sides of the ocean a psychical reaction which is unfavorable to sober discussion. It calls up images of a dear mother-tongue mutilated and made hideous by soulless vandals; of a demand that men and women who have once learned to read and spell shall acquire these useful arts over again. We hear talk of cranks, humbugs, etc. All of which is unfortunate, not because it hurts the feelings of reformers—for they can always ease their minds by reviling their opponents—but because it pulls the discussion into unprofitable channels and

tends to obscure the really important phase of the subject, namely, its educational phase.

Wishing, now, to charge upon this question boldly and yet circumspectly, I have thought best not to hang out the banner of "spelling reform," which is to many the red ensign of anarchy, but to substitute therefor a sort of pink flag of truce. Let us consider the amelioration of our spelling.

And first, a brief historical recapitulation. It was about a quarter of a century ago that the American Philological Association took up the large problem of improving our so-called English orthography. Having worked at it for ten years, in conjunction with the Philological Society of London, they adopted, in 1883, a joint report which recommended a set of rules for amended spelling and embodied a list of some 3500 words amended in accordance with the rules. In respect of the scholarly eminence of its promoters the movement could not have had a more distinguished and authoritative sanction. In 1892 our own Association passed a resolution recommending the rules and the word-list. In 1893 an account of the movement was incorporated in the Introduction to the new Standard Dictionary, and the amended words were printed as alternative spellings in their proper alphabetical position. A very few of them, especially such as had previously had some currency, have been adopted by certain journals. In general, however, so far as immediate and striking results are concerned, the movement appears, at this date, to have been futile. I say appears; for there is some evidence after all that the leaven is working. But the three associations have never printed their proceedings in the amended spelling—excepting the contributions of Prof. March—nor do their individual members use it in their books and other publications. There are of course good reasons for this, but it is not very surprising that many regard the movement as a pious counsel of perfection, which its very promoters do not take seriously.

More recently the educators have taken the matter up. In

1898 the directors of the National Educational Association passed a resolution, by a vote of eighteen to seventeen, authorizing the the secretary to adopt in the proceedings of the association such amended spellings as Commissioner Harris, and Superintendents Soldan and Balliet might agree upon. These three gentlemen selected, to bear the brunt of a preliminary skirmish, the twelve words: altho, catalog, decalog, demagog, pedagog, prolog, program, tho, thoro, thorofare, thru, thru-out. Since then these twelve words, in the amended form, have been used regularly in the official proceedings of the National Educational Association and have also been adopted by a number of educational journals, notably the *Educational Review*. The object of this little experiment was to put out a feeler; to familiarize a part of the public, especially teachers, with the idea that usage is another name for fashion, and that fashions do not grow out of the ground nor fall from heaven, but are created by some one's initiative. It should be noticed, however, that the twelve scouts were sent out by a very close vote. Dr. Harris has lately said that it would not surprise him to see the vote reversed at some future time—especially if too much fuss is made in public about the triumph of reform.

The last chapter in this brief chronicle takes us to the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, which was held at Chicago, in February, 1901. On that occasion a resolution was introduced by Mr. E. O. Vaile, an Illinois editor who has long been a spelling reformer, proposing the appointment of a National Commission of twenty, which should concern itself with the subject of spelling in its relation to education. The proposed commission was to be independent of the Educational Association, except for a financial subsidy, and to have complete discretion to go ahead in its own way. After a very animated debate the proposal of a national commission was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 105 to 77. How far this vote was a test of sheer hostility or indifference to the object ultimately

aimed at I do not know ; but it is reasonable to suppose that some of the adverse majority may have been actuated, in part at least, by doubt whether the proposed commission could accomplish anything worth while, and whether, in the present condition of public sentiment, the plan was a proper one for the Educational Association to take up and spend money on. At any rate the scheme was voted down.

So then, there we are ; and the prospect is bright or gloomy according to the view one takes as to the desirableness of improving our spelling at all, and the practicability of improving it through some kind of joint public effort. For myself I say frankly that if the matter concerned only the taste and convenience of adults, I should take but a feeble interest in it—an interest comparable to that I take in the attacks that are sometimes made on high hats and swallow-tail coats. One who has once learned to read and spell, who has acquired the fixed visual associations which, for better or worse, have become endeared to him, will always find it easier to go on as he has been going than to change his practice even in small particulars. And this is true not only of the hostiles and indifferents, but of those who are friendly to the idea of an improved spelling. It is easy to see why the distinguished scholars and men of letters who have enrolled themselves among the detesters of our conventional spelling nevertheless continue to employ it in their books. It is not merely cowardice, the dread of obloquy, of being called a crank ; there are always men enough who are willing to suffer in a good cause, but they need to be upborne by the conviction not only that the cause is good but also that they are accomplishing something worth while by the steps taken. Where this conviction is lacking, it is not to be wondered at that men, even men of good will, shrink from the inconvenience and the bother which attend any serious change of fixed habits. It is a trial to spell in accordance with the rules of the Philological Association. One who has not himself had a hand in drafting the rules must continually con-

sult his word-list to make sure that he is in harmony with a code which itself admits numerous inconsistencies and half-remedies and leaves a multitude of anomalies untouched. It is as if one were required to change any other habit that has become second nature ; as if one were required, for example, in walking, to pause at every tenth step and draw a deep breath. That might possibly be a good thing for a large part of our hurrying population ; but to induce one actually to do it, one needs not only a conviction that it would be a good thing but also a well-grounded hope that one's example will soon be widely followed and that one's personal contribution to the change will be worth the trouble that it costs.

And other considerations of course come in. One who writes for the public usually wishes before all things to establish cordial relations with his reader, that he may please him or convince him. He does not wish to divert attention to a side issue of spelling or to offend his reader by thrusting upon his eye bizarre-looking word-pictures to which he is not accustomed. Authors and publishers, who depend on popular favor for their reputation and their income, and to whom reputation and income are primary considerations, can not be expected to sacrifice the greater to the less.

These are commonplace reflections and I have set them down merely to bring into relief the simple thought that if this spelling question concerned the adult only, it would hardly be worth while to bother our heads about it seriously, or to attempt to counteract the overwhelming power of that conservatism which, unintelligently, irrationally, but all the more strongly for that very reason, attaches the English-speaking population to the familiar forms of our conventional printed language. We could leave the matter to the free play of the tendencies inherent in human nature, content to exert our individual influence quietly on behalf of common sense and sound reason, but with no particular anxiety for the future and with a cheerful confidence that our printed language, no less than the spoken, will always express the

character of the stock that uses it and be as good as that is. There would be no need to worry.

As it is, there is need to worry. For there is the question of teaching children to spell—a grave question, an ever-pressing question, which will not down when some one has said that his religious feeling is offended when he sees the word *Savior* printed without its British *u*. Tastes may differ as to the relative beauty and dignity of particular word-pictures, but the educational problem is not a matter of taste. It is not open to question among intelligent and fair-minded persons that a grievous burden is imposed upon childhood by the necessity of mastering, or attempting to master, the intricacies of our English spelling. Parents complain, editors, school-inspectors, college-examiners complain, and the higher teachers complain of the lower. Many have come to see that there is something somewhere seriously wrong; but only a few of the more enlightened have come to understand that the fault is not with the schools, and can not be corrected either by a return to the tools and methods of fifty years ago or by any devices of the newest new education; for it is inherent in that which Lord Lytton called, aptly enough, our accursed spelling.

Here is a condition which is no joke and will not relieve itself in the lapse of time. It cries aloud to us to do something if possible; to use our best wit and get together if we can, even if in the process we must abrade somewhat the sharp angles of personal prejudice.

How heavy is the burden as a matter of sober fact? To this question it is difficult to give a strictly scientific answer, because there is no perfectly satisfactory way of attacking the problem. Literature teems with estimates and computations of the time and money wasted in one way and another because of our peculiar spelling; but from the nature of the case they can only be roughly approximative. Speaking broadly, it appears that children receive more or less systematic instruction in spelling throughout the primary grades, that is for eight years. If now we suppose that they pursue on the

average five subjects simultaneously, and that spelling receives equal attention with the others, we get one and three-fifths years as the amount of solid school time devoted to this acquirement. This, however, does not tell the whole story ; for many begin the struggle before they enter school, many continue to need instruction in the high school and even in college, and not a few walk through life with an orthographic lameness which causes them to suffer in comfort and reputation. Probably two years and a half would be nearer the mark as a gross estimate of the average time consumed in learning to spell more or less accurately.

We have now to ask, How much of this time is wasted ? How much must we deduct for the reasonable requirements of the case ? Zealous reformers often assume that it is practically all wasted. They tell us that if we had a proper system of spelling, the acquisition of the art in childhood would take care of itself after a little elementary instruction. This may be so, but we have no means of proving positively that it is so. If any people in the world had an ideal system of spelling, we might go to them and find out how long it takes their children to learn spelling. But there is no such people ; and so we are forced back upon such rough and general statements—perfectly true in themselves—as that German and Italian children learn to spell much more easily and quickly than do our own children. Meanwhile, it is hardly fair to take as one term of comparison an ideal condition which never existed and never will exist. An alphabet must always be a rough instrument of practical convenience. Very certainly our posterity will never adopt any thorough-going system of phonetic spelling. Nothing is going to be changed *per saltum*. The most we can hope for is a gradual improvement, accelerated perhaps by wisely directed effort. This means that spelling will always have to be learned and taught, and that considerable time will have to be devoted to it.

On the other hand, keeping strictly within the limits of the practicable, in view of what other peoples no less conservative

than ourselves have actually done, I think it reasonable to calculate that we might save, not in a year or a decade, but in the lapse of two or three generations, say a half of the time now consumed in learning to spell. Certainly we might save a year; and that is much when we consider the indefinite future of four score million people. Here is an argument in the presence of which the delicate emotions of the literary exquisite who is pained by a change of spelling do not seem to be prodigiously important.

And then it must be remembered that the loss of time constitutes by no means the whole of the indictment. Right at the threshold of school life, when the young mind is beginning to ask for the reasons of things, and when every principle of sound education requires that this propensity be developed and strengthened by appropriate stimuli and discipline,—just then we deluge the learner with an avalanche of irrationality. It is strictly true that the foolishness of our English spelling exerts a poisonous influence on our whole primary education. The mass of people, even of the educated, do not know this. Having themselves gone through the misery long ago, they look upon the struggle with spelling as a necessary evil of childhood—like chicken-pox and whooping-cough. *We* know, —scholars know who have an international scope of vision,—that it is *not* altogether necessary, any more than are the contagious diseases. A large part of the evil is remediable.

And now, perhaps some of my hearers are saying inwardly: We have heard all this before; the only interesting question is, What do you propose to do about it? Well, I have a practical suggestion to offer, and the making of that suggestion is the real object of this paper. Before I come to that, however, I must spend a little more time on preliminary considerations.

The official attitude of this Association toward spelling reform is one of passive approbation. We have said to the reformers, *Macte virtute*, but have declined to follow in their footsteps. I have already given reasons for this attitude, but

there is another reason which has no doubt all along been operating upon many minds besides my own. We have felt that it would be of comparatively little use to work on the minds of adults. Learned gentlemen who are already persuaded, or almost persuaded, may get together in associations and bombard each other with arguments and with documents in improved spelling, but this does little good. Some, perhaps, but not much. Nor does it avail much to support with an annual subscription the little organs which are published here and there by enterprising apostles of reform. All this is like the resolutions of a ladies' sewing society on the evils of man's addiction to alcoholic stimulants. It does not go to the right spot. Somehow or other you have got to work upon the minds of children during the plastic time when visual associations are giving rise to sentiment. And this has seemed hopeless because a requirement that children, who must in any event continue to learn the conventional spelling, be taught at the same time any considerable number of revised spellings—say those proposed by the Philological Association,—would result simply in increasing the burden that we wish to lighten. So there we are again; and it must have seemed to many that we are hopelessly entangled in the net of our evil inheritance.

This, however, is not quite so. Notwithstanding appearances to the contrary some progress has been made during the last quarter of a century, and I at least believe that still further and more rapid progress is possible hereafter, and possible by a process of evolution and natural selection, without any cataclysm more violent than that whereby we have got rid of the *k* in *music* and *traffic*. When I speak of progress I mean first of all that the intellectual battle, so far as there ever was any, has been completely won. The various arguments which used to be advanced by the supporters of the conventional spelling—by arguments I mean reasons based on knowledge, or the appearance of knowledge, and meant to convince the intellect of thinking men—have been

completely riddled to pieces. There is simply nothing left of them. The sematic argument from the supposed importance of distinguishing homonyms, the etymological argument, the historical argument, the literary argument, have all been passed in review by distinguished scholars and men of letters—men who by no twist of the imagination could be accused of indifference toward aught that is noble or precious in our inheritance—and have been shown to have little or nothing in them.

If anyone thinks that I am over-stating the case let him use his first leisure in calmly reviewing the discussion. Let him read what has been written by Max Müller, Murray, Whitney, Haldemann, March, Lounsbury and, more recently, by Brander Matthews. The opposition he will have to get mainly from the newspapers. When he has finished his review, he may still say that what is called spelling reform is foolishness or is an idle dream that can never be realized; but he will not be likely to say that the obstacle in the way is sound reason. What attaches us to our conventional spelling is not a body of convictions, but simply habit and feeling. A different habit would beget a different feeling. Our devotion may be compared with that of the wealthy Chinese to women with deformed feet. By habit his ideas of feminine loveliness and desirability are associated with that particular deformity. To him it is beautiful. *We* are under no illusions concerning *his* superstition, but call it a degrading bondage. We can see clearly that if he only *could* get rid of it somehow, it would be better all around. Our own case is quite similar.

But while the intellectual battle has been won the conservative sentiment remains about as strong as ever and will constitute, for a long time to come, an insuperable obstacle to all sweeping and schematic changes. That sentiment is non-rational in its origin and but slightly amenable to reason. It is of small use to attack it directly, or to attack the unsound arguments which it invents to justify its existence.

And the sentiment is in itself deserving of respect. If a man says that he loves the printed forms of English, just as they are, with all their imperfections, one can not blame him any more than for loving his wife or his country. All we can say is that his children will love their language just as well if they become accustomed to certain of its words in a form slightly different from those familiar to him. We are all creatures of feeling and habit rather more than of intelligence; nevertheless it is precisely the character of the rational, civilized man to wish to bring his feelings and habits into harmony with that which his reason approves as good.

What is needed is to prepare the way for a generation whose feelings shall be somewhat different from ours,—a generation that shall have less reverence than we have for what is called usage. During the last hundred and fifty years we have become a race of dictionary worshipers: and we have gone so far in our blind, unreasoning subserviency to an artificial standard that the time has come for a reaction. We need to reconquer and assert for ourselves something of that liberty which Shakspeare and Milton enjoyed. We need to claim the natural right of every living language to grow and change to suit the convenience of those who use it. This right belongs to the written language no less than to the spoken. We have the same right to make usage that Steele and Addison and Dr. Johnson had; and there is just as much merit in making usage as in following it. The tendency, or *Trieb*, which leads a people continually to refashion its inheritance is just as august, just as worthy of respect, as the conservative tendency. Indeed it is more worthy of respect; for it is the sign of a living language, and life is better than death.

There are signs that the reaction desiderated a moment ago is beginning. We seem to be entering upon an era of assertive individualism in this matter of spelling, and that is precisely what is needed. It is to be hoped that in the next few years variant spellings may continue to spring up in a

luxuriant crop and compete with one another for acceptance. It is to be hoped that good dictionaries may multiply, each claiming to be the best and each giving you a liberal choice for your money. Let editors and publishers show that they have a mind of their own and dare to use it—not to the extent of attempting radical and schematic reforms, but to the extent of trying experiments and adopting the more rational of competing forms. Let literary men be brought to see by an infinite series of slight shocks, that spelling was made for man, and that a change of spelling is no more an attack upon literature than an improved musical notation, if we could invent one, would be an assault upon music and an insult to the memory of Beethoven. In this way we shall gradually recover for our children's children the lost criterion of common sense.

Some one will say, perhaps, that this means chaos, confusion, the undoing of the work of the great and good Samuel Johnson. I reply : Yes, a little chaos will do us good. It is just the thing we need as a transition-stage toward a better regulation hereafter. No great interest of society is bound up with the use of a uniform spelling. So long as we keep within the limits of easy intelligibility it is no more important that we spell alike than that we pronounce alike or dress alike. We have always allowed ourselves some latitude in the spelling of particular words, and no damage has been done. Shakspeare had no Unabridged to consult and he spelt very much as the spirit moved him ; yet literature can hardly be said to have languished in his hands.

As a literary scholar I am not insensible to the advantages of a standard literary language. It is very convenient for printers and proof-readers, but it is not the life of literature. We have come to regard it as if it were, and many people imagine that our standard was created long ago by the poets and men of letters. Scholars know that this is not so ; that it was created rather by London printers, beginning with those of Caxton, who were Dutchmen unacquainted with English.

It is time for us to set deliberately about the reconquest of our liberties.

In matters pertaining to the spoken language I hold that the scholar will do his duty best if he lean somewhat heavily toward the side of conservatism ; for there the influences that make for rapid and often undesirable change are in the ascendent, and the scholar best knows what is noble and precious in our heritage. When we come to the written language, however, the case is entirely different. There the influences that make for conservatism are already strong enough and too strong ; and the scholar may wisely exert his influence for a gradual loosening of the tension of our orthographic superstition ; for he best knows how large a part of our standard is and was in the beginning fortuitous, capricious, absurd and based on pedantic blundering.

And now for my promised practical suggestion. I think that we need teachers' courses on the history of English spelling. I mean courses to be given in normal schools, high schools, colleges and universities,—wherever primary and secondary teachers are preparing for their work. If you please, we need a new style of spelling-book, one whose object should be to show the coming teachers of children just how we got into our present muddle. I would take the schoolmaster, or more properly the schoolma'am, by the hand and lead her up close to the idol that we have set up for worship under the name of USAGE. I would gently draw aside the wrappings and give her a glimpse of the sawdust and the cotton and the paint. I would call her attention to the glass beads that she has mistaken for diamonds and rubies.

The history of English spelling is a legitimate and dignified branch of scholarship, and if properly presented could be made of fascinating interest to prospective teachers. The book that I have in mind would be somewhat difficult to prepare, but not hopelessly so. It could almost be compiled from the extant writings of Prof. Lounsbury. It would be very simple and elementary. It would not presuppose a

knowledge of Anglo-Saxon, but it might make use of easy Anglo-Saxon illustrations. It would be strictly scientific; no partisanship, no spelling reform in it—at least none visible to the naked eye. The object of it would be simply to mediate between the scholar's knowledge and the minds of those who are to teach children. But you say, peradventure, What good would it do? The teacher who had learned all that could be learned in that way would still be obliged to teach the conventional spelling. Yes, but it would no longer be the same thing. She would do her work—occasionally at least—with a wild gleam of intelligence in her eye. Instead of a blind, unreasoning subserviency to a big book of mysterious and awful authority; instead of a dogmatic and categorical imperative, Thus shalt thou spell and not otherwise,—there would be little schoolroom discussions about the reason and the propriety of things; and that sort of thing, going on in many thousand places, would contribute to what I called a moment ago the recovery of the lost criterion of common sense. And occasionally something like this would happen: The teacher whose pupil had misspelled, say the word *foreign*, instead of reprimanding and marking him down, would say to him: "Well, Johnny, the fashion is to spell it *f-o-r-e-i-g-n*; but the *ig* got there by mistake, there is no reason why they should be there, and I think that if I were beginning life as you are, I should unload them." And Johnny would go out into life with a hundred orthographic "ideas" in his head; and in one way and another he would let them out upon the community—to the great advantage thereof.

To speak a little more seriously, my thought is this. When any inherited fashion or custom has become inconvenient and needs to be changed, but cannot be changed directly because of a superstitious reverence for tradition as such, the best way to prepare a change is to let in the light of knowledge upon its origin. At present, so far as spelling is concerned, this light shines only for scholars. We need to diffuse it throughout the community.

I commend this suggestion to our own English scholars and also to the National Education Association. Let the latter, instead of agitating for a national commission on spelling reform, which at the best could accomplish but little, call for and insist upon the instruction of primary and secondary teachers in the simple outlines of the history of English spelling. To that no one could reasonably object, since what it is proposed to teach is simply the truth, and is in itself worth knowing, if any history is worth knowing. It would work no sudden miracles, but it would lead gradually, and more speedily, I believe, than any other kind of effort, to the amelioration of our spelling.

CALVIN THOMAS.

XI.—THE RELATION OF SHAKESPEARE TO MONTAIGNE.

That Shakespeare read Montaigne's *Essays* is made probable by the fact that they were well-known to his contemporaries. He was only sixteen when the first two books were published in Paris. By the end of the century, before he had begun to write his greatest tragedies, the popularity of the work had already spread to England. Of this fact there still remain many signs: "Seven or eight of great wit and worth," Florio tells us,¹ had made attempts to translate the *Essays*; two separate entries of such a translation had been made in the Stationers' Register; "divers of his peeces" in English, Cornwallis writes, were going from hand to hand in manuscript; and Bacon had published *Essays*, in which not only the name, but several appropriations of thought, acknowledged and unacknowledged, show the indebtedness of their author to Montaigne. A little later, in 1603, the year of the first quarto of *Hamlet*, there was published with all the pomp of the day the translation of John Florio; and after four more years, Jonson, wishing to predict great popularity for Guarini, said:

"All our English writers,
I mean such as are happy in the Italian,
Will deign to steal out of this author, mainly,
Almost as much as from Montaignié."²

Even if Shakespeare had not been a widely curious observer, he must, merely as an intelligent man of the world, have been familiar with a book so generally popular.

To prove this, moreover, one piece of direct evidence has long been known. In 1671, Capell³ pointed out in the

¹ In his *To the courteous Reader*, prefixed to the first edition of his translation of the *Essays*, 1603.

² *Volpone*, Act III, sc. 2.

³ *Notes and Various Readings*, London, 1671, pt. iv, p. 63.

Essays a close parallel for the following description, from the *Tempest*, of an ideal commonwealth :

“ I’ the commonwealth I would by contraries
 Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
 Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
 Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
 And use of service, none; contract, succession,
 Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
 No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
 No occupation: all men idle, all;
 And women too, but innocent and pure;
 No sovereignty.”

(*Tempest*, II, 1, 148 ff.)

The parallel which Capell found for this passage is from the essay *Of the Caniballes*. Montaigne is describing, by the way, the blissful state of nature which he supposed was enjoyed by our American Indians :

“ It is a nation, would I answer Plato, that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no use of service, of riches or of povertie; no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupation but idle; no respect of kindred, but common, no apparell but naturall; no manuring of lands; no use of wine, corne, or mettle.”

(*Florio*, I, xxx, p. 94, Routledge edition.)

Shakespeare’s indebtedness is of course clear; he has followed Montaigne almost phrase for phrase, changing each only just enough to suit it to the new context, and to fit it into the blank verse.

In spite of the probability created by so striking a case of indebtedness, it has been only within the last thirty years that the critics have taken up in earnest the problem of Shakespeare’s relation to Montaigne. During these years several eager theories upon the subject have been advanced, and a number of passages in the *Essays* have been pointed out as the sources of certain more or less similar passages in the plays. Of the theories, that of Stedefeld, propounded

in 1871,¹ claims that Shakespeare, representing Montaigne in the character of Hamlet, writes his play as a protest against Montaigne's skepticism. The theory of Mr. Feis, published in 1884,² which also considers Hamlet as a representation of Montaigne, flatly contradicts that of Herr Stedefeld in the charge which it supposes Shakespeare to bring against the Frenchman; according to Mr. Feis, the accusation is, that he "preached the rights of nature whilst yet clinging to dogmatic tenets,"³ which, in words used elsewhere in the book, "have come from the narrow cells of a superstitious Christianity."⁴ A third theory, that advanced by Mr. Robertson in 1897,⁵ claims that all the greatness of Shakespeare, both in thought and in style, was due to the influence of Montaigne. Theories like these need no discussion.

When, however, we turn to the parallel passages that have been advanced both by Mr. Feis and Mr. Robinson in support of their theories, and also by Professor Elze⁶ and Mr. Henry Morley,⁷ we may find, among unimportant coincidences, several interesting cases of resemblance. Scarcely one of them, however, in its isolation, is sufficiently striking to prove the likeness other than accidental. It would take too long to consider them separately here; as we meet them in the process of our discussion, each will of course be credited to its discoverer.

The investigation of Shakespeare's relation to Montaigne is accordingly little more than begun. Far more parallels must be pointed out,—parallels convincing by their number, by their close correspondence, or by their grouping in the *Essays* and in the plays, before we can decide how well Shakespeare knew the *Essays*, and what relation, if any, he

¹ *Hamlet: ein Tendenzdrama Shakespeare's [sic] gegen die skeptische und kosmopolitische Weltanschauung des Michael de Montaigne*, Berlin, 1871.

² Jacob Feis, *Shakspere and Montaigne*, London, 1884.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

⁵ *Montaigne and Shakspere*, London, 1897.

⁶ Karl Elze, *Life of Shakespeare*, Berlin, 1872; and *Essays on Shakespeare*, 1872.

⁷ In preface to Routledge Florio.

bore to their author. These questions are not unimportant ones; Shakespeare's relations to many of the other great men of the sixteenth century, from Rabelais to Marlowe, have been the subject of eager investigation; and of all the men of that wonderful age, there is none,—not, perhaps, excepting even Shakespeare himself,—who has had a greater influence on the thought of other men than has Montaigne. Hallam says that the “school of Montaigne embraces, in fact, a large proportion of French and English literature.”¹ It is important to know whether Shakespeare in any sense belonged to that school; and if not, just what relation he does bear to ‘the earliest of French philosophers.’

In attempting to decide this question, the first thing to do is to remind ourselves what are the different elements and qualities by virtue of which this important book of essays has attracted so many men, and might therefore be expected to attract Shakespeare; and what different relations it has, through these characteristics, established between these men and its author, and might therefore be supposed to have established for Shakespeare. The next step must be to collect and examine so many close parallels in the plays and the *Essays* as may prove that Shakespeare did really bear to Montaigne some appreciable relation. This part of the investigation must necessarily, because of the meagreness of our present data, be disproportionately long and minute. Finally, by comparing all these parallels, it may become possible to determine which, among the relations we find men to have borne to Montaigne, was that borne by Shakespeare.

Montaigne's *Essays*, at first reading, give the effect of being a succession of fresh observations concerning all things in heaven and earth. They present in modern and intelligible form the various doctrines of the ancient schools of philosophy. They collect interesting anecdotes, queer customs, and strange beliefs; extracts from books new and old; unhack-

¹ *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries*, vol. II, ch. iv, sect. 1, § 6.

neyed statements about all the facts of every-day life,—about food, clothes, fashions,—and, especially, about the workings of the human mind. Their titles range from *Thumbs* to *The Worthiest and Most Excellent Men*. The observations made upon all these subjects are disconnected and fragmentary, but always acute, original, and suggestive. The inconsistency which is also characteristic of them, Mr. Owen makes very clear when he says: “Had he [Montaigne] been a dramatist, and assigned his manifold opinions to individual and appropriate characters, varying from a Roman Pontiff to a débauchée and from a Stoic philosopher to a low buffoon, what a large picture gallery we should have had!”¹ This, then, is the more obvious aspect of the *Essays*; they may appear, in the phrase of the time, as a “commonplace book,” as a collection of disconnected observations, each interesting and new, and therefore suitable for the free appropriation of those days. Considered in this way, Montaigne’s thoughts are valuable merely as shining fragments, to be used—consciously or unconsciously, with or without credit being given, it did not matter much,—to adorn the work of the first admirer. The relation of such an admirer to Montaigne, that of a canny reader using over again the material so lavishly displayed, was one very commonly borne toward Montaigne by Shakespeare’s contemporaries. It is plainly to this sort of indebtedness that Jonson referred when he spoke of “stealing mainly.” Bacon held this relation to Montaigne; so did others whose borrowings are not yet so well-known. To a dramatist we can see that the *Essays* might be especially serviceable as a treasury of dramatic points of view.

No one can read these *Essays* attentively, however, without soon finding out that they represent more than a wealth of useful detail; they are informed throughout by the personality of the author. It is because Montaigne was constantly but mildly curious, that his subjects are so varied, and change

¹ *The Skeptics of the French Renaissance*, London, 1893, p. 487.

so unexpectedly. It is because he took nothing as a matter of course, seeing time-honored customs and trite facts as if they had just come into existence, that his remarks on all subjects are so new and vital. And it is because he liked questioning more than answering, because he had that in him which Guillaume Guizot, taking him as usual a little too seriously, calls "*ce parti pris de tourner le manège pour ne point tirer d'eau*,"¹—that his various remarks about a subject are so indecisive and so irreconcilable. These three qualities,—universal curiosity, the power of putting to himself frank questions on all subjects, and an antipathy toward any persevering effort to solve these questions,—are the traits by virtue of which Montaigne has received his title of sceptic. By unconsciously imposing upon other minds the brilliant but unstable ideas naturally thrown out by a man of this type, and still more by passing on with his ideas, through a sort of contagion, his characteristic habits of thought, Montaigne has exerted his more widespread and powerful influence. The corresponding relation to him, that of disciple to master, is that which has been held by many of his countrymen, such as Charron, Descartes, and Pascal; it was that held for a time by Emerson.

The problem before us, then, is this: did Shakespeare use Montaigne's *Essays*, providing he can be shown to have used them at all, as an independent worker makes use of a mere storehouse of material; or, on the other hand, did he submit to the influence of Montaigne's sceptical doctrines and habits of thought, in such a way as to become in any sense his disciple?

Before we can discuss this question, it is necessary, as we have seen, to pile up many parallels on which to base our judgment. Let us consider first a group of passages in the *Essays*, each of which has a parallel in Shakespeare's plays. The essay in which they occur is called *That to Philosophise is to learn how to die*, and is chiefly made up of those adaptations from the classics which are so frequent in Montaigne. I shall

¹ Montaigne : *études et fragments*, Paris, 1899.

quote throughout from Florio's translation, not only because that was the one current in Shakespeare's time, but because, as Mr. Henry Morley has shown, it was actually the version from which Shakespeare appropriated the passage in the *Tempest*.¹ The paging refers to the Routledge edition. Rather more than half-way through the essay we find this sentence :

"Herein [i. e., in freedom from the fear of death] consists the true and soveraign liberty, that affords us meanes wherewith to jeast and make a scorne of force and injustice, and to deride imprisonment, gives or fetters."

(*Florio*, I, XIX, p. 33.)

With this compare the following passage in "Julius Cæsar :"

"Cassius from bondage will deliver Cassius
Therein, ye gods, you make the weak most strong ;
Therein, ye gods, you tyrants do defeat :
Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass,
Nor airless dungeon, nor strong links of iron,
Can be retentive to the strength of spirit ;
But life, being weary of these worldly bars,
Never lacks power to dismiss itself.
If I know this, know all the world besides,
That part of tyranny that I do bear,
I can shake off at pleasure."

(*Julius Cæsar*, I, 3, 90 ff.)

Of course the similarity here is not at all striking : nor is the thought novel ; it is just what would naturally be ascribed to a Roman. Now read in the essay from the next sentence but one :

" . . . Since we are threatened by so many kinds of death, there is no more inconvenience² to feare them all, than to endure one : what matter when it commeth, since it is unavoidable ?" (*Florio*, I, XIX, p. 33.)

In the second act of the play in which we found the first coincidence, Cæsar expresses the same idea as follows :

¹ For a discussion as to the version habitually used by Shakespeare, see Appendix A.

² This is a mistranslation for "*il n'y a pas plus de mal*"; but the right sense is easily perceived.

"Cowards die many times before their deaths;
 The valiant never taste of death but once.
 Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
 It seems to me most strange that men should fear;
 Seeing that death, a necessary end,
 Will come when it will come."

(*Julius Cæsar*, II, 2, 32 ff.)

There is a curious fact about this case of resemblance. The first part of each quotation is similar to a passage in a different connection in Plutarch's "*Life of Julius Cæsar*,"¹ from which Shakespeare was drawing material for his play, and with which Montaigne also was familiar. The common conclusion, however, is not in Plutarch. Now did Shakespeare and Montaigne each take Plutarch's thought and develop it independently in the same way? The little evidence we have so far discussed does not justify us in saying that this was not the case. Let us, however, look a little farther down the same page of the essay. We read :

"But nature compels us to it. Depart (saith she) out of this world, even as you came into it. The same way you came from death to life, returne without passion or amazement, from life to death . . ."; (*Florio*, I, XIX, p. 33.)

And on the next page :

"It consisteth not in number of yeeres, but in your will, that you have lived long enough."

These two extracts together suggest Edgar's speech to Gloucester in *King Lear* :

"Men must endure
 Their going hence, even as their coming hither :
 Ripeness is all."

(*King Lear*, V, 2, 9 ff.)

Just before the sentence last quoted we find this passage :

"Moreover, no man dies before his houre. The time you leave behind was no more yours than that which was before your birth, and concerneth you no more. . . . Wheresoever your life ended, there is it all."

Mr. Feis² has pointed out that these two sentences, in con-

¹ See *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, London, 1875, p. 92.

² *Shakspeare and Montaigne*, London, 1884, p. 111.

nection with the one last quoted from our essay, afford several points of resemblance to a speech in *Hamlet*:

"Not a whit, we defy augury: there's a special providence in the fall of a sparrow. If it be now, 'tis not to come; if it be not to come, it will be now; if it be not now, yet it will come: the readiness is all; since no man has aught of what he leaves, what is't to leave betimes?" (*Hamlet*, V, 2, 230 ff.)

"Since no man has aught of what he leaves" is the reading of the folio, to which some critics have objected on the ground that it is absurd, as all unite in considering the version of the quarto. The parallel from Montaigne makes the folio reading so clear as to render any attempt at emendation unnecessary. A fifth passage from this same essay, namely:

"Why fearest thou thy last day? He is no more guiltie, and conferreth no more to thy death, than any of the others. It is not the last step that causeth weariness; it only declares it. All daies march towards death, only the last comes to it." (*Florio*, I, XIX, p. 35.)

has also a parallel in Shakespeare, this time, as twice before, in *Julius Cæsar*. It consists of Brutus' welcome to death:

"My bones would rest,
That have but labor'd to attain this hour."

(*Julius Cæsar*, V, 5, 41 f.)

In two and one-half pages of one essay, then, we have found five passages parallels to which exist in Shakespeare's plays. Three of these parallels, furthermore, occur in the same play, the other two in plays written in somewhere near the same period of Shakespeare's life. There is already some presumption that so many coincidences grouped in such a way are not purely accidental. These ideas, however, are neither vital nor characteristic parts of Montaigne's thought; but simply examples of his own numerous borrowings. If Shakespeare, as seems rather probable, appropriated them in his turn, whether or not he thereby accepted them as his own opinions is a question to be discussed later. In either case, he cannot be said to show himself under the influence of ideas

or habits of thought that were distinctly Montaigne's. At first thought the more natural supposition is that these passages may have served Shakespeare as illuminating expressions of the stoic attitude toward death which he wished his Romans to exemplify, and his Hamlet and Edgar to assume.

Another case of agreement between passages expressing similar classic reasoning about death may be given here. In an essay devoted chiefly to a discussion of suicide, Montaigne says :

"The common course of curing any infirmitie is ever directed at the charge of life: we have incisions made into us, we are cauterized, we have limbes cut and mangled, we are let bloud, we are dieted. Goe we but one step further, we need no more physicke, we are perfectly whole. Why is not our jugular or throat-veine as much at our command as the mediane? To extreme sicknesses, extreme remedies. . . . God giveth us sufficient privilege, when he placeth us in such an estate, as life is worse than death unto us." (*Florio*, II, III, p. 174.)

A parallel is found in Rodrigo's despairing words to Iago :

"It is silliness to live when to live is torment; and then have we a prescription to die when death is our physician." (*Othello*, I, 2, 308 ff.)

This conception of death as a physician is strangely combined with the conception already noticed of death as a release from captivity, in the following passage from *Cymbeline* :

". . . . Be cured
By the sure physician, death, who is the key
To unbar these locks."

(*Cymbeline*, V, 4, 6 ff.)

Another of Montaigne's classical ideas which can be paralleled in the plays, is the one frankly borrowed in the following extract :

"Plutarke saith in some place that 'he findes no such great difference betweene beast and beast, as he findeth diversitie between man and man.'" (*Florio*, I, XLII, p. 128.)

The passage in Plutarch to which Montaigne refers is found in the essay *The Beasts have the use of Reason*,¹ which is naturally

¹ See *Plutarch's Morals*, ed. W. W. Goodwin, Boston, 1870, vol. 5, p. 233.

not a part of the North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* with which Shakespeare was familiar. It is to Montaigne then, if to either writer, that Shakespeare is indebted when he makes Macbeth say :

“ Ay, in the catalogue ye go for men ;
As hounds and greyhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs,
Sloughs, water-rugs and demi-wolves are clept
All by the name of dogs. . . . ”

(*Macbeth*, III, 1, 92 ff.)

Other passages in Shakespeare that express thoughts found in the *Essays*, but not thoughts characteristic of Montaigne, are certain remarks which express the stoical ideal of endurance. Take Brutus' speech concerning his wife's death :

“ Why, farewell, Portia. We must die, Messala :
With meditating that she must die once,
I have the patience to endure it now.”

(*Julius Cæsar*, IV, 3, 190 ff.)

This is a practical application of the ideal implied in these two passages found on successive pages of the essay *Of Solitariness* :

“ Our death is not sufficient to make us afraid ; let us also charge ourselves with that of our wives, of our children, and of our friends and people.” (*Florio*, I, xxxviii, p. 110.)

“ It sufficeth me, under fortunes favour, to prepare myselfe for her disfavour ; and being at ease, as far as imagination may attaine unto, so represent the evill to come unto myselfe : Even as we enure our selves to Tilts and Tourneyes, and counterfeit warre in time of peace.” (*Florio*, I, xxxviii, p. 111.)

Compare again the reproach made to Brutus by Cassius, who is ignorant of the bad news :

“ Of your philosophy you make no use,
If you give place to accidental evils,—”

(*Julius Cæsar*, IV, 3, 145 f.)

with the following characterization of a philosopher from the *Essays* :

"But forsomuch as he [Solon] is a Philosopher, with whom the favours or disfavours of fortune, and good or ill lucke have no place, and are not regarded by him; and puissances and greatneses, and accidents of qualitie, are well-nigh indifferent:" (*Florio*, I, XVIII, p. 26.)

Still again, read Leonato's words when rebuked for his grief over Hero:

"For there was never yet philosopher
That could endure the tooth-ache patiently,
However they have writ the style of gods
And made a push at chance and sufferance;"
(*Much Ado About Nothing*, V, 1, 35 ff.)

and then read the following passage by Montaigne:

". . . . The sense of feeling . . . which by the effect of the griefe or paine it brings to the body doth so often confound and re-enverse all these goodly Stoicall resolutions, and enforceth to cry out of the belly-ache him who hath with all his resolution established in his mind this doctrine, that the cholike, as every other sicknesse or paine, is a thing indifferent, wanting power to abate anything of soveraigne good or chiefe felicity, wherein the wise man is placed by his owne vertue." (*Florio*, II, XII, p. 304.)

The similarity, being in each case of substance only, and not being in any instance unique and striking, simply makes it conceivable that the ideas may have been suggested by a general remembrance of such passages in the *Essays*. In each case, moreover, any indebtedness to Montaigne is again for transmitted material only; and, as before, we may easily consider that Shakespeare is indebted merely for serviceable dramatic points of view. Such are the words of Stoics; Shakespeare wishes to reproduce the talk of Stoics; and it may well be in this sense that we accept, if at all, the hypothesis that he is indebted to Montaigne.

Let us now turn to cases of resemblance where the subject matter consists of thoughts more characteristic of Montaigne's peculiar doctrines and tendencies of mind. His power of seeing well-known things as new and wonderful, and his fancy for unlimited questioning without attempts at conclusive answers, had for one field of exercise the world of nature. He often expresses his disdain of

" . . . a rabble of men that are ordinarie interpreters and controulers of God's secret desseignes, presuming to finde out the causes of every accident, and to prie into the secrets of Gods divine will, the incomprehensible motives of his works." (*Florio*, I, xxi, p. 99.)

In Lear's plans for his life with Cordelia in prison, we find the same thought, where he declares that they will

"take upon's the mystery of things,
As if we were God's spies."

(*King Lear*, V, 3, 16 f.)

The resemblance was pointed out by Mr. Robertson.¹ A similar idea is also common in Montaigne,—that is, that

"Wee neede not goe to cull out miracles, and chuse strange difficulties: mee seemeth, that amongst those things we ordinarily see there are such incomprehensible rarities as they exceed all difficulty of miracles." (*Florio*, II, xxxvii, p. 388.)

This thought, combined with the one just spoken of, is also found in a passage from *All's Well that Ends Well*.

"They say miracles are past; and we have our philosophical persons, to make modern and familiar, things supernatural and causeless. Hence is it that we make trifles of terrors, ensconcing ourselves into seeming knowledge, when we should submit ourselves to an unknown fear." (*All's Well that Ends Well*, II, 3, 1 ff.)

In these cases it is rather the thought than the expression, rather a conception frequently expressed in the *Essays* than these precise extracts, that we may conceive Shakespeare to have followed. In the case of two closely associated passages in *Hamlet*, on the contrary, we are perhaps justified in assigning a more definite source. One is the end of Hamlet's speech to his father's ghost, where he talks of the spirit as

"Making night hideous; and we fools of nature
So horridly to shake our disposition
With thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls; "

(*Hamlet*, I, 4, 54 ff.)

the other consists of these well-known lines :

¹ *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, p. 66.

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

(*Hamlet*, I, 5, 166 f.)

Now this latter passage might well sum up an essay called *It is follie to referre Truth or Falsehood to our sufficiencie*. In this essay, moreover, we find a passage parallel to the former quotation. Montaigne says he once felt a "kinde of compassion" when

"I heard anybody speake, either of *ghosts walking*, of fortelling future things, of enchantments, of witchcrafts, or of any other thing reported which I could not well conceive, or that was *beyond my reach*. . . . Reason hath taught me, that so resolutely to condemne a thing for false and impossible, is to assume unto himselfe the advantage, to have the bounds and limits of Gods will, and of the power of our common mother Nature tied to his sleeve. . . . We must judge of this infinite power of nature, with more reverence, and more acknowledgement of our owne ignorance and weaknesse." (*Florio*, I, xxvi, p. 80.)¹

Beside noticing the coincidences of grouping in each author and of general likeness of thought, we should observe that the essay speaks of marvellous things, including ghosts, as "beyond my reach," thus using the same figure as Hamlet when he says "beyond the reaches of our souls." It is interesting to notice that this expression is not in the French, which reads *où je ne puisse pas mordre*. If, then, Shakespeare borrowed these passages, as seems probable, he borrowed them, as he did the passage in the *Tempest*, not from the original French, but from the translation of Florio.

The same qualities of mind which Montaigne carried to his observation of nature, are plain in what he says about human life. He delights in pointing out its incomprehensibility. He likes to show the inconsistency of man's thinking and doing, the untrustworthiness of his perceptions, the lack of logic and of stability in his institutions. His conclusion from it all, if such a man may be said to have a conclusion, is the vanity of man's estimate of himself, and of his own place in creation. He writes, for example :

¹ The italics are mine.

"Is it possible to imagine anything so ridiculous as this miserable and wretched creature, which is not so much as master of himself, exposed and subject to offences of all things, and yet dareth call himself Master and Emperour of this Universe?" (*Florio*, II, XII, p. 225.)

The whole essay from which this extract is taken,—the longest and most nearly systematic essay of them all,—as well as many passages in other essays, repeats and enforces this thought. We may remember that the same idea was expressed, though in a different spirit from the detached observer's attitude of Montaigne, by Isabella in *Measure for Measure*.

"But man, proud man,
Dressed in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
His glassy essence, like an angry ape,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep."

(*Measure for Measure*, II, 2, 117.)

In the same play, the ghostly counsel which the Duke in his disguise as friar gives to the condemned Claudio, seems to collect many of Montaigne's remarks upon the paradoxical and unsatisfactory nature of human existence. For some of the charges against life parallels can be pointed out in the *Apologie of Raymond Sebonde*, the essay just quoted from; and in several cases parallels occur within a few pages of each other. The Duke, after his introduction,

"Reason thus with life:
If I do lose thee, I do lose a thing
That none but fools would keep,"

(*Measure for Measure*, III, 1, 5 ff.)

gives as his first objection to human existence the subjection of man to the astrological influences of the stars:

"A breath thou art,
Servile to all the skyey influences,
That dost this habitation where thou keep'st,
Hourly afflict."

In the *Apologie*, on the same page on which occurs the extract quoted above, we find the same argument advanced to prove a similar contention :

"To consider the power of domination these bodies have not onely upon our lives and condition of our fortune But also over our dispositions and inclinations, our discourses and wils, which they rule, provoke, and move at the pleasure of their influences, as our reason finds and teacheth us. . . . Seeing that not a man alone nor a king only, but monarchies and empires; yea, and all the world below is moved at the shaking of one of the least heavenly motions. . . . We, who have no commerce but of obedience with them?"

(*Florio*, II, XII, p. 225 f.)

Both the Duke and Montaigne, however, express a platitude of mediæval astrology; and accordingly the coincidence, if solitary, would count for little. The Duke's second charge is this :

"Merely, thou art death's fool;
For him thou labor'st by thy flight to shun,
And yet runn'st toward him still."

This passage might have been adduced as a sixth parallel to passages in the nineteenth essay of the first book. For the thought, though common with Montaigne, is nowhere, perhaps, expressed more fully or with more reiteration than in that essay. Several sentences from it have been suggested by Mr. Robertson,¹ among other passages, as affording the suggestion for the Duke's argument. No one extract, however, could be assigned, even tentatively, as the definite origin, if we could not find in that essay, closely associated with the other passages already quoted from it, the following sentences :

"The end of our carriere is death; it is the necessarie object of our aime: if it affright us, how is it possible we should step one foot further without an ague?" (*Florio*, I, XIX, p. 28). . . . "To what end recoile you from it, if you cannot goe backe." *Ibid.*, p. 35.

The Duke gives as his next argument :

"Thou art not noble;
For all the accommodations that thou bearest
Are nurst by baseness."

¹ *Montaigne and Shakspeare*, p. 52.

This, again, is a thought often expressed by Montaigne. Let us read an expression of it that occurs in the *Apologie of Raymond Sebonde* from which we have twice quoted before :

" No eminent or glorious vertue can be without some immoderate and irregular agitation. May not this be one of the reasons which moved the Epicureans to discharge God of all care and thought of our affaires : forsomuch as the very effects of his goodnesse cannot exercise themselves towards us without disturbing his rest by meanes of the passions which are as motives and solicitations directing the soule to vertuous actions ?" (*Florio*, II, XII, p. 290).

The next two arguments :

"Thou art by no means valiant;
For thou dost fear the soft and tender fork
Of a poor worm. Thy best of rest is sleep,
And that thou oft provokest ; yet grossly fear'st
Thy death, which is no more,—"

are so trite that we need not consider Montaigne's frequent repetition of the ideas. The objection following, on the contrary,

"Thou art not thyself;
For thou exist'st on many a thousand grains
That issue out of dust,—"

is far from trite ; and it seems even less so when its meaning becomes more clear on comparison with another passage in the *Apologie* :

"Is it our senses that lend these diverse conditions unto subjects, when for all that the subjects have but one ? as we see in the Bread we eat : it is but Bread, but one using it, it maketh bones, blood, flesh, haire, and nailes thereof." (*Florio*, II, XII, p. 308.)

Without stopping to discuss the possible influence on modern philosophy of this passage, let us read the next charge of the Duke against human existence :

"Happy thou art not;
For what thou hast not, still thou strivest to get,
And what thou hast, forget'st."

The same thought had been expressed by Montaigne not many

pages after the last extract we have read, though in a different essay :

"Our appetite doth contemne and passe over what he hath in his free choice and owne possession, to runne after and pursue what he hath not." (*Florio*, II, xiv, p. 315.)

The Duke's next argument :

"Thou art not certain;
For thy complexion shifts to strange effects,
After the moon."

is also found in the *Apologie*, near the last extract quoted from it :

" . . . If we should ever continue one and the same, how is it then that now we rejoyce at one thing, and now at another ? . . . For it is not likely that without alteration we should take other passions, and what admitteth alterations continueth not the same; and if it be not one selfe same, then it is not: but rather with being all one, the simple being doth also change, ever becoming other from other." (*Florio*, II, xii, p. 310.)

After two considerations which we need not consider because of their triteness, the Duke adds one which the same objection would keep us from noticing if it had not a parallel close to the last three :

"Thou hast nor youth nor age,
But as it were an after-dinner's sleep,
Dreaming on both; for all thy blessed youth
Becomes as aged, and doth beg the alms
Of palsied eld; and when thou art old and rich,
Thou hast neither heat, affection, limb, nor beauty,
To make thy riches pleasant."

The similar passage in the *Apologie* reads as follows :

" . . . "Our reason and soule, receiving the phantasies and opinions, which sleeping seize on them, and authorizing our dreames actions with like approbation, as it doth the daies, why make we not a doubt whether our thinking and our working be another dreaming, and our waking some kind of sleeping ?" (*Florio*, II, xii, p. 306.)

Shakespeare's application of the idea to youth and age dreaming of each other, of course, leaves Montaigne's thought at a tangent; but taking into consideration the grouping of all

these parallels, the likeness is at least suggestive. For the Duke's last argument :

"Yet in this life
Lie hid mee thousand deaths: yet death we fear,
That makes these odds all even,"

there is within the same few pages a more convincing parallel. It was pointed out by Mr. Robertson :¹

"And then we doe foolishly feare a kind of death, whenas we have already past and dayly passe to many others; . . . The flower of age dieth, fadeth and fleeteth, when age comes upon us, and youth endeth in the flower of a full growne mans age: childhood in youth and the first age dieth in infancie; and yesterday endeth in this day, and to day shall die in to morrow, And nothing remaineth or ever continueth in one state. (*Florio*, II, XII, p. 309.)

Within this one speech, then, we have found eight passages that have parallels, more or less close, in the *Essays*. Six of them are in one essay, the seventh is only a few pages after it, and the other is found in an essay in which we have already found five parallels to passages in the plays. Moreover, of the eight extracts from Montaigne, five were within a space of ten pages, and three within a space of three pages.

Besides the grouping of the passages from either writer, and the striking likeness of uncommon ideas shown by certain of the parallels, there is another argument in favor of a real indebtedness of some kind on the part of Shakespeare, in regard to which this set of parallels affords us sufficient data to make its consideration opportune. The differences exhibited by each pair of parallel passages have certain constant tendencies. That in nearly every case the version of Shakespeare is shorter, a glance back at the quotations is sufficient to show; if incisions had not been made in several of the passages from the *Essays*, their greater length would be even more apparent. That Shakespeare's version is more easily understood, must have been apparent as the pas-

¹ *Montaigne and Shakspeare*, pp. 53 f.

sages were compared. That in a still more constant and striking way Shakespeare's manner of expressing the common ideas is more concrete, figurative, pictorial, will appear if we read with our eyes open for concrete expressions a few lines of the Duke's speech :

"A *breath* thou art, *servile* to all the *skye* influences
That dost this *habitation* where thou *keep'st*
Hourly affect. Merely thou art *death's* fool
For him thou *labour'st* by thy *flight* to *shun*
And yet *runn'st* towards him still."

Not one of all these concrete and figurative expressions is found in the *Essays*. The rest of the speech shows frequent signs of the same concreteness. These three tendencies, toward greater brevity, toward greater clearness, and toward greater concreteness, the passages for which we had previously found parallels in Montaigne also exhibit in varying degrees. One instance of the greater brevity, for instance, is this :

"My bones would rest,
That have but laboured to attain this hour;"

and an illustration of the greater concreteness is found in the passage where, instead of Montaigne's "difference between beast and beast," Shakespeare puts the difference not merely between dog and dog, but between "hounds and grey hounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs, Shoughs, water-rugs and demi-wolves." These same tendencies, though they will not always be pointed out, may easily be remarked in many of the cases of resemblance still to be presented. The frequency with which the tendencies are manifested, and the fact that they are in the direction of qualities characteristic of all Shakespeare's work, make it possible to consider them as elements of the impress given by the mind of Shakespeare to ideas which in some sense he appropriated.

Keeping in mind these tendencies of difference, let us return to the discussion of parallels relating to the insignificance of man. There is in the *Apologie* still another passage pointing

out a human disadvantage, which Shakespeare may be thought to have borrowed. It reads as follows :

" Exclaiming that man is the onely forsaken and out-cast creature, naked on the bare earth, fast bound and swathed, having nothing to cover and arm himself withall but the spoile of others; whereas Nature hath clad and mantled all other creatures, some with shels, some with huskes, with rindes, with haire, with *wooll*, with stings, with bristles, with *hides*, with mosse, with feathers, with skales, with fleeces, and with *silke*, according as their quality might need or their condition require." (*Florio*, II, XII, p. 228.)

With this compare the speech of the mad Lear on seeing Poor Tom :

"Is man no more than this? Consider him well. Thou owest the worm no silk, the beast no hide, the sheep no wool, the cat no perfume. Ha! Here's three on's are sophisticated. Thou art the thing itself; unaccommodated man is no more but such a poor, bare, forked animal as thou art. Off, off, you lendings! Come, unbotton here." (*King Lear*, III, 4, 105 ff.)

Another passage in the pessimistic *Apologie* has been suggested by Mr. Feis as the source for a part of the soliloquy "To be or not to be." For the sake of definiteness, the lines referred to, well-known as they are, will be quoted here :

"To die: to sleep;

No more; and by a sleep to say we end
The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to, 'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wished. To die, to sleep;
To sleep: perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub;
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
Must give us pause.
. Who would fardels bear,
To grunt and sweat under a weary life,
But that the dread of something after death,
The undiscovered country from whose bourn
No traveller returns, puzzles the will,
And makes us rather bear those ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of?"

(*Hamlet*, III, 1, 60 ff.)

This speech was long ago said by John Sterling to resemble

"much of Montaigne's writing." The passage adduced by Mr. Feis¹ as its specific origin, is as follows :

"I know I have neither frequented nor knowne death, *nor have I seen any body that hath either felt or tried her qualities to instruct me in them.* Those who feare her presuppose to know ; as for me, I neither know who or what she is, nor what they doe in the other world. Death may peradventure be a thing indifferent, happily a thing desirable. Yet it is to bee believed that if it be a transmigration from one place to another there is some amendment in going to live with so many worthy famous persons that are deceased, and be exempted from having any more to doe with wicked and corrupt judges. If it be a *consummation* of one's being, it is also an amendment and entrance into a long and quiet night. Wee finde nothing so sweete in life as a quiet rest and *gentle sleepe, and without dreames.*" (*Florio*, III, XII, p. 540.)

Whether the expressions I have italicized show enough likeness to certain well known phrases of Hamlet's speech to have afforded the starting point for the similar or contradictory ideas there expressed, is made somewhat more doubtful by the fact that the traveller to the undiscovered country may well have been suggested by this passage in Marlowe's *Edward II* :

"Weep not for Mortimer
That scorns the world, and, as a traveller,
Goes to discover countries yet unknown." ²

(*Edward II*, V, 6.)

In favor of the hypothesis that Shakespeare took his ideas from the passage in the *Essays*, there is, first, the agreement between Hamlet and Florio in three ideas and in one uncommon word ; and, secondly, an associated case of resemblance, pointed out by Mr. Robertson.³ Only two or three pages before the passage just quoted Montaigne, speaking, however, of "tedious and irksome imaginations," writes as follows :

"Yet I sometimes suffer my selfe by starts to be surprised with the pinchings of these unpleasant conceits, which whilst I arm my selfe to expell or wrestle against them assaile and beate mee. Loe here another huddle or tide of mischief that upon the neck of the former came rushing upon mee." (*Florio*, III, XII, p. 537.)

¹ *Shakspeare and Montaigne*, pp. 87 ff.

² See Robertson, *Montaigne and Shakspeare*, p. 49.

³ *Montaigne and Shakspeare*, pp. 45 ff.

May not a reminiscence of this passage be responsible for the mixed metaphor in "take arms against a sea of troubles?" The association of the two passages in the plays and of the two corresponding passages in the *Essays*, adds greatly, as in so many other cases, to the convincingness of each. For these two lines of this soliloquy, moreover,

"And makes us rather bear those ills we know
Than fly to others that we know not of,"

there is in another essay this parallel :

"The oldest and best known evill is ever more tolerable then a fresh and unexperienced mischiefe." (*Florio*, III, ix, pp. 489 f.)

Finally, there is further on in Hamlet's speech, as we shall see later, a passage expressing a thought very common in the *Essays*. Before we turn for the moment from this speech, it is well to notice that since the word "consummation" is Florio's translation for the dissimilar *anéantissement*, and "huddle or tide" his translation for the abstract *rengrégement*, Shakespeare would again be following the English version.

The convincingness of the final parallel dealing with human life in its more objective and philosophical aspects must, like that of many of the others, be weighed by the individual judgment. It will be remembered that among the passages from the *Apologie* quoted in connection with the Duke's speech in *Measure for Measure*, there was one which seriously considered the possibility that waking life was only another kind of dream. Let us keep this in mind while we read two more passages from the same essay :

"For wherefore doe we from that instant take a title of being, which is but a twinkling in the infinit course of an eternall night, and so short an interruption of our perpetuall and naturall condition? Death possessing what ever is before and behind this moment, and also a good part of this moment." (*Florio*, II, xii, p. 267.)

"Every humane nature is ever in the middle betweene being borne and dying; giving nothing of it selfe but an obscure apparance and shadow, and an uncertaine and weake opinion." (*Florio*, II, xii, p. 309.)

When we take these passages in connection with the one just referred to, we must be forcibly reminded of the words of Prospero :

“ We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.”

(*Tempest*, IV, 1, 158 ff.)

Even more than by the world of nature or by man in his relations with it, Montaigne's tireless curiosity was attracted by the mysterious workings of the human mind. That he might furnish data as to the one mental experience he knew well, was, according to one of his less fanciful explanations, the reason why in the *Essays* he said so much about himself. Certainly such things as the untrustworthiness of the senses, the tyranny of custom and habit over opinion, the diversity and inconsistency of our ideas about right and wrong, the inconstancy and mixed nature of our feelings, the relation between the reason and the will,—those questions which now-a-days we include in psychology as distinguished from philosophy,—such puzzling matters Montaigne in his rambling chat discussed again and again. In all he says upon these problems there is shown the same unconventionality and indeterminateness by which we have seen manifested, in other fields of thought, his characteristically sceptical nature. He questions everything, and that with shrewdness ; but far from deciding anything, he delights rather in emphasizing inconsistency and uncertainty.

One or two of these psychological ideas we have already encountered in our discussion of the Duke's speech in *Measure for Measure*. Besides these, there are passages expressing several similar thoughts for which there is some reason to consider Shakespeare indebted to Montaigne. Two of these cases have to do with the distinction between right and wrong. We often find in reading the *Essays* such passages as the following :

“ When I religiously confesse my selfe unto my selfe, I finde the best good I have hath some vicious taint Man is all in all but a botching and party coloured worke.” (*Florio*, II, xx, p. 345.)

The thought here is that of a passage in *All's Well that Ends Well*:

"The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together: our virtues would be proud, if our faults whipped them not; and our crimes would despair, if they were not cherished by our virtues." (*All's Well that Ends Well*, IV, 3, 83 ff.)

That the resemblances here are great enough to prove that Shakespeare is following this particular passage, we may not assert. That Montaigne's idea, so frequently expressed in the *Essays*, did perhaps give him his suggestion, another coincidence between passages dealing with a similar theme may help us to conclude. There is, for example, for Mariana's pleading for Angelo in *Measure for Measure*,

"They say, best men are moulded out of faults;
And, for the most, because much more the better
For being a little bad,"—

(*Measure for Measure*, V, I, 444 ff.)

this most suggestive parallel; which, by the way, makes Shakespeare's meaning far more easily understood:

"Now that it be not more glorious, by an undaunted and divine resolution, to hinder the growth of temptations, and for a man to frame himselfe to vertue, so that the verie seeds of vice be cleane rooted out; than by mayne force to hinder their progresse; and having suffered himselfe to be surprised by the first assaults of passions, to arme and bandie himselfe to stay their course and to suppress them; And that this second effect be not also much fairer than to be simply stored with a facile and gentle nature and of it selfe distasted and in dislike with licentiousnesse and vice, I am persuaded there is no doubt. For this third and last manner seemeth in some sort to make a man innocent, but not vertuous: free from doing ill, but not sufficiently apt to doe well." (*Florio*, II, XI, p. 213.)

Another question that Montaigne likes to dabble in is the importance of the imagination in modifying our experiences. Mr. Elze,¹ only to decide against the hypothesis of indebtedness, but followed more confidently by several other investigators, suggested a case of resemblance between passages ex-

¹ *Essays on Shakespeare*, 1872, p. 7.

pressing such an idea. It is between Hamlet's words to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern :

"Why, then, 'tis none to you ; for there is no thing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so," (*Hamlet*, II, 2, 249 ff.)

and the following passage in the *Essays* :

"If that which we call evill and torment, be neither torment nor evill, but that our fancie only gives it that qualitie, it is in us to change it." (*Florio*, I, XL, p. 117.)

The same idea Shakespeare has put into the mouth of Troilus :

"What is aught but as 'tis valued ?"

(*Troilus and Cressida*, II, 2, 52.)

There is in the essay just quoted a passage upon a kindred subject which Shakespeare seems also to have used. Montaigne has been discussing the pain of death. He then says of pain in general :

"It may easily be seen, that the point of our spirit is that which sharpeneth both paine and pleasure in us. Beasts wanting the same leave their free and naturall senses unto their bodies : and by consequence single well-nigh in every kind, as they shew by the semblable application of their movings." (*Florio*, I, XL, p. 121.)

These same ideas in a phrasing which, as usual, is shorter and more concrete, are found in a passage from *Measure for Measure*, a play in which we have already found several parallels :

"The sense of death is most in apprehension ;
And the poor beetle, that we tread upon,
In corporal sufferance finds a pang as great
As when a giant dies."

(*Measure for Measure*, III, 1, 78 ff.)

Another subject of a similar kind, about which Montaigne often speaks, is the power of habit. He says, for example :

"Both which ["custome and use"] have power to enure and fashion us, not onely to what forme they please (therefore, say the wise, ought we to be addressed to the best, and it will immediately seem easie unto us) but also to change and variation." (*Florio*, III, XIII, p. 556.)¹

¹See *Montaigne and Shakspeare*, pp. 24 f, for similar passages suggested by Mr. Robertson as affording the suggestion for the lines quoted from *Hamlet*.

Now this thought is neither abstruse nor new ; yet, considering the number of parallels, it is interesting to notice that Montaigne's idea is just the one that Shakespeare has expressed in the following well-known passage :

“ Assume a virtue, if you have it not.
That monster, custom, who all sense doth eat,
Of habits devil, is angel yet in this,
That to the use of actions fair and good
He likewise gives a frock or livery,
That aptly is put on. Refrain to-night,
And that shall lend a kind of easiness
To the next abstinence: the next more easy ;
For use can almost change the stamp of nature,
And either . . . the devil, or throw him out
With wondrous potency.”

(*Hamlet*, III, 4, 160 ff.)

In connection with this parallel concerning habit we may notice another on a question distantly connected with it,—namely, fashion. Montaigne has concerning this subject the following passage :

“ Then began he to condemne the former fashion [when a new one came in] as fond intolerable and deformed ; and to commend the latter as comely, handsome, and commendable. . . . you would say, ‘ it is some kind of madnesse or selfe-fond humor that giddieth his understanding ! ’ ” (*Florio*, I, xvix, p. 147.)

This association of giddiness with the changes of fashion Shakespeare has expressed in the following fantastically literal way :

“ Seest thou not, I say, what a deformed thief this fashion is ? how giddily a'turns about all the hot bloods between fourteen and five-and-thirty ? sometimes fashioning them like Pharaoh's soldiers in the reechy painting, sometimes like god Bel's priests in the old Church window.” (*Much Ado about Nothing*, III, 3, 138 ff.)

We may notice in passing that the word “ deformed,” common to the two passages, is, in Florio, the translation of *inepte*.

Another problem of the same psychological nature which Montaigne has discussed, is the transitory and paradoxical nature of emotion. Here are several sentences from his essay, *We taste nothing purely* :

"Our exceeding voluptuousnesse hath some aire of groning and wailing. Would you not say it dieth of anguish? . . . Excessive joy hath more severity than jolity. . . . Travail and pleasure, most unlike in nature, are notwithstanding followed together by a kind of I wot not what natural conjunction. . . . And the extreamity of laughing entermingles it selfe with teares." (*Florio*, II, xx, p. 344).

These sentences express the idea found in the following lines from Hamlet :

"There lives within the very flame of love
A kind of wick or snuff that will abate it;
And nothing is at a like goodness still;
For goodness, growing to a plurisy,
Dies in his own too much :"

(*Hamlet*, IV, 7, 115 ff.)

A psychological problem which perhaps attracted Montaigne even more than any of those already considered, partly on account of his own peculiar temperament, was the relation of the reason and the will. It is naturally Hamlet whose words furnish us with most of the coincidences upon this subject, for in him there was the same conflict as in Montaigne, only far more intense. This similarity of nature between Hamlet and Montaigne was apparent to Sterling¹ years ago; and, as we have seen, has been made by Herr Stedefeld and Mr. Feis the basis of elaborate and conflicting theories. Sometimes both Montaigne and Hamlet uphold the reason as man's guide. For example, Montaigne writes :

"Since it has pleased God to endow us with some capacitie of discourse, that as beasts we should not servily be subjected to common laws, but rather with judgement and voluntary wisdom apply ourselves unto them; we ought somewhat to yield to the simple auctoritie of Nature, but not suffer her tyrannically to carry us away : only reason ought to have the conduct of our inclinations;" (*Florio*, II, viii, p. 192.)

and Hamlet has the following lines :

"What is a man,
If his chief good and market of his time
Be but to sleep and feed? a beast, no more.

¹ *Westminster Review*, vol. 29, p. 321.

Sure, he that made us with such large discourse,
 Looking before and after, gave us not
 That capability and god-like reason
 To fust in us unused."

(*Hamlet*, IV, 4, 33 ff.)

For this passage Mr. Robertson¹ has suggested the parallel in the *Essays*; but only tentatively, as one among other possible sources. In his speech in praise of Horatio, Hamlet extols at length the same ideal of the judgment as man's sovereign director. Here are his words:

"For thou hast been
 As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing,
 A man that fortune's buffets and rewards
 Hast ta'en with equal thanks: and blest are those
 Whose blood and judgement are so well commingled,
 That they are not a pipe for fortune's finger
 To sound what stop she please. Give me that man
 That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him
 In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart,
 As I do thee."

(*Hamlet*, III, 2, 70 ff.)

"Passion's slave" is especially suggestive of Montaigne. One of the numerous passages in which he uses similar expressions is the following:

"It is not to be the friend (lesse the master) but the slave of ones selfe to follow uncessantly, and bee so addicted to his inclinations, as he cannot stray from them, nor wrest them."² (*Florio*, III, III, p. 416.)

Sometimes, on the other hand, Montaigne and Hamlet agree in going to the other extreme, and praising rashness. Mr. Henry Morley has pointed out a striking coincidence on this subject.³ Hamlet, in relating how he exchanged the fatal letters, speaks as follows:

"Rashly,
 And praised be rashness for it, let us know,
 Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well,
 When our deep plots do pall: and that should teach us
 There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
 Rough-hew them how we will."

(*Hamlet*, V, 2, 6 ff.)

¹ *Montaigne and Shakspeare*, p. 35.

² See also II, xvii, p. 338.

³ In preface to Routledge *Florio*.

The parallel which Mr. Henry Morley pointed out for this passage is as follows :

"My consultation doth somewhat roughly hew the matter, and by its first shew, lightly consider the same: the maine and chiefe point of the worke I am wont to resigne to heaven." (*Florio*, III, VIII, p. 476.)

It is interesting to note that there is nothing in the French corresponding to the striking common figure, "rough hew;" so that here, again, Shakespeare must have been using Florio's translation.

A third idea which is expressed by both Montaigne and Hamlet refers to the way in which too much balancing of reasons interferes with action. Here are a few of the sentences in which Montaigne has treated the subject :

". . . For the use of life and service of publike society there may be excesse in the purity and perspicuity of our spirits. This piercing brightnes hath overmuch subtilty and curiositie. . . Affaires need not be sifted so nicely, and so profoundly. A man looseth himselfe about the considerations of so many contrary lustres and diverse formes. . . Whosoever searcheth all the circumstances and embraceth all the consequences thereof hindereth his election." (*Florio*, II, xx, p. 345.)

Hamlet's similar statements are well known. There is the passage from the famous soliloquy :

"Thus conscience does make cowards of us all;
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pitch and moment
With this regard their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action";
(*Hamlet*, III, i, 83 ff.)

and there is his even more unmistakeable outbreak on seeing the army of Fortinbras :

" . . . Some craven scruple
Of thinking too precisely on the event,
A thought which, quartered, hath but one part wisdom
And ever three parts coward."
(*Hamlet*, IV, 4, 40 ff.)

In *Troilus and Cressida*, by the way, there is another expression of the same idea :

“ Nay, if we talk of reason,
 Let's shut our gates and sleep ; manhood and honour
 Should have hare-hearts, would they but fat their thoughts
 With this cramm'd reason : reason and respect
 Make livers pale and lustihood deject.”

(*Troilus and Cressida*, II, 2, 46 ff.)

One thought frequently expressed by Montaigne, both because it does not belong in any of those groups of his ideas which we have been considering, and because it is, perhaps, the most elevated of all his opinions, we may well consider as our final example of thoughts in the *Essays* that can be paralleled in Shakespeare. It is the conviction of the practical value of truthfulness ; expressed in the *Essays*, to take one example, in the following extract :

“ Our intelligence being onely conducted by way of the word : whoso falsifieth the same betraieth publike society. It is the only instrument by meanes whereof our wils and thoughts are communicated : it is the interpretour of our soules : If that faile us, we hold our selves no more, we enter-knowe one another no longer. If it deceive us, it breaketh al our commerce, and dissolveth al bonds of our policie.” (*Florio*, II, XVIII, 341.)

In *Measure for Measure*, from which we have so often quoted before, we find the same idea :

“ There is scarce truth enough alive to make societies secure.”

(*Measure for Measure*, III, 2, 239 ff.)

We have now finished the consideration of the parallels between Shakespeare and Montaigne. That every one of the passages quoted from the *Essays* is the source of the corresponding passage from Shakespeare's plays it would be impossible to prove ; but that a majority of them (the list of probable cases varying with the individual reader) did really, at least through some reminiscence of their general trend, have a vital connection with Shakespeare's lines, several circumstances, some of which we have already briefly considered, combine to make probable. There is first of all the actual close correspondence of many of the parallels quoted. There is the number of parallels, each additional coincidence height-

ening the probability of indebtedness in an increasing ratio. There is the grouping of the parallels in the same essay and in the same play, or more closely, in the same scene or speech, and in the same few pages ; and the grouping, by their dates of composition, of the plays containing the greatest number of parallels with the *Essays*, within a period of a few years. And, finally, there is the fact that the differences between the corresponding passages show tendencies that are both constant and explicable. To begin with, Shakespeare's manner of expressing the common ideas constantly differs from that of Montaigne, as we have already seen, in being briefer, clearer, and more concrete. Perhaps the best single instance where all three tendencies are shown is afforded by the famous lines in which Shakespeare unites the suggestions of two or three vague passages of the *Essays* :

" We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep."

(*Tempest*, IV, 1, 156 ff.)

Now these three qualities, brevity, clearness, and concreteness, are characteristic of Shakespeare's style in general and therefore to be expected in his expression of ideas suggested by another. A fourth and even more constant class of differences consists of those necessitated by the transfer from essay to drama. For one thing, slight changes are demanded, even in that passage in the *Tempest* which is taken almost literally from Montaigne's *Of the Caniballes*, by the fact that Shakespeare is writing in metre. The new circumstances and the new context often occasion more noticeable differences. Montaigne indulges in philosophical speculations about what comes after death ; Hamlet debates whether or not he shall commit suicide : and so the common ideas must be worded differently. Again, because Shakespeare's characters are far from having minds "with Mediterranean tides," as some one aptly describes Montaigne's, their expression of the ideas of the *Essays* is colored both by their habitual feelings and prejudices, and by the mood of the moment. In the case just

spoken of, Montaigne's placid wonder contrasts with Hamlet's fear of

"what dreams may come,
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil."

To Montaigne, again, it is only a pleasant intellectual exercise to represent man as "a miserable creature naked on the bare earth;" with Lear the thought that man is a "poor bare forked animal" intensifies his raving. To sum up, differences between the parallel passages which consist of a greater brevity, clearness, and concreteness in Shakespeare's version, combined with an adaptation to the new context and to the new speaker, form no objection to the theory of indebtedness on the part of Shakespeare in the case in question. If, then, we consider the striking likeness of many of the parallels cited, the number and the grouping of these passages, and the constant tendencies observable in those points in which they differ, we are justified in accepting a large proportion of them as cases in which Shakespeare is in some sort indebted to Montaigne.

We are accordingly at last ready to consider the important question as to what was the nature of this indebtedness. In deciding this question, the fact that Shakespeare has put into the mouths of his characters thoughts appropriated from the *Essays*, cannot be held to be conclusive. The opinions he ascribes to Hamlet, to Troilus, or to Rodrigo, can be considered his own with no more certainty than can their feelings or their crimes. To this kind of argument it may seem that the critics long ago applied the *reductio ad absurdum*. Yet it is still so frequently used, that perhaps the question needs discussion here. Some of the appropriated ideas, we have seen, were not originally Montaigne's, but were ideas he had himself reproduced from his classic masters; so that if in restating them Shakespeare is a disciple, he at least is not the disciple of Montaigne. Furthermore, we have seen that some of these ideas are introduced in the plays just where for dramatic purposes Shakespeare needed to express the classical point of view; so that the supposition that he consciously or

unconsciously appropriated fit means to his end, seems in such cases more probable than any theory of discipleship. In general, moreover, the purely dramatic character of each remark is in many cases brought out by the fact that some other character, often in the very next speech, takes a different, and sometimes an opposite, point of view. When Rodrigo has expressed Montaigne's idea in the speech ending "Then have we a prescription to die when death is our physician," Iago exclaims, "Drown thyself! drown cats and blind puppies!" And as Gonzalo, in the description of the ideal commonwealth which has been so long known to be borrowed from the *Essays*, speaks the words, "No sovereignty," the sailors break in with "Yet he would be king on't." Sometimes, too, the ideas borrowed from Montaigne are put into the mouths of characters under the influence of madness or of passion. Surely we would not ascribe to Shakespeare agreement with the speech of Lear when he is mad, or with that of Marianna when she is making her desperate petition for Angelo. Another reason that tells in this same direction, is that these characters do not themselves always believe their borrowed remarks. Gonzalo evidently talks of his ideal state simply to distract the king from worrying about Ferdinand; he says himself that his words are "merry fooling." We might question, too, how much the Duke in *Measure for Measure* really believed of his long speech to Claudio on the evils of human existence. The Duke knew that Claudio's life was not in danger, since he, as duke, could interfere at any time to save him; but in his friar's disguise he must, under the circumstances, give voice to a few moral observations. These may be sincere, or they may be entirely perfunctory. If we thus refuse to believe that certain of the appropriated ideas were adopted by Shakespeare as his own, we must refuse to accept as his opinions, on such testimony alone, any of them whatever.

Plainly, then, the fact that Shakespeare's characters express some of Montaigne's ideas, is no proof that Shakespeare himself accepted them; still less does it imply that with them he

received the contagion of Montaigne's habits of thought. In order to come to a conclusion about the matter we must attack the problem in another way. All that has ever been established about Shakespeare's personal opinions, has been learned by observing the tendency of his plays as a whole, and by so making sure what things were true of the world as it appeared to him. Now, a comprehensive view of the *Tempest*, showing as it does that the license of the drunken sailors and the monstrosity of the savage Caliban had a part in Shakespeare's conception of the world, is the best proof that he was not dazzled by Montaigne's picture of an uncivilized society. Studying in this way the whole body of plays, we come to see that for Shakespeare most of the great questions of life were, as Professor Dowden says, "stupendous mysteries." If at first his attitude would seem to resemble that of Montaigne, a little comparison shows us that this is not the case. Montaigne's habit is to make a little hypothesis and then to balance it with another little hypothesis; Shakespeare's habit is resolutely and constantly to face the unknown. Montaigne treated the mysteries of the universe, for all he may say to the contrary, as matters upon which he could feed his curiosity and exercise his clever intellect; Shakespeare regarded them with awe. Montaigne wished only a chance to be forever guessing and never finding anything out; Shakespeare was resigned to a necessary ignorance.

In regard to one question we do feel sure that Shakespeare had a definite opinion: he believed that right and wrong are eternally distinguished from each other, and that in a sense far more fundamental than any chatter about "poetic justice," the following of the right is justified. Now Montaigne was far from believing this. Indeed, it is inconsistent with his Pyrrhonistic philosophy and with all his sceptical habits of mind, to hold so definite an opinion on any subject whatever. That Shakespeare did hold this belief is another reason to prove that he was no disciple of Montaigne's.

We must accordingly accept the other hypothesis, and con-

sider that Shakespeare used the *Essays* as a mere store-house of material. Whether or not he knew how many suggestions he derived from it, must of course remain uncertain. In either case, the manifold nature of its subjects, the fresh, interesting, and popular quality of its ideas, and especially the ever-varying character of its author, all made it well adapted to the needs of the dramatist; and whether or not he was conscious of the fact, he put it to good service. He found it most suggestive in that part of his life during which he wrote *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure*; but he continued to draw upon it for material to the end. What Shakespeare took, however, he transformed. He found expressions of opinion that were keen, indeed, and new, but vague, diffuse, and formless; he transformed them into poetry.

ELIZABETH ROBBINS HOOKER.

APPENDIX A.

THE VERSION OF MONTAIGNE'S ESSAYS USED BY SHAKESPEARE.

In order to be prepared to decide whether Shakespeare read Montaigne's *Essays* in the original French or in the translation of Florio, let us collect all the parallels where there is a difference between the two versions of such a nature that we can be sure Shakespeare followed one rather than the other. One such case Mr. Henry Morley has pointed out in the *Routledge* edition of Florio. He has there¹ shown that "No occupation, all men idle, all"² in the *Tempest* represents Florio's ambiguous translation, i. e., "No occupation but idle" of the French "*Nulles occupations qu' oysifves.*" A second instance of such conclusive difference occurs in

¹ See *Routledge* edition of *Florio*, glossary, under "idle."

² *Tempest*, II, 1, 155.

the new parallel which Mr. Morley points out in the preface of the same edition. In

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will,"¹

the figure "rough-hew" is derived from the "roughly hew the matter" of Florio,² not from the vague "*esbauche un peu la matiere*" of the original. Thirdly, "Thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls"³ follows Florio's "Which I could not well conceive, or that was beyond my reach,"⁴ rather than the dissimilar French expression "*Quelque aultre conte ou je ne puisse pas mordre.*" Fourthly, "take arms against a sea of troubles"⁵ resembles Florio's "another huddle or tide of mischief,"⁶ not Montaigne's "*Voicy un aultre rengregement de mal qui m'arriva à la suite du reste.*" Fifthly, the expression, "'Tis a consummation Devoutly to be wished"⁷ has the word "consummation," used, by the way, only three times by Shakespeare, in common with Florio's "If it be a consummation of one's being;"⁸ whereas the French word so translated is *aneantisement*. Sixthly, the expression "deformed thief"⁹ in the passage on fashion in *Much Ado About Nothing* may have been suggested in part by the final adjective in Florio's "Then began he to condemne the former fashion as fond, intolerable, and deformed:"¹⁰ but could not have come from the corresponding French "*Il se moque de son aultre usage, le treuve inepte et insupportable.*" In all these cases Shakespeare is clearly following Florio rather than the French. The only case where Shakespeare's version resembles the French rather than Florio's translation is in that passage in *Julius Cæsar* where Florio's carelessly inserted 'no' in his translation of "*n'y a-t-il pas plus de mal,*" as "There is no more inconvenience," Shakespeare may quite conceivably have simply

¹ *Hamlet*, V, 2, 10 f.

² *Hamlet*, I, 4, 56.

³ *Hamlet*, III, 1, 59.

⁴ *Hamlet*, III, 1, 63 f.

⁵ *Much Ado About Nothing*, III, 3, 147.

⁶ *Florio*, IV, VIII, p. 476.

⁷ *Florio*, I, XXVI, p. 81.

⁸ *Florio*, III, XII, p. 537.

⁹ *Florio*, III, XII, p. 540.

¹⁰ *Florio*, I, XLIX, p. 147

overlooked. This instance, then, affords no argument on either side; so that all the actual evidence would lead us to believe that the version Shakespeare used was the translation of Florio.

It may be objected, however, that that translation was not published till 1603; and that, nevertheless, of the passages having parallels in the *Essays* a number occur in a mutilated form in the first Quarto of *Hamlet*, published in that same year; others in *Julius Cæsar*, written not later than 1601; and still others in *Much Ado About Nothing*, probably written before 1600. These, it might appear, must have been suggested by the French version. But the soliloquy in which occur the "sea of troubles" and the "consummation devoutly to be wished," both of which, we saw, come from Florio rather than from the French, is found in a garbled form in the first quarto of *Hamlet*; and the passage in which, in partial agreement with Florio, fashion is called a "deformed thief" is found in *Much Ado About Nothing*. We are therefore led to conclude that the translation of Florio, like so many other works of that day, was circulated in manuscript; and that Shakespeare read it in that form. We know that some translation of Montaigne's *Essays* was so circulated; for Sir William Cornwallis in his *Essayes*,¹ published in 1600, but itself previously circulated in manuscript, writes as follows:

"For profitable Recreation, that Noble French Knight, the Lord *de Montaigne* is most excellent, whom though I haue not bene so much beholding to the French as to see in his Originall, yet diuers of his peeces I have seen translated: they that understand both languages say very well done, and I am able to say (if you will take the word of Ignorance) translated into a stile, admitting as fewe Idle words as our language will endure: It is well fitted in this newe garment, and *Montaigne* speaks now good English: It is done by a fellowe lesse beholding to nature for his fortune then witte, yet lesser for his face then fortune; the truth is hee looks more like a good-fellowe then a wise-man, and yet hee is wise beyond either his fortune or education." (*Essay 12, Of Censuring.*)²

¹*Essayes* by Sir William Corne-waleys, the younger, Knight. Printed by Edmund Mattes at the signe of the Hand and Plough in Fleet-street, 1600.

²See Dedication to the *Essayes*.

Two things implied in the extract about this manuscript translation we need to notice: first, Cornwallis speaks of it as if it were well advanced and generally esteemed; it is probably, then, no other than Florio's, the one actually published a few years later. Secondly, Cornwallis gives of its author such a description as would only be written by a comparative stranger. Now Shakespeare and Florio cannot have been strangers, for they were both friends of Ben Jonson, both *protégés* of Lord Pembroke, and both well known men in London society. If Cornwallis could have access as a stranger to a translation which was so probably Florio's, it is less surprising that there exists, in plays written before 1603, evidence that Shakespeare had been reading Montaigne's *Essays* in Florio's translation.

APPENDIX B.

TABULATION OF PARALLEL PASSAGES IN MONTAIGNE'S ESSAYS AND SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.

The order is that of the conjectural dates given for the plays in Professor Dowden's *Shakespeare Primer*. The references to Shakespeare are to the *Globe* edition; those to Montaigne, to the *Routledge* edition of Florio's translation.

MONTAIGNE.

SHAKESPEARE.

Much Ado About Nothing.

I, XLIX, p. 147, f.

" Then began he to condemn the former fashion [when a new one came in] as fond intolerable and deformed;¹ and to commend the latter as comely, handsome, and commendable" you would say, "it is some kind of madness or self-fond humor that giddieth his understanding."

III, 3, 138 ff.

"Seest thou not, I say, what a deformed thief this fashion is? how giddily a' turns about all the hot bloods between fourteen and five-and-thirty? sometimes fashioning them like Pharaoh's soldiers in the reechy painting, sometime like god Bel's priests in the old church window."

¹ French version: "*Il se moque de son aultre usage, le treuve inepte et insupportable.*"

MONTAIGNE.

SHAKESPEARE.

Much Ado About Nothing.

II, 12, p. 364.

" . . . The sense of feeling . . . which by the effect of the griefe or paine it brings to the body doth so often confound and re-enverse all these goodly Stoicall resolutions, and enforceth to cry out of the belly-ache him who hath with all his resolution established in his mind this doctrine, that the cholike, as every other sicknesse or paine, is a thing indifferent, wanting power to abate anything of soveraigne good or chiefe felicity, wherein the wise man is placed by his owne vertue."

V, 1, 35 ff.

"For there was never yet philosopher That could endure the tooth-ache patiently, However they have writ the style of gods And made a push at chance and sufferance."

Julius Cæsar.

I, XIX, 33.

"Herein consists the true and soveraigne liberty, that affords us meanes wherewith to jeast and make a scorne of force and injustice, and to deride imprisonment, gives or fetters."

I, 3, 90 ff.

"Cassius from bondage will deliver Cassius:
Therein, ye gods, you make the weak most strong;
Therein, ye gods, you tyrants do defeat:
Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass,
Nor airless dungeon, nor strong links of iron,
Can be retentive to the strength of spirit;
But life, being weary of these worldly bars,
Never lacks power to dismiss itself.
If I know this, know all the world besides,
That part of tyranny that I do bear
I can shake off at pleasure."

I, XIV, p. 33.

" . . . Since we are threatened by so many kinds of death, there is no more inconvenience to feare them all,¹ than to endure one: what mat-

II, 2, 32 ff.

"Cowards die many times before their deaths;
The valiant never taste of death but once."

¹ French "*n'y a-t-il pas plus de mal.*"

MONTAIGNE.

Julius Cæsar.

ter when it commeth, since it is unavoidable?"¹

I, xviii, 26.

"But for as much as he [Solon] is a Philosopher, with whom the favours or disfavours of fortune, and good or ill lucke have no place, and are not regarded by him; and puisances and greatneses, and accidents of qualitie, are well-nigh indifferent."

I, xxxviii, p. 110.

"Our death is not sufficient to make us afraid; let us also charge ourselves with that of our wives, of our children, and of our friends and people."

Ibid., p. 111.

"It sufficeth me, under fortunes favour, to prepare my selfe for her disfavour; and being at ease, as far as imagination may attaine unto, so represent the evill to come unto my selfe: Even as we enure our selves to Tilts and Tourneyes, and counterfeit warre in time of peace."

I, xix, p. 35.

"Why fearest thou thy last day? He is no more guiltie, and conferreth no more to thy death, than any of the others. It is not the last step that causeth weariness: it only declares it. All daies march towards death, only the last comes to it."

¹ Compare North's *Life of Julius Cæsar*: "And when some of his friends did counsel him to have a guard for the safety of his person, and some also did offer themselves to serve him, he would never consent to it, but said: 'It was better to die once than always to be afraid of death.'"—*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, London, 1875, p. 92.

SHAKESPEARE.

Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
It seems to me most strange that men should fear;
Seeing that death, a necessary end,
Will come when it will come."

IV, 3, 146 ff.

"*Brutus*. O Cassius, I am sick of many griefs.

"*Cassius*. Of your philosophy you make no use,
If you give place to accidental evils:

"*Brutus*. No man bears sorrow better. Portia is dead."

IV, 3, 189 ff.

"*Brutus*. Why, farewell, Portia. We must die, Messala:
With meditating that she must die once
I have the patience to endure it now."

V, 5, 41 f.

"My bones would rest,
That have but labour'd to attain this hour."

MONTAIGNE.

SHAKESPEARE.

All's Well That Ends Well.

I, xxxi, p. 99.

"... a rable of men that are ordinaire interpreters and controulers of Gods secret desseignes, presuming to finde out the causes of every accident, and to prie into the secrets of Gods divine will, the incomprehensible motives of his works."

II, xxxvii, p. 388.

"We need not goe to cull out miracles, and chuse strange difficulties: mee seemeth, that amongst those things we ordinarily see there are such incomprehensible rarities as they exceed all difficultie of miracles."

II, xx, p. 345.

"When I religiously confesse my selfe unto my selfe, I finde the best good I have hath some vicious taint Man is all in all but a botching and party coloured worke."

I, xxvi, p. 81.

"So was I sometimes wont to doe, and if I heard anybody speake, either of ghosts walking, of foretelling future things, of enchantments, of witchcrafts, or any other thing reported, which I could not well conceive, or that was beyond my reach Reason hath taught me, that so resolutely to condemne a thing for false and impossible, is to assume unto himselfe the advantage, to have the bounds and limits of Gods will, and of the power of our common mother Nature tied to his

II, 3, 1 ff.

"They say miracles are past; and we have our philosophical persons, to make modern and familiar, things supernatural and causeless. Hence is it that we make trifles of terrors, ensconcing ourselves into seeming knowledge, when we should submit ourselves to an unknown fear."

IV, 3, 81 ff.

"The web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together: our virtues would be proud, if our faults whipped them not; and our crimes would despair, if they were not cherished by our virtues."

Hamlet.

I, 4, 51 ff.

"What may this mean,
That thou, dead corse, again in complete steel
Revisit'st thus the glimpses of the moon,
Making night hideous; and we fools of nature
So horridly to shake our disposition
With thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls?"

I, 5, 166 f.

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,

MONTAIGNE.

SHAKESPEARE.

Hamlet.

sleeve: And that there is no greater folly in the world than to reduce them to the measure of our capacities and bounds of our sufficiency. If we term those things monsters or miracles to which our reason cannot attain, how many such do daily present themselves unto our sight?"

I, XL, p. 117.

"If that which we call evil and torment, be neither torment nor evil, but that our fancy only gives it that quality, it is in us to change it."¹

III, XII, p. 537.

".... Yet I sometimes suffer myself by starts to be surprised with the pinchings of these unpleasant conceits, which whilst I arme myself to expell or wrestle against them assaile and beate mee. Loe here another huddle or tide of mischief, that on the necke of the former came rushing upon mee."

Ibid., p. 540.

"I know I have neither frequented nor known death, nor have I seen any body that hath either felt or tried her qualities to instruct me in them. Those who feare her presuppose to know; as for me, I neither know who or what she is, nor what they do in the other world. Death may peradventure be a thing indifferent, happily a

Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

II, 2, 249 ff.

"*Hamlet.* Denmark's a prison.

Rosencrantz. We think not so, my lord.

Hamlet. Why, then, 'tis none to you; for there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so: to me it is a prison."

III, 1, 56 ff.

"To be or not to be; that is the question

Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer

The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,

Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,

And by opposing end them?

To die: to sleep:

No more; and by a sleep to say we end

The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks

That flesh is heir to, 'tis a consummation

Devoutly to be wish'd. To die, to sleep;

¹Suggested tentatively by Elze: *Essays on Shakespeare*, 1872, p. 7; and later, positively, by Mr. Feis: *Shakspeare and Montaigne*, p. 81.

MONTAIGNE.

SHAKESPEARE.

Hamlet.

thing desirable. Yet it is to be believed that if it bee a transmigration from one place to another, there is some amendment in going to live with so many worthy famous persons that are deceased, and be exempted from having any more to doe with wicked and corrupt judges. If it be a consummation of ones being, it is also an amendment and entrance into a long and quiet night. Wee finde nothing so sweete in life as a quiet rest and gentle sleepe, and without dreames.”¹

II, ix, p. 489 f.

“... The oldest and best known evill is ever more tolerable then a fresh and unexperienced mischiefe.”

II, xx, p. 345.

“... For the use of life and service of publike society there may be excesse in the purity and perspicuity of our spirits. This piercing brightnes hath overmuch subtilty and curiositie. . . . Affaires need not be sifted so nicely and so profoundly. A man looseth himselfe about the considerations of so many contrary lustres and diverse formes. . . . Whosoever searcheth all the circumstances and embraceth all the consequences thereof hindereth his election.”

¹ Pointed out by Mr. Feis: *Shakspere and Montaigne*, p. 87 ff. Compare, however, the following lines from Marlowe's *Edward II*; cited by Mr. Robertson, *Montaigne and Shakspere*, p. 49:

“Weep not for Mortimer
Who scorns the world, and as a traveller,
Goes to discover countries yet unknown.”

Edward II, V, last scene.

To sleep: perchance to dream: ay,
there's the rub;
For in that sleep of death what
dreams may come
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
Must give us pause.
. Who would fardels bear
To grunt and sweat under a weary life,
But that the dread of something
after death,
The undiscover'd country from
whose bourn
No traveller returns, puzzles the
will
And makes us rather bear those ills
we have
Than fly to others that we know not
of?

Thus conscience does make cowards
of us all;
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sickled o'er with the pale cast of
thought,
And enterprises of great pitch and
moment
With this regard their currents turn
awry,
And lose the name of action.”

MONTAIGNE.

SHAKESPEARE.

Hamlet.

I, xviii, p. 26.

"But forsomuch as he [Solon] is a Philosopher, with whom the favours or disfavours of fortune, and good or ill lucke have no place, and are not regarded by him; and puissances and greatneses, and accidents of qualitie, are well-nigh indifferent."

III, iii, p. 416.

"It is not to be the friend (lesse the master) but the slave of ones selfe to follow uncessantly, and bee so addicted to his inclinations, as hee cannot stay from them, nor wrest them."¹

III, xiii, p. 556.

"Both which ["custome and use"] have power to enure and fashion us, not onely to what forme they please — (therefore, say the wise, ought we to be addressed to the best, and it will immediately seeme easie unto us) but also to change and variation."

III, 2, 70 ff.

". . . For thou hast been
As one, in suffering all, that suffers
nothing,
A man that fortune's buffets and
rewards
Hast ta'en with equal thanks: and
blest are those
Whose blood and judgment are so
well commingled,
That they are not a pipe for fortune's
finger
To sound what stop she please.
Give me that man
That is not passion's slave, and I
will wear him
In my heart's core, ay, in my heart
of heart,
As I do thee."

III, 4, 160 ff.

"Assume a virtue, if you have it not.
That monster, custom, who all sense
doth eat,
Of habits devil, is angel yet in this,
That to the use of actions fair and
good
He likewise gives a frock or livery,
That aptly is put on. Refrain to-
night,
And that shall lend a kind of
easiness
To the next abstinence; the next
more easy;
For use can almost change the stamp
of nature,
And either . . . the devil, or throw
him out
With wondrous potency."

¹ See also II, xiii, p. 338.

MONTAIGNE.

Hamlet.

II, viii, p. 192.

"Since it hath pleased God to endow us with some capacitie of discourse, that as beasts we should not servily be subjected to common lawes, but rather with judgement and voluntary liberty apply ourselves unto them; we ought somewhat to yeeld unto the simple auctoritie of Nature, but not suffer her tyrannically to carry us away: only reason ought to have the conduct of our inclinations."¹

II, xx, p. 345.

". . . . For the use of life and service of publike society there may be excesse in the purity and perspicuity of our spirits. This piercing brightnes hath overmuch subtilty and curiositie. . . . Affaires need not be sifted so nicely and profoundly. A man looseth himselfe about the considerations of so many contrary lustres and diverse forms. . . . Whosoever searcheth all the circumstances and embraceth all the consequences thereof hindereth his election."

II, xx, p. 344.

"Our exceeding voluptuousnesse hath some aire of groning and wailing. Would you not say it dieth of anguish? Excessive joy hath more severity then jolity. . . . Travail and pleasure, most unlike in nature, are notwithstanding followed together by a kind of I wot not what natural conjunction. . . . And the extreamity of laughing entermingles it selfe with teares."

SHAKESPEARE.

IV, 3, 33 ff.

"What is a man,
If his chief good and market of his
time
Be but to sleep and feed? a beast,
no more.
Sure, he that made us with such
large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and god-like reason
To fust in us unused."

"Now, whether it be
Bestial oblivion, or some craven
scruple
Of thinking too precisely on the
event,
A thought which, quartered, hath
but one part wisdom
And ever three parts coward, I do
not know
Why yet I live to say 'This thing's
to do;'
Sith I have cause and will and
strength and means
To do't."

IV, 7, 115 ff.

"There lives within the very flame
of love
A kind of wick or snuff that will
abate it;
And nothing is at a like goodness
still;
For goodness, growing to a plurisy
Dies in his own too much: that we
would do,
We should do when we would; for
this 'would' changes."

¹ Quoted as one of three possible sources by Mr. Robertson: *Montaigne and Shakspeare*, p. 35.

MONTAIGNE.

III, VIII, p. 476.

"My consultation doth somewhat roughly hew the matter, and by its first shew, lightly consider the same: the maine and chiefe point of the work I am wont to resigne to heaven."¹

I, XIX, p. 34.

"Moreover, no man dies before his houre. The time you leave behinde was no more yours than that which was before your birth, and concerneth you no more. . . . Wheresoever your life ended, there is it all. . . . It consists not in number of yeeres, but in your will, that you have lived long enough."²

Measure for Measure.

II, XII, p. 225.

"Is it possible to imagine anything so ridiculous as this miserable and wretched creature, which is not so much as master of himselfe, exposed and subject to offences of all things, and yet dareth call himselfe Master and Emperour of this Universe?"

SHAKESPEARE.

Hamlet.

V, 2, 4 ff.

"*Hamlet.* Sir, in my heart there was a kind of fighting,
That would not let me sleep:
methought I lay
Worse than the mutines in the bil-
boes. Rashly,
And praised be rashness for it, let
us know,
Our indiscretion sometimes serves
us well,
When our deep plots do pall; and
that should teach us
There's a divinity that shapes our
ends,
Rough-hew them how we will."

V, 2, 230 ff.

"Not a whit, we defy augury:
there's a special providence in the
fall of a sparrow. If it be now, 'tis not
to come; if it be not to come, it will be
now; if it be not now, yet it will
come: the readiness is all: since no
man has aught of what he leaves,
what is't to leave betimes?"

II, 2, 117 ff.

"But man, proud man,
Dressed in a little brief authority,
Most ignorant of what he's most
assured,
His glassy essence, like an angry ape,
Plays such fantastic tricks before
high heaven
As make the angels weep."

¹ Pointed out by Mr. Henry Morley, 1885. See preface to Routledge *Florio*, p. viii.

² Pointed out by Mr. Feis: *Shakspeare and Montaigne*, p. 11.

MONTAIGNE.

SHAKESPEARE.

*Measure for Measure.**Ibid.*, p. 225.

"To consider the power of domination these bodies have not onely upon our lives and condition of our fortune. . . . But also over our dispositions and inclinations, our discourses and wils, which they rule, provoke, and move at the pleasure of their influences, as our reason finds and teacheth us. . . . Seeing that not a man alone, nor a king, only, but monarchies and empires; yea, and all the world below is moved at the shaking of one of the least heavenly motions. . . . We, who have no commerce but of obedience with them?"¹

I, xix, p. 28.

"The end of our carriere is death, it is the necessarie object of our aime: if it affright us, how is it possible we should step one foot further without an ague?"²

p. 35. "To what end recoile you from it, if you cannot goe backe."

Ibid., p. 290.

". . . . No eminent or glorious vertue can be without some immoderate and irregular agitation. May not this be one of the reasons which moved the Epicureans to discharge God of all care and thought of our affaires: forsomuch as the very effects of his goodnesse cannot exercise themselves towards us without disturbing his rest by meanes of the passions which are as motives and solicitations directing the soule to vertuous actions?"

III, i, 5 ff.

"Reason thus with life:
If I do lose thee, I do lose a thing
That none but fools would keep: a
breath thou art,
Servile to all the skyey influences,
That dost this habitation, where thou
keep'st,
Hourly afflict:

merely, thou art death's

fool;
For him thou labor'st by thy flight
to shun
And yet runn'st toward him still.

Thou art not noble;
For all the accommodations that
thou bear'st
Are nurst by baseness.

¹ Pointed out by Mr. Robertson: *Montaigne and Shakspeare*, p. 26.

² Pointed out by Mr. Robertson: *Montaigne and Shakspeare*, p. 53.

MONTAIGNE.

SHAKESPEARE.

*Measure for Measure.**Ibid.*, p. 308.

"Is it our senses that lend these diverse conditions into subjects, when for all that the subjects have but one? as we see in the Bread we eat: it is but Bread, but one using it, it maketh bones, blood, flesh, haire, and nailes thereof."

II, xiv, p. 315.

"Our appetite doth contemne and passe over what he hath in his free choice and owne possession, to runne after and pursue what he hath not."

II, xii, p. 210.

". . . . If we should ever continue one and the same, how is it then that now we rejoyce at one thing, and now at another? For it is not likely that without alteration we should take other passions, and what admitteth alterations, continueth not the same; and if it be not one selfe same then it is not, but rather with being all one, the simple being doth also change, ever becoming other from other."

Ibid., p. 306.

"Those which have compared our life unto a dreame, have happily had more reason so to doe then they were aware. When we dreame, our soule liveth, worketh, and exerciseth all her faculties, even and as much as when it waketh Our waking is never so vigilant as it may clearely purge and dissipate the ravings or idle phantasies which are the dreames of the waking, and worse then dreames. Our reason and soule, receiving the phantasies and

. Thou art not thyself;
For thou exist'st on many a thou-
sand grains
That issue out of dust.

Happy thou art not;
For what thou hast not, still thou
strivest to get,
And what thou hast, forget'st.

Thou art not certain;
For thy complexion shifts to strange
effects,
After the moon.

. . . . Thou hast nor youth nor age,
But, as it were, an after dinner's
sleep,
Dreaming on both; for all thy
blessed youth
Becomes as aged, and doth beg the
alms
Of palsied eld; and when thou art
old and rich,
Thou hast neither heat, affection,
limb, nor beauty,
To make thy riches pleasant. What's
yet in this

MONTAIGNE.

SHAKESPEARE.

Measure for Measure.

opinions, which sleeping seize on them, and authorizing our dreames actions, with like approbation, as it doth the daies, why make we not a doubt whether our thinking and our working be another dreaming, and our waking some kind of sleeping?"

Ibid., p. 309.

"And then we doe foolishly feare a kind of death, whenas we have already past and dayly passe to many others; . . . The flower of age dieth, fadeth and fleeteth, when age comes upon us, and youth endeth in the flower of a full growne mans age: child-hood in youth and the first age dieth in infancie: and yesterday endeth in this day, and to day shall die in to morrow, And nothing remaineth or ever continueth in one state."¹

I, XI, p. 120 f.

" . . . Well, suppose that in death we especially regard the pain. . . . It may easily be seen, that the point of our spirit is that which sharpeneth both paine and pleasure in us. Beasts wanting the same leave their free and naturall senses unto their bodies: and by consequence single well-nigh in every kind, as they shew by the semblable application of their movings."

II, XVIII, p. 341.

"Our intelligence being onely conducted by way of the word: whoso falsifieth the same betraieth publike society. It is the only instrument

That bears the name of life?

Yet in this life
Lie hid moe thousand deaths: yet
death we fear,
That makes these odds all even."

III, 1, 77 ff.

"Darest thou die?
The sense of death is most in apprehension;
And the poor beetle, that we tread upon,
In corporal sufferance finds a pang as great
As when a giant dies."

III, 2, 239 ff.

"There is scarce truth enough alive to make societies secure."

¹ Pointed out by Mr. Robertson: *Montaigne and Shakspeare*, p. 53.

MONTAIGNE.

SHAKESPEARE.

Measure for Measure.

by meanes whereof our wils and thoughts are communicated: it is the interpretour of our soules: If that faile us, we hold our selves no more, we enter-know one another no longer. If it deceive us, it breaketh al our commerce, and dissolveth al bonds of our policie."

II, XI, p. 213.

"Now that it be not more glorious, by an undaunted and divine resolution, to hinder the growth of temptations, and for a man to frame himselfe to vertue, so that the verie seeds of vice be cleane rooted out; than by mayne force to hinder their progresse; and having suffred himselfe to be surprised by the first assaults of passions, to arme and bandie himselfe to stay their course and to supresse them; And that this second effect be not also much fairer than to be simply stored with a facile and gentle nature, and of it selfe distasted and in dislike with licentiousnesse and vice, I am perswaded there is no doubt. For this third and last manner seemeth in some sort to make a man innocent, but not vertuous; free from doing ill, but not sufficiently apt to doe well."

V, 1, 444 ff.

"They say, best men are moulded out of faults;
And, for the most, become much more the better
For being a little bad."

Troilus and Cressida.

II, xx, p. 345.

". . . . For the use of life and service of publike society there may be excesse in the purity and perspicuity of our spirits. This piercing brightnes hath over much subtilty and curiositie. . . . Affaires need not be sifted so nicely and so pro-

II, 2, 46 ff.

"Nay, if we talk of reason,
Let's shut our gates and sleep: manhood and honour
Should have hare-hearts, would they but fat their thoughts
With this cramm'd reason: reason
and respect

MONTAIGNE.

Troilus and Cressida.

foundly. A man looseth himself about the consideration of so many contrary lustres and diverse formes. . . . Whosoever searcheth all the circumstances and embraceth all the consequences thereof hindereth his election."

I, XL, p. 117.

"If that which we call evill and torment, be neither torment nor evill, but that our fancie only gives it that qualitie, it is in us to change it."

p. 119. "All doth not consist in imagination."

II, 3, p. 174.

"The common course of curing any infirmitie is ever directed at the charge of life: we have incisions made into us, we are canterized, we have limbes cut and mangled, we are let bloud, we are dieted. Goe we but one step further, we need no more physicke, we are perfectly whole. Why is not our jugular or throat-veine as much at our command as the mediane? To extreme sicknesses, extreme remedies. . . . God giveth us sufficient privilege, when he placeth us in such an estate, as life is worse than death unto us."

SHAKESPEARE.

Make livers pale and lustihood deject."

II, 2, 52.

"*Troilus.* What is aught, but as 'tis valued?

Hector. But value dwells not in particular will;

It holds his estimate and dignity

As well wherein 'tis precious of itself

As in the prizer: 'tis mad idolatry

To make the service greater than the god;

And the will dotes that is attributive

To what infectiously itself affects,

Without some image of the affected merit."

Othello.

I, 3, 309 ff.

"*Rodrigo.* It is silliness to live when to live is torment; and then have we a prescription to die when death is our physician.

.
Iago. Drown thyself! drown cats and blind puppies!"

MONTAIGNE.

SHAKESPEARE.

King Lear.

II, XII, p. 228.

" . . . Exclaiming that man is the onely forsaken and out-cast creature, naked on the bare earth, fast bound and swathed, having nothing to cover and arme himself withall but the spoile of others; whereas Nature hath clad and mantled all other creatures, some with shels, some with huskes, with rindes, with haire, with wooll, with stings, with bristles, with hides, with mosse, with feathers, with skales, with fleeces, and with silke, according as their quality might need or their condition require."

p. 229. "Such complaints are false."

I, XIX, p. 33.

"But nature compels us to it. Depart (saith she) out of this world, even as you came into it. The same way you came from death to life, returne without passion or amazement, from life to death. . . ."

p. 34. "It consisteth not in number of yeares, but in your will, that you have lived long enough."

I, XXXI, p. 99.

" . . . A rable of men that are ordinarie interpreters and controulers of Gods secret designs, presuming to find out the causes of every accident, and to prie into the secrets of Gods divine will, the incomprehensible motives of his works."¹

III, 4, 107 ff.

"Is man no more than this? Consider him well. Thou owest the worm no silk, the beast no hide, the sheep no wool, the cat no perfume. Ha! here's three on's are sophisticated! Thou art the thing itself: unaccommodated man is no more but such a poor, bare, forked animal as thou art. Off, off, you lendings! come, unbutton here."

V, 2, 9 ff.

"Men must endure
Their going hence, even as their
coming hither:
Ripeness is all."

V, 3, 16 f.

"And take upon 's the mystery of
things,
As if we were God's spies."

¹ Pointed out by Mr. Robertson: *Montaigne and Shakspeare*, p. 66.

MONTAIGNE.

SHAKESPEARE.

Macbeth.

I, XLII, p. 128.

"Plutarke¹ saith in some place that he findes no such great difference betweene beast and beast, as he findeth diversitie between man and man."

II, III, p. 174.

"The common course of curing any infirmitie is ever directed at the charge of life: Goe we but one step further, we need no more physicke, we are perfectly whole. . . . To extreme sicknesses, extreme remedies. . . . God giveth us sufficient privilege, when he placeth in such an estate, as life is worse than death unto us."

I, XIX, p. 33.

"Herein [in freedom from fear of death] consists the true and soveraigne liberty, that affords us meanes wherewith to jeast and make a scorne of force and injustice, and to deride imprisonment, gives, or fetters."

III, 1, 92 ff.

"Ay, in the catalogue ye go for men;
As hounds and greyhounds, mongrels,
spaniels, curs,
Shoughs, water-rugs, and demi-wolves
are clept
All by the name of dogs: the valued
file
Distinguishes the swift, the slow,
the subtle,
The housekeeper, the hunter, every
one
According to the gift which beounteous
nature
Hath in him closed, whereby he
does receive
Particular addition, from the bill
That writes them all alike: and so
of men."

V, 4, 6 ff.

". Be cured
By the sure physician, death, who
is the key
To unbar these locks."

¹ In *That Beasts have the use of Reason*. This was not, of course, included in the North's *Plutarch's Lives* which Shakespeare knew.

MONTAIGNE.

The Tempest.

I, xxx, p. 94.

"It is a nation, would I answer Plato, that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no use of service, of riches or of povertie; no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupation but idle; no respect of kindred, but common, no apparell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no use of wine, corne, or mettle."¹

Shortly before this passage comes this:

" . . . Me seemeth that what in those nations we see by experience, doth exceed all the pictures where-with licentious Poesie hath proudly imbellished the golden age."

II, xii, p. 267.

"For wherefore doe we from that instant take a title of being, which is but a twinkling in the infinit course of an eternall night, and so short an interruption of our perpetuall and natural condition? Death possessing whatever is before and behind this moment, and also a good part of this moment."

p. 309. " . . . Every humane nature is ever in the middle betweene being borne and dying; giving nothing of it selfe but an obscure apparance and shadow, and an uncertaine and weake opinion."

SHAKESPEARE.

II, 1, 147 ff.

"I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
And use of service, none; contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
No occupation: all men idle, all;
And women too, but innocent and pure;
No sovereignty;—

I would with such perfection govern,
sir,

To excel the golden age."

IV, 1, 156 ff.

"We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep."

¹ Pointed out by Capell: *Notes and Various Readings*, 1671, Pt. III, vol. II, p. 63.

XII.—NOTES ON THE RUTHWELL CROSS.

It has commonly been supposed¹ that the first mention of the Ruthwell Cross was in these words of Hickes, on p. 5 of his edition of Jonas' *Icelandic Grammar*, published in 1703 as Part III of Hickes' *Thesaurus*: 'Denique infra posui in quatuor tabellis . . . æri insculptum nobilissimum monumentum *Runicum*, quod à se *Ruthwelli*, vulgo *Revelli* apud Scotos, descriptum ad me misit in Septentrionali literatura, præsertim in *Runica*, singulariter eruditus, Reverendus *Wilhelmus Nicolsonus*, Archidiaconus *Carleolensis*.' This must have been written before June 14, 1702, since on that day Nicolson was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle. No one seems hitherto to have inquired when Nicolson himself discovered the monument, nor what he thought of it. In the following pages I shall present Nicolson's own statement concerning his discovery, his references to the Cross at various subsequent times, and finally his detailed account of a collation of his transcript with the inscription on the Cross, made two years after Hickes had published the earlier transcript. This information is contained in the first volume of Nicolson's *Letters on Various Subjects*, edited by John Nichols, London, 1809, and in his unpublished² diary for the year 1705.

As early as February 8, 1691-2, Nicolson, in writing to the antiquary Thoresby, refers to his forthcoming *Essay on the Kingdom of Northumberland*, and adds: 'But, to give it its last finishing stroke, it will be necessary that I visit a great many of the remains of our Saxon ancestors in several parts of this province.' By at least this date, therefore, Nicolson was interested in the inspection of antiquities; but, indeed, we

¹ Cf. Wülker, *Grundriss zur Gesch. der Ags. Lit.*, p. 134.

² Since writing the above, Part II of Bishop Nicolson's *Diaries* has been published by Bishop Ware, in Vol. 2, New Series, of the *Transactions* mentioned on page 374.

know that his interest was of earlier growth, since in November, 1685, he writes about the Runic inscriptions on the Bewcastle Cross and the Bridekirk Font (*Phil. Trans.* 15. 1287-95; Camden's *Britannia*, Gibson's 2d ed., 2. 1007-10, 1029-31). Writing in 1693 to Edmund Gibson (1669-1748), the editor to whom he had relinquished the *Saxon Chronicle*, he says (September 9): 'I have given you my thoughts of your coins; which (especially on that with the Runic characters) I hope will be grateful [I] have sent you rude draughts of some Roman and Runic monuments, which will be new to you. I have ventured to write my reading of the several inscriptions, in your father's book on the opposite (or the same) page with every monument. Only that in your own custody I cannot yet thoroughly explain; but, as soon as I am able, will give you some account of it.' These extracts will suffice to show Nicolson's devotion to Runic and monumental studies as one phase of his antiquarian activity, and may serve as a preface to those which are to follow.

From the passages now to be presented we learn that Nicolson first saw the Ruthwell Cross between April 11 and 16, 1697 (since, writing April 22, which, as I calculate, was a Friday, he says it was 'last week'); that he found the inscriptions 'very fair and legible'; that he thought them later than the tenth century; that he considered the monument 'ravishing'; that, on his first visit, he heard the legend of its transportation from the seashore; that the Runes were 'the most fresh and fair' that ever he saw, and the Cross the largest, and most complete of the kind; that he sent his copy of the inscription to Hicke before September 11, 1697; that before February 29, 1699-1700, he had sent copies to Charlett, Thwaites, Peringskiold, Winding, and 'most of my [his] learned friends'; and that he hoped for elucidations of the difficulties of the inscription from his Scandinavian correspondents. He intimates (April 22, 1697) that he would have liked to submit the inscription to his friend Worm, probably Christian Worm (nephew of the famous Runic antiquary Ole

Worm), who wrote one of the Testimonia prefixed to Hickes' *Thesaurus* on November 15, 1696, and who must have left Oxford soon after, since Nicolson, writing on January 30, 1696-7 to Mr. Tanner, says: 'I am sorry to hear that Mr. Worms [*sic*] is stepped off without finishing his book.'

So much for the correspondence. From his diary we learn that he collated his Latin and Runic transcripts on Wednesday, July 5, 1704; that he was accompanied by three gentlemen, one of them probably a future archdeacon and bishop of Carlisle; that the characters *uung* had been omitted in Hickes' plate; that the lower part of the Cross, 12 feet 6 inches in length, lay in 'Murray's' choir; that fragments of the Cross had been found in the churchyard, probably against the wall of the church ('under Through-stones'); that the legend concerning its removal was not identical with that in Duncan's time (1833), or rather in Sinclair's (1791-9); that there was another legend of the growth of the Cross after the church had been built;—besides the information to be directly gathered from the corrected transcripts.

The epistolary passages which follow have, as already said, been extracted from the first volume of Nicolson's correspondence. The excerpt from the diary, on the other hand, which has hitherto remained unpublished, I owe to the courtesy of Rev. Henry Ware, D. D., Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness, through the obliging mediation of the Dean of Carlisle, the Very Rev. W. G. Henderson.

LETTERS.

To Edward Lhwyd, April 22, 1697.

In one of the papers you sent me (that of Bridferth of Ramsey's book) there is a specimen of an old Latin MS. of the Gospels; whereof I must desire a further account. Are those Gospels under the same cover with Bridferth's Computus? and do you believe the character to be as antient as that writer's time? the reason why I impatiently desire an answer to these queries is this: I took a progress (last week) into Scotland, to view a famous cross in a church near Dumfries. I was surprized with the inscriptions, very fair and legible on all its four sides. They were Latin

and Runic intermixed. The former are exactly in the same character with these Gospels: which (I confess) I judged to be later then the tenth century; and, therefore, surmised that here was an evident proof of the Runic alphabets [*sic*] being continued in this Isle after the most of its Danish inhabitants were gone. I should be better pleased to discover that this noble monument (for such indeed it is) bears an elder date then I was aware of. If you have any Danish gentleman in the University (now that my friend Worm has left it) who are skilled in their antient language, I should be ready and glad to communicate the whole to them, and my thoughts upon it. It is the largest, and most complete of the kind, that I ever met with; and outdoes both ours in Cumberland.

Nicolson's *Letters*, ed. Nichols, 1809, 1. 62.

To Lhwyd, May 24, 1697.

I very well remember my answering of the last letter I had from you before your leaving Oxford. When I received it, I was newly returned from Scotland; where I met with a most ravishing Runic monument, whereof I gave you some account. I shall again do that more at large; sending you the inscription, which most affected me. It is on a square stone-cross in Revel church (or St. Ruel's) within eight miles of Dumfries. They have a long traditional legend about its being brought thither from the sea-shore, not far distant. On the other two sides of the square there are draughts of Christ and Mary Magdalen; St. Paul and St. Anthony in the Wilderness, &c.; and a Latin circumscription, in the same charater with that of the Gospels in Bridferth of Ramsey's book, whereof you sent me a specimen. The old Danish letters are the most fresh and fair that ever I saw. If, in your travels, you meet with any Œdipus that can perfectly unriddle them, it is more than I am yet able to do; though I hope shortly to give some tolerable account of them.

Nicolson's *Letters* 1. 63.

To Dr. Hikes, Sept. 11, 1697.

I am glad to hear that we may shortly expect a new edition of your Northern Grammars. I had lately a hint given me of it from Oxford, and that Mr. Wanley had made some discoveries of the analogy between the Greek and Gothic alphabets, which you would think worth communicating. I hope he will do the Runic that justice as to make it elder than either of them. I have not had leisure to consider (not so much as to look upon) the Scotch Inscription, since the day I sent it you.

Nicolson's *Letters* 1. 79-80.

To Dr. Hickey, Feb. 29, 1699-1700.

The draught of the Scotch Monument which I sent to Dr. Charlett was never intended to be published, either in the "Transactions" or any where else, being drawn with far less exactness than another which Mr. Thwaites had from me, and which was indeed designed for your Grammar, if you thought it might deserve a place there, without the garniture of Notes, &c. I could not foresee that I should have leisure to write any thing of that kind before your book came abroad, that was fit to appear there; and therefore I afterwards allowed the Doctor to dispose of the paper he had from me in what manner he pleased. I was desirous that the Inscriptions, some way or other, might be preserved; and, to that purpose, I dispersed copies of them into the hands of most of my learned friends. If I shall live to finish my Northumberland, this monument will chiefly belong to that work; and I would hope that, with the assistance of those that are better versed in these Antiquities than myself, I might there publish as full an explanation of the whole as would satisfy a curious reader. To this end I have sent my conjectures on the Runic part to Mr. Peringskiöld (publisher of the *Heims Kringla*) at Stockholm, and to Mr. Winding at Copenhagen; and I shortly expect returns from both of them. Till, with these helps, I can make myself an absolute master of the whole legend, I could wish that a cut of it were given; with some such hint, as you mention, of the hopes we are in of having it more perfectly accounted for hereafter. I confess, I had rather (were the request modest) have this done in your book than in the "Transactions;" but I shall not be offended, I assure you, which way soever you and Dr. Sloane agree to dispose of it.

Nicolson's *Letters* 1. 158-9.

DIARY.¹

1704.

July 5th. *Wednesday.* At Three in ye morning (accompany'd with Mr Fleming,² Mr Christopherson, and Mr Benson) I set out for *Revel*³ in *Annan-dale*. We cross'd ye Frith at *Bowness*⁴ betwixt six & seven; and got to

¹ Cf. Bishop Nicolson's *Diaries*, Part II, pp. 195-7; I follow the written transcript kindly sent me by Bishop Ware, which differs in a few typographical particulars from the above. The print has also: unwieldly (*for* unyieldly); these words (*for* the words); Scarr (*for* Scarn).

² This may have been George Fleming (1667-1747), domestic chaplain (1699) to Dr. Thomas Smith, bishop of Carlisle; prebend of Carlisle (1700); archdeacon of Carlisle (1705); dean of Carlisle (1727); bishop of Carlisle (1734-1747); second baronet of Rydal (1736). Bishop Nicolson made him vicar of St. Michael's, Stanwix, in 1703, and archdeacon in 1705.

³ Revel and St. Ruel's are alternative names for Ruthwell.

⁴ This Bowness is 2½ miles south of Annan, and 12 miles northwest of Carlisle.

Revel (about 20 miles from *Rose*)¹ at nine. I went directly to the Church whither the parish clerk quickly brought me y^e Key; and having my former Draughts of both ye Latine and Runic Inscriptions, I compared my Transcripts (once more) with the Original. I found there was one whole word (𐛚𐛚𐛚) omitted in y^e fourth Legend; which might probably have entangled y^e Interpretation of the whole. The Characters (especially the Runic) are much larger on y^e stone itself than can be here expressed: But these are the Faces of y^e four sides so far yⁱr Legends goe. [The inscriptions follow.]

Besides these, there are some little Fragments of y^m on ye heavy pedestal of this Cross; which lyes in *Murray's* Quire, the antient Burial place of y^e *Murray's Earls of Annan*² now extinct. This was so clumsy and unyieldly that we could not (wthout Crows or Levers) remove it: But, on y^t side which lay to view, were the words

ET INGRESSVS ANGELVS

which seem to be part of ye History of y^e Annunciation, Luc. 1. 28. This pedestal is about two yards and a half long: and that part (which has been broken frō this) whereon are y^e foresaid Inscriptions is about 5 foot in length.³ Some lesser pieces, which seem to have been in ye middle,⁴ we found thrown under Through-stones in y^e Church-yard. The common Tradition of y^e Original of this stone is this:

It was found, lettered and entire, in a Stone-Quarry on this Shore (a good way within y^e sea-mark) call'd *Rough Scarn*. Here it had laid long admired, when (in a Dream) a neighbouring Labourer was directed to yoke four Heifers⁵ of a certain Widow y^t lived near him; and, where they stop'd

¹ Rose Castle, the seat of the bishops of Carlisle, 7 miles southwest of Carlisle, on the river Caldew.

² The first Earl of Annandale was John Murray, created March 13, 1624, keeper of the privy purse to James I, and groom of the bedchamber to Charles I. He died in 1640, and was not buried at Ruthwell, but at Hod-dam. His son, the second Earl, died in 1658 without issue. Duncan says (*Arch. Scot.* 4. 317) of the Ruthwell Cross: 'It was preserved from demolition [i. e. after the Reformation] to the middle of the 17th century, probably by the influence of the Murrays of Cockpool [Sir Charles Murray of Cockpool was the father of the first Earl of Annandale], the ancestors of the Earl of Mansfield [this seems to be an error], who were the chief proprietors as well as the patrons of the parish, and who had espoused the cause of the Episcopal party, in opposition to that of the Presbyterians.'

³ These figures are confirmed by Duncan (*Arch. Scot.* 4. 320).

⁴ These pieces must have belonged to the upper part of the cross; there is no room for them between the two portions mentioned (see Duncan's Plate XIII).

⁵ Duncan in general confirms this (*Arch. Scot.* 4. 317): 'In Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of the parish of Ruthwell, a report is mentioned

with y^{ir} Burthen, there to slack his Team, erect y^e Cross and build a Church over it: All which was done accordingly. I wondered to see a company of modern presbyterians (as y^e present parishioners profess y^mselves to be) so steady in this Faith: and even to believe, yet farther, y^t the Cross was not altogether so long (at its first erection) as it was afterwards But that it miraculously grew, like a Tree, till it touched the Roof of the Church.¹

In our Return at *Annan* we were told of another Letter'd Stone (in y^t Town) which forsooth no body could read. When viewed, this prov'd only y^e arms of y^e kingdome with its mottoe in an old Gothic Letter In Defence.

As we pass'd the Sands we had time enough (before 'twas good Tide) to see y^e mode of Fishing here for Salmon. The men of the *English* and *Scotch* sides stand intermix'd, all cross y^e River's mouth, with yir nets planted before them; looking towards y^e sea upon y^e flowing of y^e water, and to

of its having been set up in remote times at a place called Priestwoodside (now Priests side), near the sea, from whence it is said to have been drawn by a team of oxen belonging to a widow. This tradition is still common in the parish, with some additional particulars. The pillar is said to have been brought by sea from some distant country, and to have been cast on shore by shipwreck; and while it was in the act of being conveyed in the manner described, into the interior, the tackling is reported to have given way, which was believed, in that superstitious age, to indicate the will of heaven that it was to proceed no farther. It was accordingly erected, if we are to credit the report, on the spot where it fell, and a place of worship was built over it, which became the parish-church of Ruthwell. It is not improbable that this tradition may bear some vague reference to the period when the alteration took place in the form, and perhaps also in the object, of the column, at which time its site may possibly have been changed. It is remarkable that the remains of an ancient road, founded on piles of wood, leading through a morass to the Priests side (which is a stripe of arable land inclosed between this morass and the shore of the Solway Frith), were in existence within the last thirty or forty years.'

Is this account perhaps due to contamination between two legends of St. Cuthbert, the one related by Simeon of Durham concerning the loss of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* at sea, and its recovery on the shore at Whithorn through the agency of a dream (see my *Bibl. Quot. in OE. Prose Writers*, p. xlvii), and the other being the tale of the building of Durham Cathedral where the dun cow stopped with the relics of the saint? It must be remembered that this is Cuthbertine country: Whithorn is not fifty miles distant from Ruthwell in a straight line, and between lies Kirkcudbrightshire, whose name commemorates St. Cuthbert. Perhaps the story of the cows and the oxen which drew the ark (1 Sam. 6. 7-15; 2 Sam. 6. 3, 6) may lie at the basis of these and similar stories.

¹ This may be a reminiscence of the Yggdrasil story (cf. Bugge, *Studien über die Entstehung der Nordischen Götter- und Heldensagen*, pp. 407 ff.).

land-ward on an ebb. This amity is happily preserv'd by a notion they have, that, upon any quarrel amongst y^e Fishermen, the Salmon presently forsake this coast.¹

A great many Dead Cod-Fish are thrown up, every Tide, at this time of the year: which makes rich provision for ye Gulls & other Sea-Fowl.

About 7 at night we made the *English* shore; and refreshing ourselves at *Drumbrugh*² and *Kirkbampton*,³ got back to *Rose Castle* at eleven.

It only remains to add, on this point, that the attention of Nicolson was first directed to the Ruthwell Cross by a Rev. James Lason, who had been Episcopal moderator of the Presbytery at Dumfries under the Archbishop of Glasgow, while the elder Church was still in power. This we learn, with a precise indication of the date when the communication was made, from *Bishop Nicolson's Diaries* [Part I], as published by Bishop Ware in Vol. 16 of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society's *Transactions*, bearing date this present year (1901). The diary is written in a queer mixture of English, Latin, and German (for Nicolson had spent some time in Germany as a young man). One passage runs as follows (p. 35):

[1690] Sep. 19. Mr. Lason inform'd me of two Runic inscriptions to be mett wth in Scotland. 1. The Letter'd stone in Eskdalemoor (wth in 3 miles of Hutton Church) in y^e County of Annan. 2. In y^e Church at Rothwald (alias Revel) in y^e road frō Annan to Dumfrese. He gave me also y^e inscription on Mac-Duff's Cross.

Just before, Nicolson had written:

Sep. 14. Gepredigete bey mir—zu Salkeld Mr. James Lason; non ita pridem Cordæ Selgovarum (i. e. ut ipse me docuit, zu Dumfrese) Moderator presbyterii sub Archiepiscopo Glasguensi. Before y^e Church of Scotland was run down by y^e Kirk.

It follows that some six and a half years elapsed (Sept., 1690–April, 1697) between the communication of Lason and Nicolson's first sight of the stone.

¹ An illustration of the imaginative temper which framed the legends related above.

² Drumburgh, 8½ miles northwest of Carlisle.

³ 6½ miles west of Carlisle.

The first historic mention of the Ruthwell Cross must have been in the act published by the General Assembly which convened at St. Andrews in 1642. This act, entitled 'Act anent Idolatrous monuments in Ruthwell,' does not occur, except for its title, in the published records of the General Assembly, but I hoped that a search in the archives would discover it. This search was obligingly made by the Rev. Dr. Christie, Librarian of the General Assembly, at the instance of Vice-Chancellor Story, of the University of Glasgow, Principal Clerk of the Assembly, but to no effect. Dr. Story writes: 'I think you may be satisfied that the iconoclastic Act of 1642 does not exist, else Dr. Christie would have been able to find it.' Through the kindness of these gentlemen, however, I am enabled to present an earlier act of the same general tenor, though not referring specifically to Ruthwell. No doubt it was owing to local neglect, perhaps fostered by admiration or reverence for the noble monument, that the second act, now lost, was found necessary. The act of 1640 reads :

Act anent the demolishing of Idolatrous Monuments, passed by the General Assembly held at Aberdeen in 1640.

Forasmuch as the Assembly is informed, that in divers places of this Kingdome, and specially in the North parts of the same, many Idolatrous Monuments, erected and made for Religious worship, are yet Extant, Such as Crucifixes, Images of Christ, *Mary*, and Saints departed, ordaines the saids [*sic*] monuments to be taken down, demolished, and destroyed, and that with all convenient diligence: and that the care of this work shall be incumbent to the Presbyteries and Provincial Assemblies within this Kingdome, and their Commissioners to report their diligence herein to the next Generall Assembly.

Turning now to the inscription on the Cross itself, let us consider anew the old question of the relation between these lines and the *Dream of the Rood*, and the question as to the date of the Ruthwell inscription. These questions are necessarily involved together, though we will separate them as much as possible. They may perhaps be most conveniently approached through an opinion recently expressed by Brooke,

in which he adverts to a view presented by Vigfusson and Powell in the *Corpus Poeticarum Boreale*. Brooke says (*Eng. Lit. before the Norman Conquest*, p. 197): 'I not only think it probable that Cynewulf wrote it, but I believe it to be his last poem, his farewell to earth. It seems indeed to be the dirge, as it were, of all Northumbrian poetry. But I do not believe that the whole of the poem was original, but worked up by Cynewulf from that early lay of the Rood, a portion of which we find in the runic verses on the Ruthwell Cross. That poem was written in the "long epic line" used by the Cædmonian school, and I think that when in our *Dream of the Rood* this long line occurs, it belongs to or is altered from the original lay. The portions by Cynewulf are written in the short epic line, his use of which is almost invariable in the *Elene*.'

To this the following objections may be made:

The Ruthwell Cross Inscription¹ can not represent an original poem in long lines, from which the *Dream of the Rood* was reworked, because:

1. The lines of the Inscription do not always correspond to the long lines of the *Dream*, but in some instances to short ones (44, 45; 56-58); out of the thirteen and one-half lines of the Inscription, as usually printed, no fewer than four represent short lines. Hence the original can not have been written in long lines only, as Brooke supposes, if the Inscription on the *R. C.* is virtually that original.

2. The question which is earlier, the *Dream of the Rood* or the Ruthwell Inscription, may be determined in part by seeing which conforms more nearly to the verse-technique of the oldest dated verse. This comprises *Cædmon's Hymn*, *Bede's Death-Song*, the *Leiden Riddle*, and the *Bonifatian Proverb*. These are all Northumbrian, and all earlier than 750, though the last three are extant only in continental manuscripts of the ninth century, and the latter two, especially, are more or

¹ Cf. the texts on pp. 381-2.

less corrupt. If, now, we compare the Ruthwell Inscription with these verses, we find that while the former, for the most part, represents long lines, the early poems contain not a single one. On the other hand, such a poem as the *Judith*, which no one pretends to date earlier than 856, does contain several long lines, used, as in the *Rood*, with considerable artistic effect. As to 'the long epic line used by the Cædmonian school,' it is sufficient to say, then, that there is no proof of such a thing, and that of it there is no sign in the only bit of verse which by general acceptance is regarded as Cædmon's.

3. If, as between the Inscription and the poem, we find lack of alliteration, lack of metre, and imperfect sense in the one case, and their opposites in the other, it can hardly be doubted that the latter is the original. Now how is it with these two?

The only lines of the Inscription that can be questioned are 39-41, 58^a, since the rest are practically identical with those of the *Rood*. With respect to 39-41, it may be observed: (1) That if the first and second lines of the Inscription are not joined to make a single long line, neither is properly constructed, since (39^a) *hine* can hardly bear the second stress, and the first hemistich of 40 is without alliteration; (2) if the two are joined, then there is no conceivable alliteration for the second line. Only the first hemistich is preserved, but the beginning of the second allows us to conjecture how it would have run. We should have had something like

modig fore allæ men ; buga ic ni dorstæ.

This would be doubly objectionable, because (1) it would leave the line without alliteration in the second half; (2) because the first hemistich would not scan; (3) because it would too closely resemble 45^b: *hælda ic ni dorstæ*.

The *Rood* poet obviates all three difficulties (1) by introducing *modig* and the alliterative equivalent for *men* (*mancyn*) in different hemistichs; (2) by providing an alliterative partner for *bugan* in the following line; (3) by placing *dorste* before

būgan, so that the resemblance of the second hemistich to 45^b should be less marked.

If we now look at these same lines with reference to their meaning and their diction, we shall find several peculiarities. In the first place, the *Rood* poet never would have been guilty of the indecorum of attributing to Christ the *desire* to mount the cross courageously in the sight of all men. He does say that Christ resolved to mount the cross (34), that he resolved to redeem mankind (41), and that he did courageously ascend the cross in the sight of all men (40, 41), but not that he resolved to show himself courageous in the sight of all men by mounting the cross. At once we are impelled toward the assumption that the *Dream of the Rood* is more self-consistent, more artistic, and therefore more likely to be, or to represent, the original. On this hypothesis, if the Ruthwell writer adapted the *Rood* poem, how has he proceeded when he has seen fit to change? He has shortened the first line to its detriment, since *geong Hæleð* is a phrase which a real poet would have been at pains to preserve; then, sacrificing part of the second line, and shifting its alliteration to a word which would chime with those already chosen to bear the stress, he borrows from line 93, over 50 lines distant, the phrase *for(e) ealle men*, which seems to occur nowhere else in the poetry, in order to patch up his verse. It might be maintained in his defense that he was concerned to pack the utmost meaning into the smallest possible space, and that therefore he was bent on ridding the lines of all superfluous epithets, at whatever cost. Against this must be urged (1) that in other cases he follows his original with considerable fidelity; (2) that he is not actuated by the desire to suggest only the pictorial or sculpturesque scenes of the imagined crucifixion, since elsewhere (45^b, 59^a) he reproduces sentences descriptive of the feelings of the rood. We must therefore conclude that when he sacrifices poetical epithets, it is partly, at least, because he is incapable of feeling their full force and charm; and that when he attributes indecorous sentiments to Christ, it is

because he does not perceive their impropriety. Again, the first word, *geredæ*, can only mean 'clothed,' as *ongyrede* can only mean 'unclothed.' In the *Lind. Matt.* 27.31, we have, side by side, *ongerodon* and *gegeredon*, the former translating *exuerunt*, and the latter *induerunt*. Unless, then, we are to conclude that the prefix has been destroyed by time, we have the Ruthwell writer making a statement contrary to fact, and contrary to the statement of the *Rood* poet.

We are further confirmed in our view by an examination of other lines. In 45^b, where the *Rood* has *hyldan me ne dorste*, the Ruthwell Inscription has *hælda ic ni dorste*. Now as each has *ic* in the preceding line, it might have been supposed that this would suffice for the nominative of the new verb, as it does in the case of the *Rood*, especially because *hyldan*, in the poetry, prefers an object; but the Ruthwell writer thought otherwise. Note, too, the omission of 46 and 47, which would have lent themselves quite as well to epigraphic purposes, one would have supposed, as 48 and 49; at all events, the first half of 48 possesses no singular appropriateness for the inscription.

If now we turn to 58^a, we find that for *to þam Æðelinge* of the *Rood*, the Ruthwell writer substitutes *æppilæ til anum*. The former occurs also *Gen.* 2636, *Dan.* 551, while the latter is nowhere found, though we have in *Andreas æðele be æðelum* (360^a) and *æðele mid eorlum* (1646^a). This looks as though the *Rood* poet were in the line of poetic tradition, and as if the Ruthwell writer were not. Moreover, the two adjectives, *fusæ* and *æppilæ*, one of which must serve as a noun, look suspicious. We may note, too, the *alegdun hīc hīnc lim-wærigne* of the monument, where the poem has *ðær* for *hīnc*. *Hīne* in this position is certainly uncommon, and quite as certainly unnecessary. To this it may be replied: The *ðær* is unnecessary, and besides there are two in the next line, one of which the Ruthwell poet has used. Perhaps, then, he may have regarded this abundance of *ðær*'s as a defect, and endeavored to amend it by the substitution of *hīnc* for the

first one. But this, again, would merely tend to prove that the Ruthwell writer had the *Cross* poem before him, and not the reverse. Finally on this point, 48^b has an *eall* in the *Rood* which it lacks on the monument. It is easy to imagine this *eall* left out by the carver or his patron; but if we assume that the inscription represents the earlier version, we have to account, not only for the insertion of the *eall* here, but also in the parallel expression 62^b (cf. 6^b), and likewise for the rhythmically equivalent *forht ic wæs* (21^a) and *sare ic wæs* (58^b), the latter of which is reproduced on the monument. These seem to be characteristic of the *Rood* poet in such a way that no one of the instances can well be regarded apart from the others.

So far, then, as the discrepancies are concerned, they all point to the conclusion that the *Rood* poem was the earlier, a conclusion which is in harmony with the view of Sweet (*OET.* p. 125): 'The sculptor or designer of the Ruthwell stone, having only a limited space at his command, selected from the poem such verses as he thought most appropriate, and engraved them wherever he had room for them.'

Having dealt with the question of meaning, and metre, and diction, let us turn to linguistic considerations in the narrower sense, in fact, to phonology. On this subject I may refer to my letter in the *Academy*, Vol. 37, p. 153 (1890), in which, proceeding on the principle that the date of an inscription will not be earlier than that of its latest linguistic forms, and that the occurrence of earlier forms, though in considerable numbers, does not invalidate this assumption, I endeavored to show that the Ruthwell inscription must be as late as the tenth century. Better readings and an improved science, while they enable one or two corrections to be made (the printing, as I had no opportunity to revise the proof, is responsible for three or four gross blunders), on the whole strengthen the evidence there presented. Proceeding along the same general lines, I have now undertaken to examine every word, presenting my results in an order rather con-

venient than inevitable. I shall tacitly assume that the early Northumbrian poems are understood to belong, in general, to the first half of the eighth century, the *Vespasian Psalter* to the first half of the ninth, the *Lindisfarne Gospels* to about 950, and the *Rushworth Gospels* and *Durham Ritual* to a period between 950 and 1000, all of these but the *Vespasian Psalter* and the *Rushworth Gospels* being Northumbrian, and these Mercian.

For convenience of reference, I print side by side the Ruthwell Cross Inscription and the corresponding extracts from the *Dream of the Rood*, the forms omitted in the Inscription being placed in square brackets. To these is added a word-list containing all the forms on the monument.

I

- 39 [On] gyrede hine [þa geong Hæleð—þæt wæs] God ælmihtig—
 40 [strang and stiðmod ;] gestah on gealgan heanne
 41 modig [on manigra gesyhðe,] þa he wolde [mancyn lysan.]
 42 [Bifode ic þa me se Beorn ymbclypte ; ne dorste ic hwæðre]
 bug[an to eorðan,]

geredæ hinæ God almehttig
 þa he walde on galgu gistiga
 modig fore allæ men ;
 bug . . .

II

- 44 [Rod wæs ic aræred ; ahof] ic ricne Cyning,
 45 heofona Hlaford ; hyldan me ne dorste.
 46 [þurhdrifan hi me mid deorcan næglum ; on me syndon
 þa dolg gesiene,
 47 opene inwidhlemmas ; ne dorste ic hira ænigum sceððan.]
 48 Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere. [Eall] ic wæs mid
 blode bestemed,
 49 begoten of [þæs guman sidan, siððan he hæfde his gast
 onsended.]

ic riicnæ kyninge,
 heafunæs hlafard; hælda ic ni dorstæ.
 Bismærædu ungket men ba ætgadre.
 Ic wæs miþ blodæ bistemid,
 bigoten of . . .

III

- 56 [cwiðdon Cyninges fyll;] Crist wæs on rode.
 57 Hwæðere þær fuse feorran cwoman
 58 to þam Æðelinge; ic þæt eall beheold.
 59 Sare ic wæs mid (sorgum) gedrefed, hnag [ic hwæðre þam
 secgum to handa.]

Crist wæs on rodi.
 Hweþræ þer fuse feorran cwomu
 æþpilæ til anum; ic þæt al biheald.
 Sare ic wæs miþ sorgum gidræfid,
 hnag . . .

IV

- 62 [standan steame bedrifenne; eall ic wæs] mid strælum
 forwundod.
 63 Aledon hie ðær limwerigne, gestodon him æt his lices
 heafdum,
 64 beheoldon hie ðær heofon[es Dryhten; and he hine ðær
 hwile reste.]

. . . miþ strelum giwundad.
 Alegdun hiæ hinæ limwærignæ,
 gistoddun him æt his licæs heafdum,
 bihealdun hiæ þer heafun . . .

WORD—LIST

æt, ætgadre, æþpilæ, al, alegdun, allæ, almehttig, anum
 ba, bigoten, biheald, bihealdun, bismærædu, bistemid, blodæ,
 bug . . .
 Crist, cwomu
 dorstæ
 feorran, fore, fuse
 galgu, geredæ, gidræfid, gistiga, gistoddun, giwundad, God

hælda, he, heafdum, heafun . . . , heafunæs, hiæ, him, hinæ,
his, hlafard, hnag, hwepræ

ic

kyninge

licæs, limwœrignæ

men, miþ, modig

ni

of, on

riicnæ, rodi

sare, sorgum, strelum

til

þa, þæt, þer

ungket

wæs, walde

We may dismiss with a glance a list of words which are at once West Saxon and Northumbrian, which are in fact common Old English. These are: *æt, anum, ba, bug-, Crist, God, he (his, him), heafdum, hnag, ic, men, sorgum, þa, þæt, wæs.*

Another class of forms will scarcely detain ~~us~~ longer. They contain *a*, unbroken in North. before *l* + cons.: *al, allæ, almehttig, galgu, walde*; and with them belong the umlauted *hælda*. These are common to all periods of North. (Bülb.¹ 134). The same is true of *miþ*; of the radical vowels in *bistemid* (Bülb. 184), *strelum*, and *þer* (Bülb. 96); of the preposition *til* (*CH.* 6; *Matt.* 26.31); the *g* in *alegdun*; the *æ* in *gidræfid*, *limwœrignæ* (Bülb. 165); the *e* in *almehttig*, where *i*-umlaut has taken place (Bülb. 180.b and Anm. 3), as contrasted otherwise with *-mæhtig* (Bülb. 210); the *-ad* of *giwundad*; and the radical syllable of *cwomu*.

Forms which might at first glance seem old, but are found till late, are such as these: the prefixes *bi-* and *gi-* (*Rush.*,¹ and for the most part *Rit.*; Bülb. 455, Anm.; found also in *Lind.*); *bihealdun* (*Lind.*, *Rit.*); *hwepræ*, save for the *æ* (*Lind.*; the *Leiden Riddle*, still of the 9th century, has the ending *-æ*

¹ Bülbring, *Allenglisches Elementarbuch*, I. Teil.

in the corrupt *hudræ*; the second vowel of *bismærædu* (Bülb. 414 and Anm.), to which there is a sufficient parallel in *bismarade* (*Vesp. Ps.* 104.23), at least as late as the first half of the ninth century; *galgu*, which, paralleled by the *foldu* of *Cædmon's Hymn*, and the *eorðu* of the *Leiden Riddle* (cf. Bülb. 366.1; 391.a; 557, Anm.) is equally so by the *eorðu* which occurs twenty-two times in *Lind.*, beside *eorðo*; *foldu* and *galgu*, being both poetical, could not well occur in a gloss to the Gospels. Of *ni* there are two instances in the archaizing part of the *Lind.* John (19.36; 21.25). The syncopation in *ætgaðre* (Bülb. 439) points to a later rather than an earlier period.

Another indication of lateness is the *-un* and *ea* of *heafun*, *heafunæs* (Bülb. 236; 369.1. *CH.* has *heben*, *hefæn* (cf. *hefene*, *Beow.* 1571; *hefon*, *Lind.* Lk. 4.25; *hefenum*, *Sal.* 60 A), and these represent the earlier forms, as do *metudæs* (*CH.*) and *herut* (Napier's *Glosses*), *Herut-* (Moore MS. of *Bede*). The normal *eo*, by *u*-umlaut from this earlier *e*, has here been replaced by *ea*, which properly should occur only as the product of *o*-umlaut. This substitution occurs four times in *Rit.* (against 37 *eo*) and seven times in *Lind.* (against 169 *eo*).

The umlauting of a first syllable by a third is illustrated in Common OE. by *æðele*, from **apali* (Siev.¹ 50, Anm. 2) and that form still persists in *Lind.* Here, however, the process has apparently gone still further, and the second syllable has become a full *i* (cf. Bülb. 413.b).

Ungket may be younger than the *incit* of *Gen.* 2880, if the *-et* indicates the blurring of vowel quality in an unstressed syllable.

The past participial ending of the weak verbs of the First Class was anciently *-id* (thus we have *doemid* in *Bede's Death-Song*); but this occasionally persists till a late period: *gifyllid* Jn. 19.28, 30; *gifillid* Jn. 19.28; *gifægid*, *Rit.* 109.11.

Rodi is an especially interesting form. The earliest ending for the dative of such *a*-feminines was *-æ* (Siev. 252, Anm. 1).

¹ Sievers, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, Dritte Ausgabe.

When *i* occurs, as it does just once in *cæstri*, on the Franks Casket, it is supposed to be by analogy with an instrumental *i* of the *o*-declension (Siev. 237, Anm. 2), occurring, e. g., in *domi*. But it is not strictly necessary to go so far in search of an explanation. If we compare the closing chapters of the *Lindisfarne* John, we shall find that *gi-*, which had occurred sporadically for *ge-* in 15.16; 18.28; 19.28, 30, now becomes more frequent, appearing nine times in chap. 20 (vv. 2, 20, 23, 24, 25, 29 (4)), and no fewer than sixteen times in chap. 21. But not only does *i* become conspicuous in this prefix; it also appears in datives like *biscobi* (18.22; cf. *caseri*, Mk. 12.14), *deigilnisi* (p. 187¹²), *dægi* (21.14 (2)), *Petri* 21.15, *Cuðber(h)ti* (p. 187^{8, 10}; in the acc. plur. of an *a*-feminine, where the oldest texts would have *-æ*: *glædi* (21.9); in the foreign derivative *segni* (21.8, 11), for Lat. *-a*; in adjectives like *giseni* (20.20); *syndrigi* (21.25); in particles like *ði* (21.17) and *þti* (21.25); in present tenses like *gisii* (20.25; also as *gesii*, Mk. 10.51; 12.15; Lk. 18.41; Jn. 5.19), *mægi* (21.25), *cueði* (21.18); in the imp. sg. or inf. *geuuni* (21.22); in the infl. inf. *to aurittenni* (21.25); in weak preterits like *gircesti* (21.20) and *gihamadi* (p. 188⁷); twice in the opt. pret. *ueri*, for orig. *-æ* (19.28; 21.7); and in pres. partt. like *fylgendi* (21.20), *hlingendi*, gen. plur. (21.12). If we add that this same glossaton takes liberties with the very word under consideration, *rod*, translating *in cruce* as *on roda*, while otherwise the dat. of *Lind.* is always *-e* in fourteen instances, we shall see, I think, than an itacizing archaizer, like Aldred, or whoever finished the glossing of St. John, would make no difficulty with the *i* of *rodi*. That this glossaton, the same who gave us the account of the book and its makers at the end, was an archaizer, is apparent, not only from some of the forms adduced, but from the endings in *-æ* in these same dozen lines on p. 188; *cuðæ* (l. 3), *oncræ* (l. 4), *fullummæ* (l. 6), and *milsæ* (l. 11). It would seem that when a man became conscious that he was penning an inscription, monumental or otherwise, he was likely thus to archaize, or to manifest

peculiarities due to a high-strung condition, such as the *ymbwæson*, apparently for *ymbwæron*, of the prologue to Mark (I 1.3). We can thus the better understand, perhaps, the psychology of the man who while writing three preterites plural in *-n*, wrote two without the *-n*; who wrote thirteen forms with final *æ*, and three of the same sort with final *e*; and who perpetrated other inconsistencies of the kind in the compass of thirteen and one-half short lines.

In the irregular geminations of *æþþilæ*, *almehttig*, and *gistoddun* (Bül. 548, 549) we may perhaps discern a tendency already at work in *Lind.* (cf. Fücksel, p. 57), but not found there in the case of any of these words.

Dorstæ is not Northumbrian at all; we should have *darstæ*. Yet *dorstæ* is certified by Vietor, and we must therefore assume that our inscription mixes dialects, as well as periods.

A few forms which might seem indifferent, or perhaps Common OE., may next be examined, in order to discover their significance in the history of Northumbrian.

Final *b* for *f* is found until the middle of the eighth century, according to Sievers (*Angl.* 13.15), and we still have *ob* in the *Leiden Riddle*; but here we have *of*. Medially, *b* persists still later, according to the same authority; we certainly have *heben*, along with *hefæn-*, in *Cædmon's Hymn*; here *f* twice in the same word, *heafun-*, besides *hlafard*, where Sweet still has *hlabard* in a charter of 831; and *gidræfid*, not to speak of *heafdum*.

The second *a* of *hlafard* is not necessarily old (Bül. 367.a; 411). We have seen it just now in the charter of 831, and the form of our text occurs four times in the *Vesp. Ps.*, and five times in *Lind.*, with *hlafærd* twice.

Kyningc has the *n* of the second syllable (cf. Bül. 561), but so has *Lind.* in 26 instances. The *gc* of the ending indicates palatalization (Bül. 495), like the *fingcer* of *Lind.* Jn. 20.27.

The second vowel of *geredæ*, when we consider its derivation from *i* (Siev. 401.2; 408, and Anm. 3; Bül. 416), seems late as compared with the *geride* of *Rit.* 45.14; 79.4;

of Lindelöf 51.2.b), though like the *ongerodon* and *gegerodon* of *Lind.* Matt. 27.31.

In *CH.* the later *ht* is four times represented by *ct*, and even in *Lind.* we once have *ct* in *docter* (Mk. I 3.17), while here we have *ht* in *almehttig*. However, the peculiar rune must be taken into account.

The strong past participle ends in *-en*: *bigoten*, though *Lind.* still has a lingering *-æn* (twice): *ariscæn*, Mk. 4.5; *awordæn*, Mk. 4.35; and *Rit.* has *gecoræne*, 22.14, and six participles in *-an*.

Since *d* and *t* are sometimes employed in early documents, and even in Runic, as well as Roman inscriptions, for *p*, as in *-gidane*, *CH.*; *uuirthit*, *BDS.*; *gibidæd*, *gibiddad* (Falstone and Dewsbury inscriptions), it deserves remark that neither occurs here.

It is true that there is confusion between the two adjective endings, original *-ig* and original *-ag*, from an early period (*Angl.* 13.13 ff.; Bülb. 360; 366.c; 412; cf. 366, Anm. 3), but it is noteworthy that where *CH.* has *haleg*, our inscription has *modig*. Even in *Rit.* we have one *hygdego*, 109.17 (cf. the verb *lytlege*, *Lind.* Jn. 3. 30), and in *Rush.*² *dysego* (25.8), *monegu* (25.21, 23), *monegra* (8.30; 24.12), *nænegum* (17.9), *nænegu* (13.38).

Were the meaning different, the two instances of *on* might need explanation. Of *on* and *in*, *in* is peculiarly Northern, and was only gradually supplanted by *on* in many uses (*Bede*, ed. Miller, I. xxxiii-xliv). Even in *Lind.* we have (Matt. I 14.12) *in rode gefæotnade* as the translation of *in cruce fixit*, but here, as frequently in the glosses, the Latin may well have had excessive influence, for with this we must compare expressions like *ahcæn on rode* (Matt. 27.22) and *genægled on rode* (Matt. 27.26). Perhaps, then, the forms are sufficiently accounted for by the meaning in these cases, though the fact that the *Rood* has only one *in*, as against 35 *on*'s, tempts one to ascribe some influence to a more Southern original. It is to be noted that *in*, with both the dat. and the acc., is about two and one-half times as frequent in *Lind.* as *on*.

As the clearest indication of ancientness, or as others may think, of an archaizing tendency, we may regard the final *-æ*, here occurring thirteen times, and the final *-æs*, occurring twice (*heafunæs*, *licæs*); but even here we are confronted with forms like those of the *Ritual*, where I have counted 45 *æ*'s and *e*'s for regular *e*, including such as *domæ* (12.41, 42), *wegæ* (21.32), *husæ* (5.15), *cæstræ* (4.13²); 8.33; 27.53), *forletnæ* (9.5), etc., and the four instances occurring in a dozen lines at the end of *Lind.* Nor is *-æs* so wholly infrequent; the *Rit.* has 15 instances, including *fiscæs* (7.10), *sopfestæs* (10.41; 23.35), *medmiclæs* (16.8), etc., and even *Lind.* an occasional one, such as *wercæs* (Mk. 5.14); *heofnæs* (Mk. 4.32; Lk. I 10.16). But if we admit that such a number of *-æ*'s and *-æs*'s indicates age, what shall we say to the *fore*, *sare*, *walde* of our inscription (Būlb. 360)? It is no sufficient answer to say that in *BDS.*, *CH.*, and the Dewsbury inscription *æfter* ends in *-er*, as against the *-ær* (twice) of the Falstone inscription. It is a better answer to say that *fore* occurs in *BDS.*; there, however, there is no form at direct variance with the *fore*, as here we have *dorstæ* quarreling with *walde*. Then, too, it must be observed that besides sixteen prepositional and three prefixal *foræ*'s in *Lind.*, we have at least one prepositional *foræ* (Lk. 4.38). Beside *fore*, which represents a *for* of the Vercelli manuscript, the other two forms in *-e* of the Inscription are paralleled in the *Rood* poem, and thus it might seem that the Ruthwell writer may well have been a Northumbrian, adapting a poem in a more Southern dialect, consciously archaizing in certain particulars, yet inadvertently admitting forms belonging to his model.

The loss of final *n* in the infinitive is one of the most distinctive marks of late North., but so far as I know there is only one instance of it in early North. and that is the *cnyssa* of the *Leiden Riddle*, a composition which is in a ninth century continental hand, and which is somewhat illegible and corrupt. Here we have two, *gistiga*, *hælda* (Būlb. 557, Anm.), as against the *hergan* of *CH.*, and the *hatan* of the *Leiden Riddle*.

Fearran seems traditional in the retention of the final *n*. *Lind.* has advanced beyond it (Bülb. 140; 272) in a single instance, *farra* (Lk. 23.49), whose vowel is paralleled by *Rit.* in the form *farr* for WS. *feorr* (122.13). In both these texts, however, *ea* is regular, only varied in *Lind.* by two instances of *feorra* (Mt. 26.58; 27.55). In the retention of *n*, the inscription is paralleled by *Lind.* in the weak noun *wacan* (Mk. I 3.13; 6.47; Lk. 12.38, etc.); the adv. *neaðan*, Jn. 8.23, and the adv. *utan* when followed by *on* or *ymb* (Matt. 8.18; Mk. 3.34; 6.6; Jn. p. 188⁴). Possibly *fearran*, with the final *n*, may again indicate that the writer of the inscription was making his adaptation from a Southern original.

Perhaps the strongest proof of lateness is to be found in the two preterits *cwomu* and *bismærædu* (Bülb. 557, Anm.; Siev. 364, Anm. 4), one strong and the other weak. There is no escaping this evidence. On the stone the *n* is never represented, as in manuscripts, by a bar over the preceding vowel, and it is found no fewer than fourteen times in this inscription, excluding two doubtful instances; moreover, in neither of our crucial cases does the preceding vowel bring one to the edge of the stone, where it might have been assumed that the sculptor omitted it for lack of room, or that it had been chipped off latter. So rare is this omission of *n* in the pret. plur. of verbs, even in the latest period, that Sievers still, in the third edition of his *Grammar* (364, Anm. 4) categorically states that it does not occur in either *Rush.*,² *Lind.*, or *Rit.* Here he is in error; it not only appears in the weak verbs *clioppodo*, *Lind.* Lk. 23.21, *jærdo*, Mk. 16.8; *geherdo*, Mk. I 2.18, but even, singularly enough, in *cuomo*, Jn. 19.32. Side by side with these forms lacking *n*, our inscription has three others which archaistically retain it: *alegdun*, *bihealdun*, *gi-stoddun*. The proportion of *-u*'s to *-un*'s is, however, far in excess of any which appears in the latest dated documents.

On the basis of this phonological examination we have found that, while the general aspect of the Inscription has led

many persons to refer it to an early period, it lacks some of the marks of antiquity; every real mark of antiquity can be paralleled from the latest documents; some of the phenomena point to a period subsequent to that of *Lind.* and *Rit.*; and none flatly contradicts such an assumption. If to this we add that a comparison with the *Dream of the Rood* indicates that the Ruthwell Inscription is later than that poem; that certain of the forms of the poem seem to have been inadvertently retained; and that at least one word, *dorstæ*, is, in its radical vowel, not Northumbrian at all, while it is of the dialect of the *Rood*, we shall not hesitate, I believe, to assume that the Ruthwell inscription is at least as late as the tenth century. If now we seek the opinion of an expert, Sophus Müller, on the ornamentation, which I already translated from Bugge's *Studien für Mod. Lang.* Notes of March, 1890, we shall find it to this effect: 'The Ruthwell Cross must be posterior to the year 800, and in fact to the Carolingian Renaissance, an account of its decorative features. The free foliage and flower-work, and the dragons or monsters with two forelegs, wings, and serpents' tails, induce him to believe that it could scarcely have been sculptured much before 1000 A. D.' (cf. his *Dyreornamentiken i Norden*, p. 155, note). Vietor has at length proved that the *Cædmon me fawed* of Stephens' fantasy is non-existent, and thus we are free to accept a conclusion to which archæology, linguistics, and literary scholarship alike impel.

ALBERT S. COOK.

XIII.—SCHOLARSHIP AND THE COMMONWEALTH.¹

We may surely congratulate ourselves, not alone as scholars, but also as citizens, that the Modern Language Association of America has united in harmonious and effective co-operation a large majority of the real leaders in important fields of study. Our Association is a *representative* body in the fullest sense of the word; its members show a growing interest in each other's work, and in the progress of science as a whole. The total results seem almost too good to be true: who could have prophesied to Professor Marshall Elliott, during the years in which he was laboring for a truly national organization, that the somewhat overworked and overburdened citizens of this department of the Republic of Letters would so generally be ready to pay their three dollars yearly; that a goodly number would be found to bring their costly contributions to the scientific treasury of the Society, and to gather from long distances for its yearly conference, at a heavy tax in time and money—and all this at a time when anthracite coal is selling at \$7.35 a ton, not put in! There is a high idealism back of this, which promises much for American civilization. If modern history teaches anything, it is the lesson of the great effectiveness of the trust-idea; the most sordid evils which affect society and our own profession are those which come from ruthless, cynical, destructive competition, that survival of the brutish age when each individual stood for himself, and against all comers. Every principle of economic administration calls for a centralization of directive responsibility in the most competent hands. The entire manufacturing industries of our country have been practically put into the control of corporations, which have ended competition

¹ An address delivered by Professor James Taft Hatfield, as President of the Central Division of the Association, at Champaign, Ill., on the 26th of December, 1901.

among themselves: are the children of this world so much wiser, then, in their generation, than the children of light? Shall we be unable to use what the biscuit-makers, the tanners of hides, the coal-barons, and the brokers in political power employ with conspicuous success for the most sordid purposes? Such a union is the only means of preventing waste and incompetency, of restraining clumsy hands from a fatal interference with higher values; it is the best security against that familiar tragedy of American life:—the planting, with faith and courage, of a fair garden, the development of it into beauty by patient labor, only that it shall lapse into a wilderness by mere neglect. If American life be incapable of something better than a direct pursuit of the immediate ends of interested persons, we must become once for all pessimists as to the basal theory of a free and intelligent Democracy—which God forbid! Our salvation from the vulgarity which has all but overwhelmed our political institutions, which makes itself distressingly broad in society, in the church, and in much of the intellectual æsthetic life of our people, lies in a true Aristocracy, an aristocracy anointed with the full drop of democratic oil, absolutely open without prejudice to all who have proven themselves fit to become leaders—and to none others under any plea; an aristocracy constantly rejuvenated by vigorous, daring young blood. The Modern Language Association is a living proof of the entire practicability of such a power in American life: we must not forget that the whole problem is, first of all, a civic, rather than an academic one. Whether there be really a “Monastic Danger in Higher American Education” or not, we dare not ignore the fact that education is a preparation for *life*. Some of us count it a positive loss to America’s cultural development that during the last century our country broke so many of the ties which had bound us organically to English civilization and English educational ideals,—in favor of an attempt to recast our system upon more theoretical grounds. As Mr. Courthope recently pointed out, the invigorating and elevating

influence of Oxford and Cambridge upon the English nation has been due in large measure to the fact that they have stood in vital relations to the civic life of the British Empire : that their education has been so largely the Aristotelian πολιτικὴ παιδεία,—an education which has inculcated high-minded traditions that forever render impossible such base prostitution of sacred public trusts as makes the one indelible stain upon contemporary American politics. That supremely typical American, James Russell Lowell, whom our national Association had the proud honor of claiming as a most loyal President, was also the supreme example of an American scholar, a man who was the flower of American culture, and who learned at the very beginning of his career the same great conclusion which Goethe came to after the unexampled strivings of his strenuous life, that the æsthetic ideal is to be postponed to the practical one ; that the welfare of society is not to be gained by detached speculation, but by the loftiest thought transmuted into labor and accomplishment. Equally praiseworthy have been the valuable public services of such academic Americans as Presidents Angell, Gilman, and Schurman ; of Dean Worcester and Professor Phelps, not to dwell upon the tireless efforts of Dr. Elgin Gould in his heroic campaign for the social and political reform of the American metropolis. The sway of the gods of the market-place is bad and bitter enough, as every idealist knows, but yet there are not wanting many tokens of hope and encouragement. How reassuring was the recent clean victory of President Seth Low over coarseness and greed, and how much it means for the cause for which we are all working that there now stands at the head of the nation a man who represents, in unsullied purity, the very ideals to which we have devoted our lives :—an aristocrat of the aristocrats, to whom meanness and vulgarity are constitutionally alien and repulsive ! Think not that I wander from the legitimate objects of our organization in striking the civic note at this hour : our expressed aim is “the scientific study and teaching of the modern languages

and literatures in the Central States," but the first condition of scientific activity is to secure an environment in which that activity can have its most perfect play: the one great, common foe of our whole profession is Mammon, stifling ruthlessly the poetic impulses in the hearts of generation after generation of American youth. There is only *one* theme for those who stand for the higher life of the spirit, and that is to sound the note of unfailing courage and serene work in the midst of the self-sufficiency and self-complacency of those who look at all this higher life with skepticism. Our aim is to work for Distinction in public, as well as scholastic affairs, and to bring about conditions in which America's choicest minds shall have some more direct and fruitful scope for their activities than the reading of Phi Beta Kappa orations and commencement addresses,—to wit, the direct service of our beloved country in its every-day concerns and interests, from which they are now so largely shut out by the assertive political boss,—our American *Übermensch*.

The practical man would hardly conceal his amusement at the assumption of a company of mere philologists that they were identified with the true progress of the community, and were the custodians of its higher fortunes; he would see some vanity in this belief, and yet we cherish it, not because of any personal attainment of perfection, but because of our attitude of homage toward an attainable ideal of perfection. It is this feeling that emboldens us in appropriating the encouragement of those recent words of President Roosevelt:

. . . "in this world the one thing supremely worth having is the opportunity, coupled with the capacity, to do well and worthily a piece of work the doing of which is of vital consequence to the welfare of mankind."

It is therefore worth much to us, scattered, isolated, and almost swallowed up in the great ocean of American commercialism, that we should now and then come together and refresh our faith in the value of our mission, that of carefully and faithfully keeping alive the tender plant of pure human-

ism. It is fully profitable to meet, now and then, were it only to encourage us as guardians of that fair and serene domain, whose interests are all those most sacred ideals which our better humanity loves and cherishes :

largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit
purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.

If you are at all unsettled in the assurance that we scholars are the simon-pure, chosen aristocracy of this country at the present time, that our calling claims justly the place which Burke allowed to feudal chivalry, "the unbought grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise," I can only assure you that the Hon. Richard Olney, whose sound practical sense cannot be gainsaid, says so, and that it must be so. The only pity is, in practice, that our fellow-men do not seem to have generally found it out! A rare gift, costly preparation, unremitting devotion,—and for this something less than the pay of a book-keeper or a football-coach,—and all that endless succession of what the unhappy Bürger called "*die verdamnten Finanz Affären*." Still more trying is the complacent attitude of the contented Philistine toward the scholar, as though the latter were not more than a half-man, and by no means to be taken seriously; the utter non-appreciation of a large amount of unpaid, highly special service, given as a charity to the public—these things possess a certain ironical interest as showing a confusion of material and moral values, especially when we remember that the latter are the only values at all,—but no one who has the great honor of being called to so high a service can concern himself much about material grievances: after all these things do the Gentiles seek; they are wholly uninteresting in comparison with the business that he must be about.

On the other hand, it is altogether profitable that in the secret places of our own souls we should make inquiry whether we are not somewhat responsible for the isolation of

our class from the respect and sympathy of the public; whether there be not in college circles something of that mediæval presumption of sacrosanct privileges and exemptions which should release us from the serious, homely duties which are the birthright of all honest men; whether there be not some survival of Pharisaical superiority to the rank and file of our brothers in the democracy. Is it possible that the seductive charms of the older, riper, mellower civilizations, which it has been our duty to know intimately, have made us forget the admonition: "Sparta is thine allotted home; make *her* a home of order and beauty!" Can it be that any of us have left our hearts among the aliens, and have lost interest in our own inheritance? May there still be a note of warning in Milton's complaint against the "Monsieurs of Paris" in his day, who took England's "hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies" only to "send them over back again transformed into mimicks, apes and kicshoes." In American social life, is it not sometimes true that when our masters go into the house of Rimmon to worship there, *we* bow down ourselves in the house of Rimmon, also? Our group is one of the utmost importance to American life—so long as we refrain from exalting it into a caste—but even certain phases of its importance can be exaggerated: the man who holds that his investigations of the back-gutturals in Old Frisian ought to exempt him from his human duties to his neighbors and to his country, lacks that saving sense of proportion, which is, being interpreted, the sense of humor and the sense of beauty. Let us not be too exalted over highly-trained mental acuteness: "It is but for heaven to give a turn to one of my nerves," wrote the divine Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe, "and I should be an ideot." There is danger of laying too little stress upon the more virile virtues, for the lack of which "no amount of refinement and learning, of gentleness and culture, can possibly atone." Perhaps even Mammon may show some redeeming qualities, when we have made him a friend to ourselves. In our pursuit of scholastic idealism, let

us not be unwarned by the immovable, unkempt, impossible *Yogi* of India, sitting in rapt contemplation under his banyan-tree, nor untaught by the lessons of the civil service of China, whose scholarly office-holders are weak, corrupt, and unprogressive. Extreme specialization, the crowning glory of a broad, liberal education, has made unjustifiable inroads into the symmetry of humane culture, whereby we modern-language teachers are not altogether guiltless. Speaking generally, ours is a collegiate association: to us are committed, during four most important years of development, those who are the pledges of the highest welfare of the State. If more nobility is to enter into American public life, if the sordid squalor of materialism is to yield to the benign supremacy of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, no moment must be wasted in striking those heroic strings. We stand (if anybody) for specialism—but for specialism upon a broad basis of culture. Our teaching of “Joynes-Meissner” and “The Flight of a Tartar Tribe” must be shot through with a “philosophy” which may fitly serve as “the guide of life.” The deplorable decline of Hellenic studies has given to us a larger influence in the life and policy of American colleges. Some of us may envy classical teachers the essentially more elevated values with which it is their privilege to deal; we may feel that ours is, in its nature, a somewhat humbler task, but we cannot evade the responsibility of shaping “that complete and generous Education . . . which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of peace and war.” Overhearing some of the interested discussions of the members of our craft, you shall be at times struck by the fact that the note of universality is so largely wanting; our “custodies” are verily “slight and prodigal.” Our guild is looked upon as though it existed for its own sake, as though its interests, of themselves, were an end of organization and of combined effort. I should be the last person to decry any legitimate zeal for the unlimited betterment of our estate and its products, but he who seeks the detached welfare

of any minority in the American state misses the first principles which underlie the true glory of that commonwealth.

The Modern Language Association of America, like every working organism, has relations in both directions, up and down. "*Es giebt ein Oben und ein Unten*," here as elsewhere, with subordination, on the one hand, to something higher, with authority, on the other hand, over that which is below. There is no such thing as absolute freedom and independence, even for an academic union—such an organization, if any, has surely a sufficiently adult apprehension to recognize the eternal relativity of things, to be aware that a detached member is consigned to a certain and speedy death. The organization of the United States navy impresses one as being the nearest reflection of the universal cosmos which has been achieved: the common sailor is responsible to the gunner's mate, the latter to the cadet, he to the officer of the deck, this one to the executive officer, who reports to the captain, who receives his orders from the admiral, who is subject to the authority of the Secretary of the Navy, under the command of the President of the United States, who is himself responsible to the common people, and thus the life of the organism keeps coursing in a healthy circuit, always strong and instantly efficient, ever renewed, nowhere congested, never stationary, always in wholesome pulsation, and with a progressive career open for talents.

I hold, then, that our first duty and highest function, even as an organization of linguistic specialists, is in relation to the total life of the commonwealth, is political, and that this deep note should be the first sounded at every political gathering: we must place enlightened, trained intellect at the direct service of the State, as the only solvent of the problems of municipal misgovernment, corporate greed, and the tyranny of manual labor; we must lead our pupils and our neighbors directly into the field of practical, local politics—we must respond to the call which has lately been sounded by Mr. Justice Brown of the United States Supreme Court, who reminds us that

"there never has been a time in the history of the country when men of independent thought—men who can neither be awed by the mastery of wealth nor seduced by the blandishments of popularity, were more urgently needed." How long must we all submit to the enormous waste of the resources of our rich and prosperous country, by allowing them to be squandered by men who have no standard except that keen thirst for elaborate luxury which is barbarizing American taste and ethics? Come, brothers, let us get *our* hands upon these resources, and expend them by right of that fitness which comes—not with the possession of money—but to men who have gained humane culture by long and special training. Give the scholarly element a chance, and American life would regain the color and joyousness and dignity of which it is now too often defrauded—and our land would blossom as the rose.

Having disposed of this important preliminary, it is now hardly necessary to remind you that humanity can take advantage of the treasures of knowledge only if they be kept classified and available, and that the sum-total in every field is now too large to be compassed by any individual mind. There are close analogies between good academic co-operation and good housekeeping : it is a poorly equipped home which must send for an artisan every time a screw needs tightening, and hardly better off is that household whose attic is an indistinguishable medley of unassorted odds and ends. Good housekeeping provides liberal stores against all usual emergencies,—and keeps them in such order that they can be found at once, when needed. I am reminded of one family which kept a certain short piece of brass wire unused for eight years, but it proved to be worth far more than its weight in gold at one particular emergency, because it was instantly available. So with the conservation of knowledge, the "Restitution of Decayed Intelligence." Society must foster the acquisitions of many students, in order to be prepared for all contingencies. A trustworthy dictionary must

contain a large majority of words which you shall never look up, but an abridged dictionary is an abomination, for it is sure to fail you in your worst extremity. Therefore we cannot applaud the economics of that member of a western legislature who opposed a further appropriation to the library of the State University, on the ground that few, if any, of the professors had yet read through all the books which had already been provided them. It is only the sum-total of knowledge possessed by an academic body which will approach that completeness which scientific progress must demand. Such a body is always in danger of self-conceit, of fossilization, of excessive regard for the past,—and yet it cannot be dispensed with. It alone is capable of taking account of the stock of the whole science, recasting its values, and eliminating that “ancient good” which time has made “uncouth.” Such work as that associated with the names of Karl Goedeke and William Frederick Poole, and especially the splendid co-operative fruits of the labor of our own Committee of Twelve, under the able direction of Professor Calvin Thomas, seem to be among the most legitimate and sacred trusts committed to our charge—and they should be repeated at such intervals as are necessary to bring our science into the possession of the best and latest results of fruitful investigation.

As average members of the profession of Modern Languages it is our duty to put ourselves and our work into a vital relation to the greatest masters of our science, to get the benefit of their immense central power and warmth. We should lay siege to them, if necessary, until they consent to impart directly to us the immediate advantages of their vital and glowing activity. Such men are, perhaps, hard to find among the present generation of teachers, but I mean precisely that which William Dwight Whitney was to the American Oriental Society, what Professor Gildersleeve has been to the Philological Society of Johns Hopkins University. The most hopeful thing in the matter is, that men of this stamp can be interested in such a cause, and are now unwilling to surrender

themselves for the benefit of those who are less favorably endowed: but it must be on the basis of homage to the Masters—there is no room for the policy of “share and share alike” in this thing. Let that pseudo-democratic principle keep its place in ward-primaries, where it belongs. During twenty-one years William Dwight Whitney, the prince of modern philologists, that great, simple, humble, valiant man, was absent but twice from the sessions of the American Oriental Society, for twenty-seven years he served as its corresponding secretary, for eighteen years as its librarian, and for six years as its president. Half the contents of its Journal came from his pen: to the first sixteen volumes of the Proceedings of the American Philological Association he contributed fourteen extensive papers. It is in regal men of his type that the phrase *noblesse oblige* becomes concrete truth. One of our first aims is to capture such men, wherever they are to be found. Colossal talents are naturally (though not always) drawn to the most powerful institutions; nothing would sooner pervert the ends of our society than a spirit of local jealousy or self-interest which would prevent our recognizing the supreme place of supreme endowments in the association. It seems not unlikely that the most favored institution might, in the course of things, become a center of overshadowing influence: if this be done legitimately, and by natural gravitation, so be it; for my part I should prefer that our whole Modern Language organization should cast itself forthright upon the ample bosom of such a dominating institution than that it should ever be controlled by a spirit of mediocrity. Probably there are other ways of avoiding this calamity, but let me warn you that the moment we cease to select and honor the highest talent in our profession, that very moment the scepter of supreme influence and control in the field of modern language studies will pass from us to some individual institution which has the wisdom to discriminate in scholastic values.

Another power which is set above us is that of the trustees

of our several colleges, men whom the public has chosen to bear the responsibility, and, ultimately, to direct the important policy of these institutions. I once gave deep offence to certain of my colleagues by a publication in which the professors in a college were spoken of as "employees" of the trustees: well, they pay us a stipulated sum for our services,—in my own case a pretty high return for value received—and we are never reluctant to accept their check at the beginning of the month. Employee no longer means a servant whose thoughts and actions are subject to arbitrary dictation. The distinguished Ferdinand Hasslar was once brought from Switzerland to Washington to assume charge of the United States Coast Survey. A committee of Congress waited upon him in his office to inspect his work. "You come to 'spect my vork, eh?" he screamed, "Vat you know 'bout my vork? Vat you going to 'spect? You knows notting at all 'bout my vork. How can you 'spect my vork, ven you knows notting? Get out of here; you in my vay. Congress be von big vool to send you to 'spect my vork. I 'ave no time to vaste vith such as knows notting vat I am 'bout. Go back to Congress and tell dem vat I say!"—and Congress had enough of broad American good-humor to laugh at these remarks and to vote Hasslar increased resources. However, we should see an end to all orderly administration if there were two ultimate sources of authority; the ideal is one of cheerful association—the specialist being called in to aid the responsible superior in the wisest use of the resources to be expended, and being of great assistance in bearing that responsibility.

Reports have been published of a proposed National University to be established in Washington. While these reports are too insufficient to afford a view of its proposed scope, it is certain that, should it contemplate the furtherance of the modern languages, our Council should exercise large influence in determining the policy and advising in the appointments which would give such an institution ranking authority in the

United States. As a national body, our association ought to take precedence over any individual institution or group of colleges in exercising influence upon any national enterprise, and I recommend that our Council be instructed to communicate with the Council of the parent body with a view to offering our united official assistance and advice to the trustees of the new institution in the matter of modern language studies.

An important practical duty of our Council should be to maintain the dignity of the profession in case of any arbitrary or tyrannical treatment of its members on the part of power in any form. In this country men who stand for any inflexible standard of truth or conduct are more liable than elsewhere to be put under almost intolerable pressure to yield for the gratification of powerful persons who are accustomed to have their own way because it is their own way, or still more often, for the same reason, to surrender to the bold demands of King Demos. Every sentinel on the firing line of scientific advance should know that he has at his back the whole host of soldiers of the truth, who are ready to rush at he first signal to his rescue, not withholding the full support of lives, of fortunes, and of sacred honor. It should be the security of such men to know that there is one incorruptible source of honor and vindication, of practical relief and assistance, and our Council has no more obvious function—none which we should more liberally uphold—than that of making a full investigation and report upon complaints which might involve the dignity or honor of our humblest members.

Another field which merits our attention is that of the publishing houses, and their vital relations to the fountain-head of American scholarship and American taste. Some of them are altogether too rich to be counted quite respectable, and invite a looking-into their methods. If by the use of licentious and arbitrary methods they fail in a most sacred trust to American society; if they foist upon our youth the cheap productions of cheap individuals; if they refuse publication

to works of which our science stands in great need, simply because such works cannot be marketed to ten thousand secondary schools,—we, who are alone authorized to pronounce ultimate and authoritative judgment upon these matters, ought to be heard from, with no uncertain sound. There are even very nasty rumors heard of certain octopus-methods of absorbing educational values—of bribery, oppression, and other such unspeakable villainies which the morals of the market-place tolerate:—we representative scholars are meanly recreant to the spirit which made America great and honored among the nations of the earth, if we count our leisure or our resources dear in organizing an effective, quick-hitting opposition to such tyranny: “*die zeit des schweygens ist vorgangen, vnd die zeit zureden ist kommen.*”

It had been my intention to discuss in some detail our aims in reference to those members of the social and educational organization which stand in a secondary relation to ourselves, but it occurs to me that this is, after all, hardly necessary. The secondary matters will usually take care of themselves: if with undivided heart we seek first the Kingdom and Its Righteousness, we may rest in the confident assurance that All These Things shall be Added unto us. Granted that we are unswervingly true to the Commonwealth and to the highest traditions of our noble science,—then all sincere workers in this field will turn naturally to usward,

As for the Water-Brooks the Hart
In Thirst doth Pant and Bray.

High ideals always filter downwards (more rapidly and effectively in America than anywhere else); otherwise I should be tempted to point out the need of quickening and deepening the work of our preparatory schools, and raising it above the plane of day-labor in which it is sometimes treated. In thinking of this work, one cannot help pensively contrasting, for instance, the gatherings of that group of supporters of Herrig's “*Archiv*” at their Socratic ban-

quets in the Lokal across the Spree, or the band which maintains the "*Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht.*" Would that the gardens which our secondary teachers cultivate might have their irrigating-channels watered by some flow from that deep, abundant stream whose name is the Modern Language Association of America—in other words, that we might secure more of these teachers as eager readers and valuable contributors for our *Notes* and *Publications*. I should think that they, themselves, would rather be in vital communion with our truly catholic, apostolic institution, than with any more local, sectarian conventicle. It is unfortunately symptomatic that only one of the twenty-eight papers to be presented at this meeting comes from a teacher in a secondary school—a fact which argues some serious fault, not so much in the secondary school teachers as in the efforts of our Association. What influence are we exerting toward the appointment of the very best-prepared and most gifted teachers? How often it happens that it is just these who are unable even to exhibit their ability, and who become discouraged and lost to the commonwealth! Nothing ever wrings my heart more than such letters as the following, which I received from a mother who lives in an obscure community of Illinois :

"I want to write you concerning my daughter; she has as yet no position; . . . without any help she feels she will be obliged to take up something else, and short-hand seems to be all that is left, the one thing I dislike so much to have her do or make her profession. . . . When I see her many German books, and know too that she loves them so, and realize her inability to use them, I feel so sorry for her, and can easily understand why she is so disappointed, for I do perceive it more and more every day. Her wish to teach German was the one thing she put many long hours on, and looked forward to the time when she might perfect it as a language, should she be able to make the means to do the same.

"My daughter does not know that I have written to you, for I am sure she would not want to bother anyone with her misfortune, but knowing that she regards you as a dear friend, I felt prompted to write you concerning the matter."

I do not mean to say that the State of Illinois suffers vital injury because some of its daughters follow stenography

instead of teaching German—quite the contrary—but knowing as I do the unusual linguistic and pedagogic gifts of that individual, when I think back upon her faultless devotion and conscientiousness during a long, special training, I am as certain as anyone can be of anything that she is unjustly barred from what she has honestly earned, for which she has paid far more than the fair value. It does not help to cry “overproduction” and “learned proletariat;” all this falls to the ground when I see the cases of inferior pupils of my own who have been appointed to remunerative and responsible positions without apprenticeship, and without any consultation of myself, who have tested them at every practical point during a series of years. So far from there being an excess of really qualified teachers, there is a crying demand for them; we all know how small a percentage is found of those students upon whom Providence has set the unmistakable seal of this high calling: “Many wear the robe, but few keep the Way.” We know that these things are controlled by Rings,—conscienceless, deaf, irresponsible,—throttling the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness at its most vital point; and the most disheartening thing about it is, that our very institutions of higher learning themselves, whose cornerstone is truth and honor, are not guiltless of such abuse of scholastic trusts for “Policy.” Unless you subordinate the interests of your own institution to the promotion of sound scholarship, after the fullest, fairest, and most open canvass for the best teacher for any particular place, you are a companion to Croker, and a brother to Bill Tweed. I know of one striking recent case in an influential college where a notoriously inferior man was appointed, while even the mere opportunity to present the case of a better man was refused. There is a general lack of confidence in the ability and authority of the professional Employment Bureaus—is it not the first demand of justice that *we* should take this matter in hand? What could possibly elevate the standing of our profession throughout the Central States so much as an

impartial, inter-collegiate Employment Bureau, conducted by our own best representatives, who should candidly seek the survival of the fittest, in place of the present disorderly scramble for existence? I hope for the day when no high-school teacher,—still less college professor,—shall be appointed without the case being fairly passed upon by our Executive Committee. You may think me somewhat innocent and confident; that I am absurdly untaught in the gentle science of seeing through the secret designs of other people, and circumventing them;—that shall not embarrass the message: “*ma fonction est de dire la vérité, mais non pas de la faire croire,*”—even though results may seem to be postponed until the time of the Greek Kalends, or, let us say, until Mr. Howells shall become a Romanticist. I have faith to believe that enlightened people should be able to reason together to a working agreement, and to stick to that agreement when reached, and I hold that nothing is, in the long run, so practicable as simple justice and the Golden Rule. Be these details treated as they may, one counsel stands sure: if we keep our highest standards as an Association absolutely pure, never swaying them to policy or favor, we shall deserve, and at length gain, all the power necessary for accomplishing whatever reforms are needed.

On behalf of the Association I welcome all its members and friends to this beautiful center of education and higher citizenship, which so cordially gives us its choice hospitality, and we all look for great benefit and inspiration from our meeting. Some are necessarily absent, who are in full sympathy with us, and engaged in the same work. From the Governor of Illinois I have received a courteous word of greeting, with regrets that he is prevented by other duties from being with us at this hour; Professor Smith of the Louisiana State University, our former efficient president, sends his “good wishes for the best of all meetings.” “I shall be in Franklin, Louisiana,” he writes, “attending our State Teachers’ Association, but in spirit I shall be with

you and your goodly knights, the members of the Modern Language Association."

May I be allowed one or two practical suggestions, prompted by the memories of similar meetings? The morning sessions have been set at the not inconvenient hour of nine, and every minute of time will be needed to attend to the business and the contributions before the Association. It is not at all strange that there is usually some difficulty in assembling the members promptly: one of the best things in our meetings is the opportunity to spend unbroken nights with our rarely-seen colleagues, to indulge in long, heart-filling talks among ourselves after our year of exile among the alien hosts of Philistia, and yet—so far as this involves impairing the movement of the programme, there is room for self-denial in being promptly on hand the next morning. It will be the aim of the chair to call the sessions to order precisely at the minute indicated upon the committee's schedule, in order that no injustice may be done to those who have kindly brought to us the fruits of their extended labors. The reading of papers always offers room for the exercise of reciprocal comity,—the case being less serious than in the Oriental Society, for instance, where the same members must listen to the discussion of both Indo-European and Semitic papers, on the principle, "*Eine Hand wäscht die andere.*" With the crowded programme before us, there is especial reason for heeding the admonition of our country's greatest scholar as President of the American Philological Society: "We shall need to consult brevity and point in papers and discussions, repressing the national disposition to too much talk (sometimes wrongly attributed to the over-pursuit, instead of the under-pursuit of philology), and frowning particularly on papers which undertake to grapple with subjects for which a volume would be insufficient, and which involve a host of debatable points. The character of the audience we address must be borne in mind, and popular and elementary explanation cut short."

As a matter of courtesy, the chair trusts that no paper may exceed some definite limit in length (except by special request of the Association), and he would welcome a rule which should set such a reasonable limit, recalling also the tribute of Professor Lanman to the same great scholar, Whitney: "How notable the brevity with which he presented his papers! No labored reading from a manuscript, but rather a simple and facile account of results. An example, surely! He who had the most to say used in proportion the least time in saying it."

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD.

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XIV.—AÏMER LE CHÉTIF.

In the epic family of Aymeri de Narbonne, by far the strangest figure is that of Aïmer le Chétif. Without sharing in the grotesqueness of Hernaut le Roux, Aïmer has a mysteriousness and the shadow of an unknown misfortune, which draw powerfully the sympathetic imagination. Evidently we are dealing with one of the greatest of ancient heroes, yet the complete disappearance of the epics that sang his exploits has buried in oblivion his peculiar claim to glory. If he has subsisted at all, it has been as a fallen deity. Indeed, the casual reader of the poems still extant in which he is mentioned, might suppose him the least of all his brethren, one of the humblest and most recent additions to the epic roll. It is in fact likely, as we shall see, that the meaning of his epithet *le chétif* was already forgotten seven hundred years ago.

The oldest text that mentions Aïmer is the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, which dates from the close of the eleventh century or from somewhat earlier. It is very likely that he was mentioned in the source whence was drawn the *Fragment de la Haye*. The brevity of the *Fragment* would explain the absence of his name, as of that of Guillaume.

The presence of the youngest brother, Wibelin, and of the adult son of Bernart, leads us to suppose that both Aïmer and Guillaume appeared in the original, which probably antedated the *Félerinage* by from seventy-five to one hundred years. Aïmer is mentioned also in the following poems: *Aliscans*, *Enfances Vivien*, *Enfances Guillaume*, *Siège de Barbastre*, *les Narbonois*, *Prise de Cordres*, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, *Mort Aymeri*, *Guibert d'Andrenas*, *Aye d'Avignon*, *Elie de St. Giles*, and *Bueve de Comarcis*. Our hero also appears in the *Willehalm* of Wolfram von Eschenbach, in the *Storie Nerbonesi*, and in the record of Aubri de Trois-Fontaines.

We learn the following facts from these poems. Aïmer was the sixth son of Aymeri de Narbonne; he was driven from home along with his brothers (le *département* des enfants Aymeri), and went to Paris with them. His father had given him the task of conquering "Espagne la grant," and he succeeds after a time in forming an army, composed largely of adventurers, and sets out for Spain. He probably conquered for himself a realm in "Spain," that is, in Catalonia; at any rate, all accounts represent him as warring without cease against the Saracens. The poets state that he would never sleep under a roof. He generally appears alone with his men, few in number. He seems to love solitude, and frequently appears to be poor and wretched. In at least two epics, he appears all at once with his army, in time to decide favorably a desperate struggle with the enemy. The *Mort Aymeri* recounts that he was slain in Spain, at "Por-paillart sur mer" (see lines 547-48; 591-93; 1384-87).

A few typical passages concerning this strange hero may be of interest.

In the *Nerbonois*, he makes a vow never to take shelter under a roof, nor to sleep in a bed:

Puis que g'istrai do crestien regné
Et j'enterrai en la païeneté,
Chevron ne laste n'ert sor moi por oré,
Ne ne jerrai desoz fete levé,

Se Sarrazin ne m'ont enprisoné;
Mes an montaignes o en bois o en pré
Lez les rivieres ferai tandre mon tré.

(2916-23.)

And in other passages of the same poem :

Ci voi venir le gentil bacheler
Que l'an apele le chétif Aymer.
Ainz ne doigna dedanz vile osteler.

(5926-28.)

Ja ne jeüst dedanz sale payée,
N'an borc n'an vile ne soz cortine ovrée.

(6706-07.)

From *Aymeri de Narbonne* :

Si ne vost onques gesir, tant com fu vis,
En tor entie ne en palès votiz.

(4593-94.)

In the arrival of the armies for the relief of Orange in *Aliscans*, we find our hero choosing a camp beyond that of the others, and showing unwillingness to dine with his friends. His brother goes to meet him, and

Dedens Orenge le va ot lui mener,
En Gloriete, son palais principal;
Mais Aïmers ne li vaut creanter.
Defors les autres fist sa gent osteler.

Et dist Guillames—" Un don vos voiel rover :
A moi prengiés cest prumerain souper !"
Il li otroient, ne li vuelent véer,
Mais a grant force i mainent Aïmer.

(4255-64.)¹

Another thing which seems to distinguish Aïmer is his poverty. This appears from a number of passages. We read of the arrival of Aïmer and his men in the *Nerbonois* :

¹ The third, fourth, and last lines of this passage would not be properly understood, were it not for external evidence as to the habits of our hero. The passage, it may be added, is due to the remanieurs, at least in so far as Aïmer's welcoming to Gloriette is concerned. His brother was besieged in the city, and cannot have hastened to meet him.

La ont veü maint chevalier armé.
 De laides armes estoient adobé.
 Lor escu sont percié et estroïé,
 Et lor hauberc n'estoient reolé,
 Enrooillié sont de pluie et d'oré.

(6573-77.)

Similarly, in lines 5918, 6820-25. Again in *Aliscans*:

Mais n'ont escu ne soit rous et crois.
 Leur hauberc sont de sueur tous noircis,
 Leur elmes quas; n'eurent pas brans forbis.

(4916-18.)

It may be that this poverty is an attempt of the poets to explain the epithet *chétif*; or again it may be that the poverty comes from the oldest legend concerning the hero, thus being a genuine "historical" trait. He is the only one of the sons of Aymeri de Narbonne who does not come to possess, according to the poems, cities and lands.¹ There are other sources that ascribe to him such possessions in Spain, yet the *Covenant Vivien*, a poem whose action has preëminently Spain as its scene, does not mention a single time the name of our hero.

In spite of the fact that, in the most ancient sources, Spain seems to have been the theatre of the exploits of Aïmer, there was a persistent legend that ascribed to him a career at "St. Marc de Venis." It is this legend which is given by Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, and Wolfram follows it, representing him as arriving from Venice, and as having defended that city against the "patriarc von Agley." Wolfram even calls him the Venetian.²

The only complete and lengthy account of our hero is found in the *Storie Nerbonesi*.³ He seems to have been a

¹ The *Willehalm*, 241, depicts the extreme poverty of our hero.

² Several mss. give Aïmer's battle cry as "Venice la gastée:" vid. *Aliscans*, edition Jonckbloet, 5401, and the variant given by Rolin under line 5130. There may be confusion here with the cry of Garin: see later argument.

³ Edited by Isola, Bologna, 1877-1887, two vols.

favorite personage with the author, and is in reality the hero of the first volume of this compilation as printed by Isola—that is, of the first four books. The recital here given, although evidently not a record of the earliest poems concerning Aïmer, presents none the less a stage of his legend more ancient than that preserved in the extant French models, and merits a statement in detail.

We are told that Aymeri, having received a mortal insult at the hands of an enemy, before the eyes of Charlemagne and his court, returns in wrath to Narbonne and decides to test his six oldest sons, to see if they will ever be able to avenge his quarrel. He examines their rooms, and flies into a passion on finding in those of Bernard, the eldest, and of Bovon only falcons and instruments of falconry and the chase. In the rooms of Guillaume and Aïmer he finds nothing but weapons of warfare. He declares these two alone to be his sons. He summons them all to joust with him, in order to try their strength. Aïmer, when his turn arrives, says that he fears to tilt against his father, lest he kill him. His father urges him to strike his hardest, but he perceives that Aïmer spares him slightly as they come together, and for this he gives him his curse, saying: “O disobedient son! I curse you because you have not obeyed my injunction, and I command that you be forever called *Aïmer le chétif* (il cattivo), and I order you, when you have once been dubbed knight, never to sleep within walls, nor to eat at a table, nor are you ever to hold a fief from any man alive!” Aymeri drives away his six sons, commanding them to go to Paris, and to there avenge the insult inflicted upon him. They set out, and are soon overtaken by a servant, who has been sent by their mother with clothing and money. Aïmer gives him a beating, and declares that they will know how to take care of themselves. In the adventures of the journey and in those at Paris, it is Aïmer who plays the main rôle. He does not forget his father’s injunction, and eats from his shield, seated on the ground.

At the end of a year, Charlemagne gave lands to the brothers of Aïmer and regretted that the curse of Aymeri prevented him from doing the same by him, for he had taken him in great affection. He assigned him ten thousand men, and bade him go to Spain and conquer himself a city and realm. The king tells him that he can never be his subject, because of the terms of his father's malediction. Aïmer gathers together an army made up of thieves, robbers and murderers, and sets out for Spain.

In beginning the description of the adventures of our hero, the author shows clearly that he has all his sympathy and admiration. He says of him that he was called *Aïmer le chétif* by reason of his father's curse, but that he, the author, would call him rather Aïmer the good.¹ Aïmer wages a successful war, and takes a number of cities, among them Pampelune. He thus became a great prince, but he always remained in the open fields, never ate at a table and never drank wine.

It now happened that the Saracens, informed of the departure of the sons of Aymeri, arrived to lay siege to the city. An old family servant is sent by Aymeri to ask for assistance from his sons. This messenger finally reaches Spain in search of Aïmer, and finds him asleep, clad in armor, under an oak. Aïmer refuses aid, although the thought of his gentle mother in danger makes him shed tears. He alleges the cruel treatment of his father, by reason of which he has not slept within walls nor in a bed for seven years, nor has he eaten at table or drunk wine. After the departure of the messenger, however, Aïmer decides to march to the relief of Narbonne. He arrives at a critical moment in the battle for the delivery of the city. His approaching army presents an uncouth and strange appearance, and those of the city take it at first for a fresh body of Saracens. The arrival of Aïmer of course decides the battle in favor of the Christians. The scene of

¹L. c., 112, 113.

the reconciliation between father and son is one of great beauty. Aymeri recalls his curse, and blesses Aïmer.¹

Aïmer now betakes himself to Paris with his brothers, where he receives the blessing of Charlemagne, and is knighted by him.² He is soon informed that Tibaut, the powerful Saracen king, is planning to march against him in Spain, in order to avenge the death of some of his relatives, slain by Aïmer. He therefore sets out in haste for Spain. He is besieged by the enemy in Pampelune. Guillaume comes to his rescue and the Saracens are defeated.

A number of years pass, during which Aïmer is said never to be without war. He has with him Vivien, the son of his brother Garin. He grants him permission to make a foray into "Portugal," urging him to return at once. Vivien meets with success, and is tempted to remain. His adversaries soon surround him, and besiege him in a city which he has seized. He sends word of his predicament to his uncle, who endeavors to reach him, but is driven back. Vivien manages to hold out by taking refuge in a strong castle, and finally Aïmer returns to the charge with a new army. In this army is another nephew, Bertran, who had been sent from Orange, the new seat of Guillaume, in order to bring help for the relief of that city, also besieged by the enemy. Bertran has come to Spain to enlist the aid of Aïmer. After a victory resulting in the setting-free of Vivien, Aïmer, Bertran, Vivien and the others set out by forced marches for Orange. They arrive at the same time as the succor from France. Aïmer is made commander-in-chief. The struggle is indeed terrible. Two of Aïmer's brothers lose their lives, and he himself is so wounded that he dies after the victory. He left two sons, Gautier and Berengier.

¹ In the remaining account of our hero's life, no mention is made of his continuing his former mode of life. Cf. following note.

² An inadvertence has evidently been committed, in that Aïmer was told to begin his strange way of life *after* having been knighted. As we have seen, he begins it before. Cf., later, testimony of the *Nerbonois* on this point.

Such is the life of our hero according to the account written by Andrea da Barberino, an account which, according to the author, was translated by him from the French. There are many things in this account which are supported by external evidence of a character not to be contradicted, and I believe that this recital represents a stage of the legend more ancient than any other preserved, yet a stage far from the most ancient that ever existed. There are of course events in this recital which are manifestly due to the compiler.

The account as it has just been given differs from the one found in the poems in the following important points: The explanation given of Aïmer's strange way of living; the relative importance of the rôle of Aïmer in the journey to Paris, and the events there; the holding of a fief by Aïmer; the manner of the relief brought by the hero to Narbonne, and similarly later to Orange; the scene of his exploits; the relations between him and Vivien on the one hand, and between Vivien and Guillaume on the other; the place of his death.

What was the origin of Aïmer's strange custom of never sleeping under a roof, of never eating at a table, etc.? The *Nerbonesi*, as we have seen, ascribe this to his father's having cursed him. The only other explanation with which I am familiar is found in the *Nerbonois*, lines 2911-23. In this passage, the young hero, who is about to start for Spain, stands before Charlemagne and makes a vow: having once entered the Saracen land, he will never shelter himself under a roof, unless a prisoner and thus unable to help himself, but will ever remain in the woods and meadows, and on the banks of streams.

These two explanations probably go back to a common source, different as they at first appear. It will be remembered that, in the *Nerbonesi*, Aïmer is instructed to act as he says he will in the vow, *after he has been dubbed knight*. This is really what happens in the poem, for the adoubement follows immediately the vow. That is, Aïmer is perhaps

simply carrying out his father's instructions. The insertion into the Italian account of the peculiar clause: *quando tu sarai fatto cavaliere*, leaves no doubt that the sources whence came this account were acquainted with the tradition of Aïmer's having made such a vow on being dubbed knight by Charlemagne. The vow itself has certain marks of high antiquity. If it were a new invention made to explain the peculiar mode of life of the hero, it would not contain mention of so many things unknown to the poems and traditions now extant. For instance, in line 2920, we find Aïmer qualifying his vow: "provided the Saracens do not have me in prison" (cf. lines 3010-3020). These passages leave no doubt that anciently the hero suffered a captivity and was rescued by the emperor. Then, too, the lines 2923-29 seem to contain a prophecy of events not recounted by any poem extant. Such traits as these are earmarks of truth, and the critic can not pass them by.

There is some evidence supporting the tradition of a hostility between Aïmer and his father. In the *Prise de Cordres* there are two quarrels between father and son—275-308 and 406-441.¹ The father shows here something like a settled animosity towards Aïmer. In the *Nerbonois*, 342-358, another son, Bernart, expresses the very same sentiments as Aïmer in the second of the above passages, yet Aymeri only laughs and says that he is proud of such a son. To the extent, then, that Aymeri appears more severe against Aïmer than against his other sons, the first explanation of our hero's ways of living is supported.

Another point that merits perhaps investigation is the warning given Aïmer in the Italian account never to hold a fief from any one. Such a charge, for a man of Aïmer's

¹ The punctuation of this passage is faulty. The speech of Aymeri beginning in line 417 is interrupted by the son in line 424. From this point to line 429, the words are said by the son. Ph. Aug. Becker thinks this scene imitated from one in *Guibert d'Andrenas*, see *Zeit. f. Rom. Phil.*, xxii, p. 419, note 3.

rank, was equivalent to banishment, and this is really what happens. He refuses, according to the *Nerbonois*, to accept a fief in France, but declares that he will conquer one in Spain. He does, however, offer to do homage for this fief to Charlemagne, who accepts in advance.¹

It would be hard to find any passage worthy of credence which relates that Aïmer held a fief anywhere. In fact, the trend of the testimony is rather the other way. He seems to have plunged into the heart of "Spain," and to have been lost to sight. We read, for instance, in *Guibert d'Andrenas*, that Guibert, told by his father to go and summon Aïmer to send aid, replies :

Ou le porrai trouver ?

Je ne sai tant venir ne aler
Que a nul homme em puisse oïr parler
Qui m'en seüst nouveles aconter,
Si parfont est dedens Espaigne entrez.²

The impression of Aïmer's remoteness is also felt in the well-known passage of *Aliscans*, 2601-03, and in lines 6619, 6627, of the *Nerbonois*.

To sum up, there is more likelihood of the vow being primitive than the account of Andrea, although this latter is based evidently on very ancient data in the epic life of the hero. The quarrel with his father seems to be the knot that attached him to the cycle of Orange, and bears witness to his preëxistent fame. The vow is the knot that attached an independent hero in the south-land to the great northern emperor. Jongleurs from the north probably found this hero sung in the south as the most bitter enemy of the Saracens in Spain. For patriotic and utilitarian reasons, it

¹ There is a passage of doubtful authority in the *Prise de Cordres*, *Appendice*, lines 294-97, ascribing to our hero a fief. Louis has taken Saragoce, and confers it on Aïmer. The poet adds a line bearing witness to Aïmer's reputation for poverty, or to his lack of landed possessions : *Car onques mais n'ot terre tenant ne en baillie*.

² Cited by Densusianu, *Prise de Cordres*, p. xcii. Similarly in the *Siège de Barbastre*, cited by Becker, *Quellenwert der Storie Nerbonesi*, Halle, 1898, p. 11, note 2.

was desirable to attach him to the mighty Charlemagne. He was perhaps represented as a Frank of the north, who, by reason of some family complications, swore to devote himself to the conquest of Spain. In the course of events, the cycle of Orange was able to lay hand upon him without shocking tradition, and the result was the stage of his legend represented in the *Nerbonesi*.

In the Italian account of the journey of the brothers to Paris and their adventures there, Aïmer seems to play the important rôle, whereas in the *Nerbonois* the person most in evidence is Hernaut. The appearance of Hernaut is always the signal for burlesque and buffoonery, and no one will maintain that a preponderating rôle given to such a character is a sign of high antiquity. If we had to choose between Hernaut and Aïmer on this count, we should certainly give the greater authority of age to the latter. Again, the importance of Aïmer here is in perfect keeping with the rôle which we know him to have played later, as seen by the poems still extant: he is everywhere spoken of as one of the most terrible antagonists of the Saracens; his arrival at an opportune moment decides two of the most momentous battles in the history of Narbonne and Orange. Indeed, to the trained reader, the manner in which his arrival is announced on these occasions is absolute evidence of his preëminence. For instance, in the well-known *endementiers* scene of *Aliscans*, which begins in line 4125, Guillaume sees his brothers arrive to deliver Orange. He sees arrive Hernaut and Bovon, and is full of joy; but, says the poet, he will be much more joyful soon, when Aïmer le chétif shall have come. Finally, Guillaume sees Aïmer, who arrives last, and he exclaims:

Ves la venir le caitif Aïmer,
L'omme del mont, por voir le puis conter,
Ke Sarrasin puent plus redouter !
Contre celui me convient il aler
Et deseur tos servir et honorer,
Car ainc paien ne laissa reposer.

(4246-4251).

The greatest hero arrives last. Similarly, in the *Nerbonois*, Dame Hermangart and her husband behold the arrival of the armies that are to relieve Narbonne. The last to arrive is Aïmer, and his presence encourages the besieged more than that of the others. In the same way, his arrival at the camp of the relieving forces is motivated to show his great importance, lines 6572-6629. The conclusion that Aïmer merits the important position given him in the portions of the story under discussion, seems imperative.

In regard to this very arrival of Aïmer at the two sieges in question, the Italian account offers valuable testimony to explain the action of the French poems, an action which is incomprehensible without this additional testimony. Let us take up these sieges in order.

We are told in *Aliscans*, when the messenger arrives at court for aid, that nearly all the brothers of Guillaume are present,

Mais n'i ert pas Aïmers li caitis.
En Espagne est entre les Sarrasis,
U se combat et par nuit et par dis.

(2601-03).

No messenger is sent to him, yet, to our surprise, he comes at the proper time to aid in relieving the city (see the passages just cited above). The Italian story, however, makes all plain, by telling of the trip of the messenger to Spain, where he warned Aïmer. The importance of this as a justification of the recital of Andrea is very great.

In the same way, the arrival of Aïmer before Narbonne in the *Nerbonois* is unmotivated, and finds its explanation in the messenger, sent as related in the *Nerbonesi*, to urge Aïmer to come to the relief of his parents.¹

¹ That a messenger really went to the brothers is indicated by a passage in the *Nerbonois*, 406-12. Becker, *Quellenwert*, p. 13, note, complains that the arbitrary sending of Aïmer to Spain by the poet of the *Nerbonois* (cf. p. 11), prevents the messenger from finding him at Paris with the other brothers, hence his arrival at Narbonne appears unmotivated. In the passage just cited, however, it is stated that the messenger is to seek the

Where was the scene of the exploits of Aïmer? Some of the French sources and the *Nerbonesi* answer, "In Spain"; while other French sources indicate Italy.

Some critics have not hesitated to affirm that Italy was the original scene of the exploits of Aïmer.¹ What are the facts? *Aliscans* seems to give a divided testimony. One passage has already been cited from this epic (lines 2601-03), which says in so many words that Aïmer is in Spain. Again, at the close of the poem, line 8379, it is stated that he returns to Spain. For the other passages, the matter is not so simple. We read, for instance,

Aïmers li caitis :
Ciex prist la terre de Saint Marc de Venis
Sor les paiens d'Espaigne.

(4178-80.)

And again of him and his men :

Par maintes fois ont paiens asentis
Dedens Espaigne, à Saint Marc de Venis.

(4919-20.)

I think that all of the passages that ascribe to Aïmer a career in Italy repose on an error in the lines 4178-80, cited above. These lines occur in a *laisse* in *i*, and it is my opinion that originally Garin, who for some reason was eliminated from the list of the brothers present, appeared in this *laisse*, where his name naturally would appear because of the assonance. Cf. the *laisse* in *i* beginning in line 5892 of the *Nerbonois*, where Garin arrives from Italy to aid in the relief of Narbonne. That all the children of Aymeri arrived

brothers one by one : *Tot un et un par estrange païs*. This is precisely what happens in the *Nerbonesi*, not only for Aïmer, but for the others as well : see *N.*, I, pp. 161-171. Dame Hermangart (vol. II, *Nerbonois*, p. 43, lines 16-17), breathes a blessing on *the one who went* to tell Aïmer of the sore straits of Narbonne.

¹ Vid. Densusianu, *Prise de Cordres*, p. xcii, note ; Becker, *Quellenwert*, p. 11. The first of these critics says : "Peut-être arrivera-t-on un jour à identifier ce fils d'Aymeri de Narbonne avec quelque personnage historique qui s'était distingué contre les Sarrasins en Italie." Probably the earliest critic to draw attention to the ascription to Aïmer of Venice was Demaison, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, p. ccxi, ss.

before Orange, there can be little doubt, although the only mss. that mention Garin by name are *m* (Boulogne), and *d* (Bib. Nat. 2494), certainly two of the best mss. The first mentions him in line 4635, the second in 7736. It follows from the reading of line 1915 in *m*, and from the last *laisse* of this ms., cited on p. 109 of the *Varianten* of Rolin, *Aliscans*, that Garin was present. Cf. in *m* lines 558 and 6646. The question of the presence of Garin is certainly one of the most puzzling. It will be agreed, however, that if he was present, the *laisse* in *i* under discussion is where his name would naturally appear. If it can be shown that there was any reason why Garin's name should have been suppressed in *Aliscans*, the probability that it formerly stood in the *laisse* in question will be heightened. A full discussion of the presence or absence of Garin would require a whole article. I have recently touched on this question in another place, and can here only summarize the reasons which lead me to believe that Garin has been suppressed in the original sources from which *Aliscans* was formed.¹

The *Covenant Vivien* is composed from two separate poems, one of which also contributed largely to the formation of the first part of *Aliscans*. In one of these poems, Garin, whom a new tradition ascribed to Vivien as father, was still alive; in the other, he was already dead. Hence the inconsistency which appears in the words: *Filz fu Garin* (*Cov. Viv.*, 123, 143-144), as compared with: *Filz sui Garin* (1833). The action of the poem which we call *Aliscans* being supposed to follow that of the *Cov. Viv.*, nothing could be done except to take the last time limit of the *Covenant*: that is, the death of Garin was pre-supposed.² It happened, however, that among

¹ *Origin of the Covenant Vivien*, in *The University of Missouri Studies*, No. 2, published by the University, 1902. See especially section 15, pp. 45, 46, and cf. p. 8.

² In line 827 of *Aliscans*, Guillaume says to the dying Vivien, explaining that he can hear his confession, and give absolution, as the nearest relative in the absence of a priest: "Je suis tes oncles, n'as ore plus prochain." These words are to be taken literally: his father is dead.

the sources incorporated in the later action of the new poem, *Aliscans*, was an ancient poem in which Garin, together with his brothers, played a rôle. This rôle was suppressed as far as Garin was concerned, save for the traces cited above, and certain others too obscure to mention here. I conclude, therefore, that Garin formerly appeared in the original source from which the passages 4178-80 and 4919-20 were drawn. If, as has been said, he appeared in the muster of the sons of Aymeri de Narbonne, his name was found in the *laisse* in *i*. Inasmuch as tradition ascribed to him a career in Italy, with his father-in-law, Boniface, the statements about his having fought at St. Marc de Venise would contain nothing surprising. The elimination of his name in this *laisse*, together with the mistake, made easy for reasons of rhyme, of retaining the words: *Saint Marc de Venis*, would explain satisfactorily the ascription of these words to Aïmer, whose name followed in the *laisse*.

As for the other sources that treat of Aïmer, what ones ascribe to him Spain, what ones Italy?

In line 216, ss. of the *Nerbonois*, Aymeri tells our hero that he is to conquer Spain: cf. 538; 1048; 1176; 2852-53; 2877-78; 3000-08; 3319-20. Again, it is stated in the passage beginning with line 5914, that Aïmer arrives from towards Spain. At the close of the poem, however, in line 7951, we read that Aïmer returned to *Venice la grant*! This sudden abandonment of all the past geography touching Aïmer can only be a late addition.¹

According to the testimony of the *Enfances Vivien*,² of the *Siege de Barbastre*, of the *Mort Aymeri*, the *Prise de Cordres*, *Guibert d'Andrenas*, the scene of Aïmer's exploits was in Spain; according to *Aymeri de Narbonne*, the chronicle of

¹ Perhaps enough passages have been cited from this poem to show that Aïmer cannot have had Italy as his stage of action. One more may be added: in line 6625, Boniface is said to have seen our hero only once before the present meeting.

² See line 4613, MS. of Boulogne. The MS. in prose, whose authority is slight, indicates Venice: line 1670.

Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, and the *Willehalm*, Italy. The weight of evidence favors overwhelmingly the testimony of the *Nerbonesi*, especially when we consider that the evidence of *Aliscans* in reality indicates Spain. It will be seen later that testimony is to be found in the *Covenant* looking in the same direction.

Another important point of difference between the account of Andrea and that of the poems extant lies in the relations of Vivien to Aïmer and to Guillaume. We have already seen in the Italian account the close connection between Vivien and Aïmer. It is to him that Vivien looks for aid in time of trouble; he evidently occupies the position of favorite uncle which *Aliscans* and the *Covenant* give to Guillaume. In all the range of epics treating of Guillaume and Orange, nothing is more firmly rooted, it would appear, in tradition, and certainly nothing is more touching, than the affection of the young Vivien for Guillaume and for Guibor, and theirs for him. The Italian story reverses all this. Vivien becomes the foster child of Aïmer, and shows so little interest in the affairs of Orange that his friends have difficulty in persuading him to accompany them to deliver the city.¹ It would seem that here at least the authority of the French monuments could not be questioned, and that Andrea must certainly have invented his strange account.

A close study of this matter, however, has led me to feel that the contrary is true; that the tale of Andrea is correct, and represents a stage of the legend of Vivien, Aïmer, and Guillaume considerably older than that preserved in the French epics. Such a reversal of the pole of attraction is indeed amazing, and any proper treatment of the subject would demand a volume. All that I shall attempt here will be to state my conclusions, referring the reader to a fuller statement elsewhere.²

Aïmer and Vivien were at one time independent heroes, with the scene of their deeds in Spain. Later, Vivien became

¹ *Nerbonesi*, I, p. 498.

² See *The Origin of the Cov. Viv.*, already cited.

subordinated to Aïmer, and was said to be his nephew, the son of a sister, of course. In time, however, the rising sun of a new hero subordinated the cycle of Aïmer, who was now said to be a brother of Guillaume. This subordination undoubtedly entailed the loss of a portion of the epic matter of the cycle of Aïmer. The story of the *Nerbonesi* (which we may for brevity designate as N) presents the stage of affairs at this juncture: the scene of the activity of Aïmer and Vivien is still Spain, and Aïmer is still the favorite uncle. It now happened that the cycle of Guillaume, which had developed to an astonishing degree of richness, broke, so to speak, under its own weight. In time, new poems were built out of the ruins of the old. Orange was made more than ever the centre of the action, Aïmer was largely eliminated, and Vivien became attached in the manner we all know to Guillaume and to Orange. The very scene of his death in battle was, in the popular mind, transferred from Spain to the neighborhood of Orange.

Traces of this vast change are still to be observed in the *Covenant* and in *Aliscans*, both of them composite poems built from the ruins of others. The first of these two poems, the *Covenant*, which we may denominate C, was formed by the fusion of two poems: the events of one of these,—the foray of Vivien into "Portugal," his being besieged, the unsuccessful attempt of Aïmer and some of his nephews to rescue him, the second attempt, which proved successful, the marching of the two heroes to deliver Orange—have already been related. The second poem recounted the death of Vivien in Spain, and the fearful defeat of his uncle Guillaume, Aïmer having perished at the delivery of Orange. The first of these two poems was lost as a separate epic because another greater poem, on which it depended, the *Siège d'Orange*, had lost its identity in the destruction that had come over the cycle. The action of the *Siège* was necessary to explain the setting of the smaller poem whose hero Vivien was. The existence of this smaller poem, however, is still certified to by traces left in

those portions of the *Siège* which entered into a new epic then coming into existence, the present *Aliscans*. In fact, in this epic, in lines 2601-03, we are told, just as the recital of N demands, that Aïmer was not in France, but was in Spain, warring day and night with the Saracens. N tells how, because of this, the messenger went to Spain, found Aïmer and Vivien, and came with them to the delivery of Orange. Fortunately, we have preserved also in another portion of the *Siège* utilized in *Aliscans*, the arrival of Aïmer, although no explanation has been given of the manner of his being informed of the straits of the city. See lines 4245-51. Finally, the chance preservation of another line bears witness to the presence also of the messenger, who, from the exigencies of the new epic, is not supposed to be present.¹

In C, an effort was made to root out Aïmer absolutely, and to substitute Guillaume for him. This has generally been done successfully, yet in one passage the remanieurs have betrayed themselves. Their method was to ascribe to Guillaume the deeds of Aïmer as far as possible, and in other passages to replace the name of Aïmer by that of Aymeri. This was easy to do in most cases. One reads such lines as the following in C without great surprise, although the importance given the grandfather Aymeri indicates rather the period of decadence than that of virility:

Forment maudit Aymeri et Guillelme, (156)

Ne ja reproche n'en aura Aymeris,
Guibor la bele, Guillaumes li marchis, (413-14)

Bien pert qu'il est del lignaige Aymeri, (517)

Dolanz en iert Aymeris et Guillelmes,
Guiberz li rous, et tuit cil de sa geste, (623-24)

Quant le saura Aymeris au vis fier,
Et dans Guillaumes et Guibor sa moillier, (794-95).

¹ Line 4931. Cf. *Romania*, xxviii, pp. 127, 128.

The number of these passages is, however, so great, that one begins to wonder at the absence of the name of Aïmer. Indeed, only one other uncle, Bernart, is absent from the poem. This appears doubly suspicious when we reflect that the scene of the poem is that same Spain which the most ancient legend ascribes as especial scene of activity to Aïmer. But when we find the following passage, we hesitate no longer to see in the persistent avoidance of the name of Aïmer something very like a conspiracy: in lines 1850-56, Vivien says that if his uncle Guillaume will place him on horseback, put the bridle in his hands, and guide him into the thick of the Saracens, he will vanquish the best of them, or, if not,

Ainz ne fui niés Aymeri ne Guillelme.

Since Aymeri is his grandfather and Guillaume his uncle, it seems clear that the remanieurs have here been caught in the act, for, with all the elasticity of the word *niés*, it cannot fit both the persons named.

Nor does the substitution of *Aymeri* for *Aïmer*, in my opinion, stop with C. It seems to extend to *Aliscans*, which is perfectly natural, since portions of this latter poem are woven from the same woof as C. The whole presence in *Aliscans* of Aymeri, which has with justice surprised the critics, is due to this substitution of his name for that of Aïmer. This began in a series of passages which still give trouble. These passages are found in the following lines of *Aliscans*: 5968-72, 6249-51, 6645-47; cf. 5693-94. The nature of the difficulty in these passages will be apparent from a citation of the first three. In the first passage, Guillaume is fighting with an enemy in battle:

Ja li tranchast la teste maintenant,
Mes au rescorre poignent .xx. m. Persant.
Et d'autre part François li combatant,
Et Aymeris et toz ses .vi. enfanz,
Et si neveu, et si appartenant.

In the second passage, a duel is going on during the battle :

Et d'autre part contrevail li Archans,
Se recombait Guillaumes li vaillans,
Et Aymeris, et toz ses .vi. enfanz.

In the third passage, Renoart is assailed by a number of enemies :

Mes au rescorre vint Guillaume[s] poignant,
Et Aymeris, et tuit li .v. enfant,
Et si neveu et si autre parent.

The first of these passages reads fairly well, save for the last line. We do not know of any nephews or cousins of Aymeri in the battle. From the second and third passages one would never suppose that Guillaume also is one of Aymeri's children. Indeed, a person unacquainted with the legend would suppose that he was anything else rather than one of the *enfanz*. Yet, if the name Aymeri be here in its place, the *enfanz* are Guillaume's brothers. The third passage contains again the word *neveu*, and has *five* instead of *six*. The repeated mention of six sons besides Guillaume would have a strange air, in view of the fact that the majority of the MSS. do not mention Garin as present. Then, too, the number five is puzzling.

I think that in all of these passages the original reading was *Aïmer*. The passages in question are from the battle that followed the arrival before Orange of Aïmer and his band, who had just come from relieving Vivien besieged. That is, these events originally followed immediately those of the first of the two poems whose union constituted C, and are from the very same current of epic narration. In the expedition which resulted in the relief of Vivien, Aïmer was accompanied by six nephews, of whom, by the way, Bertran was one. In the lost poem, they were probably designated always as *les six enfanz*. On the liberation of Vivien, there were seven of these cousins. They accompanied Aïmer to Orange, and played a brilliant rôle in the

delivery of the city, especially Vivien and Bertran. The same process of elimination of Aïmer that we have witnessed in C was extended to these events, nor could it well have been otherwise, since it was all one narration: *Aliscans*, in fact, as we see, begins without any preamble, and is really, at least for its beginning, one and the same poem as C. Inasmuch as there were present six brothers of Guillaume in the battle that released Orange, the change from *Aïmer* to *Aymeri*, the father of the six brothers, was perhaps unconscious; but if intentional, nothing was easier to do, because of the parallelism in numbers and the similarity in names. In view of the elimination of Aïmer from C and the obliteration of the poem concerning the relief of Vivien, the substitution was inevitable. The changing of *Aymeri* into *Aïmer* in the above passages, gives them a natural air. Of course, the possessive *ses* should be changed to *les*. But why are there only six cousins? The first passage follows immediately the dangerous wounding of Vivien: see lines 5932-36, hence there are only six cousins left. As for the third passage, where only five cousins are mentioned, it is to be explained by supposing one of the six, probably Bertran, to be in mortal danger. The others hasten to his aid.¹

Finally, to take up the last important difference between the account of N and that of the French poems, where did Aïmer die? N says in the battle for the delivery of Orange; the *Mort Aymeri*, at Porpaillart.² Assuredly, the poem is not a very creditable witness, yet it may well be that, at one time in the legend of our hero, he was said to have met death as here indicated. Indeed, as between the two statements, that of the *Mort Aymeri* has more likelihood of being primitive

¹ The fact that in the lines immediately preceding it is Renoart who is in danger, cuts no figure whatever. It is admitted by all good critics that Renoart is a late addition to the geste, and had originally nothing to do with *Aliscans*.

² *Aye d'Avignon* states that our hero perished in battle, but does not say where: see p. 45 of this poem, in the *Anciens Poètes de la France*.

than that of N, for the reason that this latter has him die before Orange, a city with which originally he can have had nothing to do, whereas he may well have perished in a battle at Porpaillart. The history of this city as it concerns the legend of Guillaume is yet to be written, and offers some most interesting developments.¹

It has been seen that, in nearly all particulars, the account of N concerning Aïmer represents a stage of the legend considerably more ancient than that of the Old French poems preserved.

What sense was attached to the word *chétif* as applied to Aïmer in the old poems? The word seems to be used always in the sense of poor, unfortunate. Yet it is more than likely that the original meaning of this epithet was *captive*. If this be true, the explanations offered by N and by the *Nerbonois* are both relatively modern. N, however, it will be noted, seems to consider the term to mean unfortunate, not poor in this world's goods, for it depicts him as the master of many cities: we read of him: "erasi fatto maggiore signore della maggiore parte di Spagna. E sempre la sua vita era stare a campo, e mai non dormiva in terra murata, e non sedeva a tavola, e non beveva vino, *per la maladizione che gli diè Amerigo, suo padre.*"² Again: "Namieri si destò, e rizzosi ritto da dormire il valente signore della grande parte di Spagna."³

There is some evidence preserved in the *Nerbonois* indicat-

¹ Negative testimony would indicate that Aïmer did not die at Porpaillart, judging by *Foucon*. Tibaut in this poem admits having received great injury from the Christians at "Barzelone et Porpaillart." He boasts that the Christians paid dear, however, for Tortelouse, in losing Vivien there. Had Aïmer perished at Porpaillart in the legend utilized by *Foucon*, it would be stated by him that, while he had lost heavily at Barzelone, the Christians had paid dearly for Porpaillart and Tortelouse, Aïmer having perished at Porpaillart, Vivien at Tortelouse. See *Foucon*, p. 83, edition Tarbé. *Foucon*, by the way, is vastly more worthy of credit than the *Mort Aymeri*.

² P. 138, vol. 1. For his wealth, see *Nerbonois*, 3243.

³ P. 119, vol. 1.

ing that Aïmer had to suffer a captivity.¹ In a passage beginning in line 3009, Charlemagne, pleased with the young Aïmer, who is about to go away to conquer Spain, assures him that he will never be in a country so far away, but what, if the Saracens put him in prison, he, Charlemagne, will come with his barons to deliver him. In lines 3020-21, Aïmer is said to be joyful because of this assurance. These passages certainly indicate that there was once sung an expedition for the rescue of Aïmer. They may of course have been inserted by some poet eager to have a nail on which to hang a new poem, or they may be the last echo of an ancient legend concerning the captivity of Aïmer. The probability of the latter being true is much heightened by a significant line in the vow before the emperor. Aïmer swears never to be sheltered by a roof, etc., *unless the Saracens have him in prison: Se Sarrazin ne m'ont enprisoné* (2920). It is more than likely, then, that the epithet *chétif* meant originally captive, and that these passages preserve the last, faint trace of a forgotten story. If this supposition be correct, Aïmer was in the earliest legends concerning him in *langue d'oïl* the friend of Charlemagne and his predecessor in the conquest of Spain.² Taken prisoner during some expedition, he enjoyed the signal honor of being freed by the august emperor himself, under whom, and not under Louis, his epic history was placed. The most ancient poems concerning him having disappeared, his diminished fame was still great enough for the cycle of Orange to lay hands upon him, but the epithet by which he had been known was sooner or later misunderstood, and was taken to mean unfortunate, poor. A new legend, based in part upon some trait of the original hero, sprang up about his already venerable name. For a period after he was thus drawn into the planetary system of Guil-

¹ Cf. G. Paris, *Manuel*, 38: "Aïmer le chétif . . . qui tire son surnom de sa longue captivité chez les Sarrasins."

² That Aïmer was first sung in Provençal, is here taken for granted. Cf. G. Paris, *Naimeri*, in the *Mélanges Léonce Couture*, pp. 349 ss., Toulouse, 1902.

laume, the minor satellite of Vivien continued to revolve around him (the stage of N), but was finally drawn to a mightier centre of attraction, Guillaume (stage of the extant French poems). In this way, by successive stages, the epic glory of Aïmer was diminished, until he became one of the most obscure and remote of the six orbs that were set to twinkle about the central sun of Guillaume. *Chétif* indeed!

RAYMOND WEEKS.

XV.—THE COMEDIES OF J. C. KRÜGER.

When the critics of the middle of the eighteenth century discuss the conditions of the German stage at that time, they invariably complain of the great losses caused to it by the untimely death of several young and promising authors. Brawe, Cronegk, and J. E. Schlegel are mentioned in this way; and their names are still remembered, if their works are forgotten. Together with these we repeatedly find a name that nowadays seems almost to have dropped out of the memory of the historians of literature. Yet the young Nicolai¹ was just as eager to praise Johann Christian Krüger as those other three men, and regretted that he, too, by a premature death, had been prevented from fulfilling what his early productions had promised. For a long time confused with Gottsched's unlucky disciple, B. E. Krüger,² Johann Christian Krüger's personality and writings only now begin to be understood.³

We have from Krüger several *Lustspiele*, lyrical poems, and a certain number of those "*Vorspiele*," without which the public of those days would not have been satisfied. As to them, the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* states: "The greatest merit of a *Vorspiel* is to be appropriate to the circumstances for which it is intended, and for the playwright to succeed in choosing a pleasing allegory that suits the conditions of the time and locality; when these conditions cease to exist, the *Vorspiel* loses its interest." Those by Krüger

¹ Nicolai, *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand der schönen Wissenschaften in Deutschland*, 1755, p. 120; also *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* (1764), x, 241; *Hannoversches Magazin*, Montag den 28. Martii, 1768; Jördens, *Lexicon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten*, Leipzig, 1808, v. 3; and of course Loewen's introduction to Krüger's *Poetische und theatralische Schriften*, Leipzig, 1763.

² Cf. Danzel, *Gottsched*, p. 166.

³ Vogt und Koch, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*,¹ p. 130.

are declared to be "still among the most tolerable of the German stage."¹

His lyrical poems—hymns, epigrams, and other poems—hardly rank higher. Some of them were published in the *Sammlung vermischter Schriften, von den Verfassern der Bremischen neuen Beyträge*, and several of his religious poems found their way into the hymnals of the time.²

For all these reasons it is sufficient to examine Krüger's *Lustspiele*, in order to determine what place he occupies in the history of German literature.

All eighteenth century critics are unanimous in affirming that these comedies do not strictly belong to the same class as those of Gottsched's school. Jördens says that Krüger offended the Leipzig dictator by his translation of Marivaux's comedies, and that in his own writings he tried to follow the example set by Molière. A brief review of Gottsched's connections with the origin of the modern German comedy will make the meaning of these statements clearer.

Gottsched, in his reform of the German stage, concentrated nearly all his energy upon the promotion of tragedy. He had himself a great admiration for every kind of stately and conventional dignity and had not the slightest sense of humor. He therefore sympathized more or less with Boileau's reluctance to admit Molière in all of his writings as the equal of Corneille.³

So it was left to Frau Gottsched to devote her wit and common sense to the abandoned cause of the German comedy.

¹ Further details about these *Vorspiele* in Hans Devrient, *Johann Friedrich Schönmann* (Litzmann's *Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen*, XI), *passim*.

² Those beginning with the words: "Entfernet euch, unsel'ge Spötter;" "Wie mächtig spricht in meiner Seele;" and "Der Herr des Guten ist mein Hirte" (G. L. Ritter, *Allgemeines Biographisches Lexicon alter und neuer geistlicher Liederdichter*, Leipzig, 1804, p. 180). Heerwagen (*Litteraturgeschichte des evangelischen Kirchenliedes*, Neustadt an der Aisch, 1792, I, 270) says that "Wie mächtig," &c., is to be found in the *Anspacher und Braunschweiger Gesangbuch*.

³ *Art poétique*, III, ll. 393-400.

She was far more successful in her attempts than her husband in his *Atalanta* or even *Cato*. She felt less limited in the free exercise of her natural gifts than her husband by his programme. And the models she imitated had not yet arrived at that state of rigorous conventionality which characterizes the classical French tragedy of the eighteenth century.¹ The French comedy had followed the evolution of the century also in its form, and thus had kept in closer touch with real life. It had changed, developed, perhaps even progressed. So Frau Gottsched's models are less to be sought among the comedies of the *siècle de Louis Quatorze* than among their numerous French and foreign successors: Destouches, Addison, Holberg,—if we omit less important authors, like Bougeant.

The Saxon comedy undoubtedly gained by these facts. But, on the other hand, their good influence was seriously hampered by this other fact, that nothing is more intimately connected with the social institutions and manners of national life than comedy.² And for a long time the great drawback of all these Saxon comedies was destined to be, that their authors studied characters in books and not in real life. For there was an enormous difference between the public of France and the public of Germany. The French aristocracy with its over-refined taste had given to the eighteenth century comedy a morbid elegance and delicacy, which the Saxon writers tried to imitate. But they all belonged to the middle classes, and wrote for a public of the same standing. This German public hardly can be said to have had at that moment any past at all; it could have only a future. And this future entirely depended upon whether the German writers should succeed in awakening the enormous amount of unconscious, untrained, brute force that patiently waited for its moment to come. Marivaux's subtle psychology certainly was not able to do this.

¹ Faguet, *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1900, II, 209.

² Cf. the advice given to a young Frenchman: Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, *La Femme au 18^{me} siècle*, Paris,³ 1890, p. 390.

³ Weisse's uneasiness when in Paris: Minor, *Chr. F. Weisse*, Innsbruck, 1880, p. 35.

There are some attempts to use the form of the French comedy for a picture of life and manners different from those that the Parisian public experienced every day. One is astonished to see in Gottsched's *Schaubühne* translations from Holberg's comedies, where the middle class and even the populace play such an important and merry part. Here Harlequin reappears under the name of Peter¹ or Heinrich, Colombine is called Catherine, and both look as healthy and unrefined as possible. Drunken men stagger over the stage and stammer grotesque nonsense, and even the cries of the oyster women are heard, selling their shellfish before the *Kannegiesser's* house. Equally astonishing is an attempt of Frau Gottsched's to give absolute life-resemblance and to portray entirely unconventional manners and modes of speech. In her *Pietisterei im Fischbeinrocke* a Frau Ehrlichin, "eine gemeine Bürgersfrau," gives a scolding in genuine *Plattdeutsch* to the Tartuffe that has seduced her daughter.² This use of the dialect is entirely new. Individualization of language had, in the French comedy, no other purpose than to make ridiculous the person using it. In this way Molière, Regnard, Marivaux, and others used their conventional patois for their Scapins, Harlequins or Colins. Frau Ehrlichin talks *plattdeutsch*, because this is her natural language, not because she has to be ridiculous; and her honest and straightforward indignation is only too refreshing after the over-dignified speeches of the *Obrist*, who is the *raisonneur* of the play.³

But these innovations were not only opposed to Gottsched's programme of a purified comedy. Besides what he would have called their coarseness and vulgarity, there was another reason why these attempts to portray real life remained isolated. Comedy in those days meant satire; and it was rather dangerous to show an independent judgment on the abuses

¹ R. Prutz, *Ludwig Holberg*, Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1857, p. 294.

² Schlenther, *Frau Gottsched*, Berlin, 1886, p. 147.

³ In some respects Heinrich Borkenstein's *Bookesbeutel* belongs to this class of plays.

of the time. It is known what an outcry arose when Gellert published his really harmless *Betschwester*, and how even men like Haller declared such attacks against religion as dangerous and irreverent. J. E. Schlegel was persuaded by his father to burn the manuscript of a comedy whose realism might have brought serious troubles upon his family.¹ The servility of Frau Gottsched's *Ungleiche Heirat*, or the innocent caricature of the two rival schools in poetry in Weisse's *Poeten nach der Mode*, was the only kind of satire permitted to the well-behaved citizen of those times. The influence of the *comédie larmoyante*, with its moralizing psychology and its spirit of patience and meekness, contributed to this attenuation of the satire. And so we have in Gellert's comedies typical representatives of private vice or misbehavior, that incarnate one isolated psychological trait of character, which is naïvely indicated by their names, carried before them like labels. With him the subject of the Saxon comedy has become as trifling as possible; the scope of its satire is as narrow as one could imagine; and the plots are nearly always void of interest and completely uncomical. Certainly there is a wide difference between these comedies and Molière's portraits of the Marquis² or Le Sage's denunciation of the *financier*.³

Those were the conditions prevailing, when Krüger began his career. For various reasons he had no obligation to submit to the esthetic and political rules of this form of comedy. He was united by friendship with the *Bremer Beyträger*; and so he did not exactly belong to Gottsched's school. His translation of Marivaux's comedies is reported to have excited the wrath of the Leipzig Professor. But it was rather experience and life than Marivaux's example that directed Krüger's attention to the practical needs of the stage and to the description of German things and German institutions.

¹ Wolff, *J. E. Schlegel*, Berlin, 1889, pp. 88 ff. The title of the play was *Die Pracht zu Landheim*.

² For instance in the *Misanthrope*.

³ In *Turcaret*.

Johann Christian Krüger was of a very poor family and one problem which he, during his short and unhappy life, never solved, was how to secure a living and to have time for study and literary work. He was born in Berlin, in 1722. In 1733 he entered the *Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster*,¹ and on the 15th of October, 1741, he was inscribed at the University of Frankfurt a. O., where he studied theology, the only study he could afford to attempt. Jördens also speaks of Halle, which is rather probable, since Krüger in his comedies likes to mention this university. Extreme poverty forced him to interrupt his studies and to apply in his native city for a *Bedienung*. Owing to lack of influence and of self-confidence, he failed in this, and had to live in the most miserable fashion by writing *Gelegenheitsgedichte*. At this juncture, in 1742, Schönemann and his troupe of actors were in Berlin. The young student sought a refuge by joining it. Schönemann was only too glad to add to his company a man of literary ability. After Krüger thus "mounted the stage instead of the pulpit," his life was intimately connected with the wanderings of Schönemann's band, for which he wrote his *Vorspiele* and probably also most of his later comedies. Yet his situation was still far from comfortable. His desire for education, and the need of earning money, in addition to his small salary, took all the time which his obligations as a comedian left him. Being of delicate health, he could not stand this enormous strain of overwork; he died of consumption in Hamburg, the 23rd of August, 1750.²

Our descriptions of Krüger's acting are all full of praise. Jördens states that he "was a good actor. He took with success such rôles as demand a vivid fire, a certain haughtiness, and a noble pride" on the part of the actor. He, therefore, usually took the "part of kings, tyrants, and persons of exalted standing in the higher comedy. Although he was

¹ Devrient, *l. c.*, p. 67.

² About the date in Schmidt, *Chronologie des deutschen Theaters*, p. 148, see Devrient, *l. c.*, p. 179. Jördens and Meusel both give the 23rd.

too serious for ridiculous rôles in comedies, he did not entirely fail in the part of the *Avare*, *Tartuffe* or *Herzog Michel*, because the comic element here could be perceived in spite of his gloomy mien or counterfeited bashfulness." Schmidt (*Chronologie*, p. 104) says that the sound of his voice was "hollow;" and the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* (x, 241) adds that this did not prevent him from pleasing on the stage, "because there was always found in him a thinking actor." Küttner, in his *Charactere deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten, Von Kaiser Karl dem Grossen bis aufs Jahr 1780* (Berlin, 1781) calls him (p. 296) "an excellent actor."¹

As to his personal character, we can easily conjecture that his irritability and his gloomy haughtiness—traits of character common among the authors of comedies—were hardly of advantage to a man in his circumstances. He apparently was not a person of smooth and pleasing manners, who took life easily and made other people feel easy in his company. He had no gift of making himself agreeable to others; his sincerity and relentless self-criticism made him both bashful and obstinate. In his earlier comedies we find a man of rather low extraction, honest and sincere in even the smallest details of life, opposing his corrupt environment with a stubborn, uncompromising virtue, and utterly unhappy and desperate on account of his absolute lack of humor; and we are permitted to divine that this *Wahrmund* and this *Herrmann* are portraits of Krüger's own personality. They both, like Krüger, belong by their inferior position to what Wustmann has called² the "*Gelehrten-Proletariat* of the 18th century." And their hidden virtues of righteousness and sincerity are in both cases appreciated by girls who see in them their teacher as well as their spiritual adviser, in a way closely resembling the relation which, as Löwen tells us, existed between Krüger and the *Demoiselle Schönnemann*, who later on became Löwen's own wife.

¹ Yet Devrient calls him a "mittelmässiger Schauspieler."

² Wustmann, *Aus Leipzig's Vergangenheit*, Neue Folge, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 236 ff. *passim*.

There is even a touch of Rousseau's gloom and of Robespierre's narrow righteousness in these two characters; and it will be shown soon that there is a strong revolutionary accent in Krüger's first comedies, and that they often reveal a frame of mind which we are accustomed to meet some forty years later, in the French revolution.

This side of Krüger's character was probably accentuated by the desperate conditions of his life. His poverty and his profession separated him from all the other writers of the day. They were either men of some means or at least persons who, coming from a good professional family, were provided with a regular situation in some office. They never felt, like Krüger, what it meant to be hungry. On the other hand, they had to be careful and not to offend influential persons who were always ready to suspect and to punish. Krüger as an actor was practically something like an outcast. And if, in the first place, he thus gained experience of life—for nothing reveals more clearly certain sides of life than misery—he was furthermore almost as free to express his opinions as at that time was possible. His knowledge of stagecraft was likewise less gained by books than was the case with other writers, such as Gellert. Hence it is not astonishing if Krüger did not care for Gottsched's crusade against Hanswurst, if he rather tried to reconcile literary aims with the comic element and the swift movement of the improvised comedy, and if he used this form for social satires of naturalistic technique and of daring aggressiveness.

This is especially true for his first two comedies, *die Geistlichen auf dem Lande* and *die Candidaten*. They were followed by two short farces, *der Teufel ein Bärenhäuter* and *Herzog Michel*. *Der blinde Ehemann* is a moralizing fairy comedy; and of *der glückliche Bankerottierer* we only have a short fragment. All these plays are in prose, with the exception of the two short farces.

Only the first two comedies may be considered as fair samples of Krüger's real ability and of his literary intentions.

The rest of his work owes its origin rather to commercial reasons, and shows, as Schmidt (*Chronologie*, p. 136) says of Krüger's translation of *le Philosophe marié* (by Destouches), "signs of haste and hunger."

I.

Die Geistlichen auf dem Lande. Ein Lustspiel in drey Handlungen. Zu finden in der Franckfurter und Leipziger Michaëlis-Messe, 1743.

Lessing in the 83rd *Stück* of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* says that Krüger wrote this play while still a pupil of the *Graues Kloster*. The plot of the piece is the traditional one of the French comedy. The stage directions¹ indicate that unity of time and of place are observed. The division into but three acts shows that Krüger does not pretend to offer a comedy of the Gottsched type.

In the opening scene we discover the country pastor, Muffel, coming from his garden and carrying lettuce and fruits in an apron. From a discussion he has with Cathrine, his *Haushälterin*, we at once become acquainted with the hopeless immorality of this coarse divine. He has seduced her and promises her a dowry of a hundred Thaler, which is to win her a husband. Peter, Muffel's *Hausknecht*, is her preference, and so Muffel tries to induce him to marry the girl. Visitors arrive, and, in order to receive them properly, Muffel leaves his two servants. Peter, in a little while, discovers the secret of the rather simple-minded Cathrine and refuses to consent to his own dishonor. Muffel returns, and, hearing the unexpected news of Peter's refusal, promises to find for Cathrine some poor student of divinity, for whom he will try to secure the vacant pastorate in a neighboring village. Meanwhile the first of Muffel's guests, Pastor Tempelstolz, enters. The plot of the comedy makes hardly

¹"Der Schauplatz ist in Muffels Hause. Die Handlung ist an einem Nachmittage vor der Kirchmesse."

any progress during their following conversation which, in a dry, business-like fashion, concerns itself with the financial aspects of the clergyman's life, in the town and in the country. The first act thus closes, after having introduced to us these worthy representatives of the country clergy, and after having given but one part of the "exposition," that connected with Muffel's former life.

In the *Zwote Handlung* this exposition is completed, and the plot proper begins. Fräulein Wilhelmine, the daughter of Frau von Birkenhayn, is engaged in philosophical discussions with Herr Wahrmund, her former tutor. Both offer the most striking contrast to the ignorance and the coarseness of the clergy, and repeatedly declare themselves "von den geheimsten Vorurtheylen befreyet." We also are informed of the fact that the Fräulein's mother sides with the clergy and wishes to marry her daughter to Tempelstolz. The difference of rank is, in her mind, outbalanced by the good fortune of having a clergyman as son-in-law. But Fräulein Wilhelmine has the haughty contempt of a true rationalist for the pastor, and will never consent to this marriage. She declares, though, that difference of rank means nothing to her in the choice of a husband; and, encouraged by this, Wahrmund dares to propose to her. Both decide to ask Herr von Roseneck, Frau von Birkenhayn's brother, for assistance. He soon enters, together with his sister, who scandalized by some of von Roseneck's remarks, presently leaves the room. Wahrmund, in an allegorical story, tells Herr von Roseneck what has happened, and receives a promise of help. Frau von Birkenhayn returns to the room, and when the lovers leave her alone with her brother, he tells her of Wahrmund's love, but meets with a decided refusal, because Frau von Birkenhayn never will give her daughter to a philosopher. And thereupon she faints. This scene is suddenly interrupted by Fräulein Wilhelmine, who enters followed by Muffel and Tempelstolz. The latter tries to propose to her. An exceedingly farcical scene ensues, when

both clergymen are asked by Herr von Roseneck to assist him in taking care of the sick lady. Both, armed with enormous pipes and smoking zealously, take out their *Gebetbuch* and try to restore the lady's health by singing, praying, and smoking into her face. This treatment succeeds very quickly. While Tempelstolz is still occupied with her, Muffel turns to Fräulein Wilhelmine, and, blaming Tempelstolz's coarse manners, tries to win her love. After this the two *Pastoren* state that they are thirsty from the singing; they both leave, and with them goes Herr von Roseneck. While Frau von Birkenhayn now scolds her daughter for her lack of obedience and of religion, Muffel reënters, and, on his knees before the ladies, asks them to prefer him to Tempelstolz, who does not appreciate Fräulein Wilhelmine's high rank. Frau von Birkenhayn promises that she will leave her daughter free to choose between him and Tempelstolz, when the latter enters. He at once sees what is going on, and Frau von Birkenhayn now has to quiet the two clergymen's wrath by announcing to them that she will give her daughter's hand to whoever succeeds in converting her from the false doctrines of philosophy. Tempelstolz is forced to try first his persuasive powers. Left alone with the Fräulein, he blandly asks her to forswear philosophy, which he styles an inspiration of the devil. She answers with a decided "no," and, after explaining to him her ideas, leaves the room. Tempelstolz consoles himself by thinking that Muffel cannot have any better success. He still hopes to win her and "will pray for her next Sunday in church."

The third act interrupts the development of the plot by adding to the exposition a new element, which concerns Tempelstolz's private character. Brigitte, a sixty-five year old *Conrectors-Wittwe*, enters the door, which Peter opens. She asks for Tempelstolz and we hear that he has swindled the old woman out of all her money by promising marriage to her. Herr von Roseneck, attracted by the noise, appears and becomes acquainted with these facts about Tempelstolz's

life. Peter, encouraged by Roseneck's remarks, tells all he knows about Muffel. Wahrmond comes, and, after being informed of the facts, wishes to communicate them immediately to Frau von Birkenhayn. But Roseneck hinders him, saying that she never will believe them without proofs. So Brigitte is held in readiness in some hidden part of the house, whence she is to appear at the critical moment. Peter promises to find a way to denounce Muffel in an indisputable fashion. While thus the traps for the two clergymen are laid, Muffel enters laden with books, which he intends to use for Fräulein Wilhelmine's conversion. He is afraid Wahrmond will touch them and, by his profane influence, take from them their mystic power. Fräulein Wilhelmine enters and, at Muffel's request, all others withdraw. After a short but vain attempt to oppose reasoning against her philosophy, he becomes insolent, and tries to make love to her. When rebuked for this, he finally resorts to the means of exorcising the evil spirit from the Fräulein. In spite of her protests, he tells her that he saw how this spirit left her in a cloud; and he declares her converted. He leaves the room in triumph in order to announce to the others his victory. Roseneck immediately enters in order to comfort the Fräulein by telling her of his plot. Frau von Birkenhayn follows, and their dispute about the pretended conversion is interrupted by the entrance of the two quarrelling clergymen. Tempelstolz, furious about what he thinks his defeat, charges Muffel with violation of the law of the church by misquoting the formula of exorcism. Nevertheless Frau von Birkenhayn now proceeds to execute her promise and to reward Muffel with her daughter's hand. They are interrupted again by Cathrine who introduces Peter, disguised as a begging student of theology. Muffel, in a patronizing tone, promises the stranger a living and asks him to marry Cathrine. This latter request attracts Frau von Birkenhayn's attention, and a discussion of it follows, during which Peter reveals Muffel's secret. Muffel runs out of the room. Tempelstolz proudly now renews his claims, and feels

confident of victory. Then Brigitte appears, and in a scene very humiliating for Tempelstolz, he hears that she has secured a verdict of the *Consistorium*, that orders him to marry her. Frau von Birkenhayn is now sufficiently edified about the two clerical pretenders. She is healed of her "superstition" and converted to "philosophy;" and so the comedy ends with Fräulein Wilhelmine's and Wahrmund's engagement.

Nearly everything in this plot is taken from the traditional form of the French comedy, as it had originated in the *commedia dell' arte*. In all these comedies we find that a father or a mother wishes to marry a daughter to a man of the parent's choice; and this choice is usually directed by reasons of money or by religious, social, or political partisanship. The man thus selected is unvariably either a worthless scoundrel or a grotesque clown, who amply deserves the girl's disgust or contempt. On the other hand, the young man whom the girl prefers is, if not a paragon of all virtues, at least endowed with all those qualities that would make him pleasant and brilliant in the eyes of every girl and of every indulgent reader. The loving couple is usually assisted by some relative of the girl's, her brother or her uncle, who at the same time fulfills the functions of the *raisonneur* of the play. By his assistance, but still more in consequence of an intrigue planned by a servant-girl and executed by a man servant, both of whom are devoted to the lovers, the worthless pretender is finally unmasked and, as a rule, mocked in the most cruel fashion. A disguise, in most cases, of the serving man, brings about very often this happy event. And the play thus ends with the union of the lovers.

There is no need to detail how far all these stock characters and stock motives occur in Krüger's play. Yet it may be interesting to trace its different parts back to distinct literary models.

Muffel's name is taken from Buchka's writings,¹ while his character directly descends from Molière's *Tartuffe*. This is especially noticeable in the scene where he behaves impu-

¹ Goedeke, *Grundriss*,² v. III, p. 356.

dently towards Fräulein Wilhelmine, while trying to convert her (see *Tartuffe*, III, 3).

But the real source of Krüger's play is, as Erich Schmidt indicates,¹ Frau Gottsched's *Pietisterey im Fischbeinrocke*. Here we recognize Tempelstolz's character and his victim Brigitte in Magister Scheinfromm and Frau Ehrlichin, while Muffel's relations with Cathrine are identical to those between Scheinfromm and Frau Ehrlichin's daughter. To Frau von Birkenhayn, Fräulein Wilhelmine, Herr von Roseneck, and Wahrmond² further correspond Frau Glaubeleichtin, her daughter Luischen, her brother the Obrist Wackermann, and the lover Herr Liebmann. We find, however, that Krüger has limited the number of characters and of motives of Frau Gottsched's comedy, thus showing a strong and genuine instinct for the practical side of stagecraft. He has welded two persons, Magister Scheinfromm and his cousin Herr von Muckersdorf, into one, he has eliminated Herr Glaubeleicht, the girl's father, and so has disposed of a superfluous character and of the superfluous motive of dissention among the girl's parents. He has equally eliminated the person of Luischen's sister, Dorchen, and thus done away with the superfluous motive of jealousy between sisters. The accidents of the plot, therefore, happen among fewer people, and the plot becomes less involved. By further dropping all the different *Betschwestern* and all other persons connected with the pietists in Frau Gottsched's play, Krüger got rid of the very undramatic and tiresome scenes between Frau Glaubeleichtin and these persons. The main advantage gained by these transformations is that naturally all interest is, without any diversion, concentrated upon the clergymen's hypocrisy and upon the scheme to unmask them.³ And Krüger now was able to

¹ *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, v. 17.

² It has already been stated that Wahrmond is Krüger himself.

³ It is an interesting fact that Lessing in his early plays transformed his models or sources in a similar way, when he thought them encumbered with too many characters; so in the *Schatz* and the fragments *Der gute Mann* and *Der Leichtgläubige*.

furnish two representatives of the Tartuffe type, who by some kind of amusing contest try, in their quarrels and jealousy, to outdo each other in hypocrisy. By so doing he distributes the motives connected with Scheinfromm between Muffel and Tempelstolz. Scheinfromm's shameful conduct towards Frau Ehrlichin's daughter is allotted to Muffel, and Frau Ehrlichin's character and the way she introduces herself at the critical moment is reserved for Tempelstolz's case. Instead of Frau Ehrlichin's daughter, who is never seen on the stage in Frau Gottsched's play, Cathrine had to be Muffel's victim.¹

This latter transformation shows a curious departure from the traditional conception of the *suivante*. Instead of the quick-witted and sharp-tongued Lisette, we have a simple-minded country girl, whose ignorance has been shamefully abused. If we want literary models for her, we perhaps might compare this Cathrine to some of Holberg's servant-girls² who, without being in equally pathetic situations, yet are just as different from the Lisette type. The man-servant, Peter, is still less in accord with what one might call the Gottsched conception of this type. Even his name, which is the German equivalent for Pierrot,³ indicates his relation-

¹ Frau Gottsched's play is a translation and adaptation of Bougeant's *la Femme Docteur ou la Théologie Janseniste tombée en Quenouille*. (There is also a defense of this comedy against its critics, which is likewise attributed to Bougeant: *Arlequin Janseniste ou critique de la femme docteur. Comédie, à Cracovie chez Jean le Sincère. Imprimeur Perpetuel. MDCXXXII. 8°*.) Bougeant's comedy is a combination of motives taken from Molière's *Tartuffe* and *les Femmes savantes*. It is interesting to see that Krüger eliminated from Frau Gottsched's play mostly persons or motives which can be traced back to *les Femmes savantes*, such as the jealousy between two uncongenial sisters, the discord between a reasonable husband and the mistaken wife, and others. On the other hand the example of Trissotin and of Vadius probably has influenced the characters of Muffel and Tempelstolz.

² For instance Annecke in *der politische Kannegiesser*. The name Cathrine occurs in Holberg's *das Arabische Pulver*; but there is no resemblance whatsoever to Krüger's character.

³ For this slightly disguised reintroduction of *Hanswurst*, see K. v. Görner, *Der Hanswurst-Streit in Wien*, Wien, 1884; and Creizenach, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des neueren deutschen Lustspiels*, Halle, 1879, p. 27.

ship with the good old *Arlequino di Bergamo*. He not only fulfills the traditional rôle in the disguise plot but he also, by his fear of ghosts and by similar *lazzi*, plays the *Hanswurst's* part, just as Holberg's Heinrichs do.¹ And not only Peter and his jokes or grimaces, but the savory and perhaps low-toned character of other comical passages distinctly suggests Holberg's example. The opening scene, showing Muffel with an apron and laden with vegetables and fruit; the nursing of the fainting Frau von Birkenhayn; the exorcism scene: all this is so drastic and grotesque as to find no parallel in French comedy of the eighteenth century outside the Théâtre de la Foire. Only the great Danish playwright in those days, and, earlier than that, Molière and Regnard, attempted as much (for instance in *le Malade imaginaire* or *le Légataire universel*).

But the chief merit of the comedy is that it tries to give a naturalistic picture of real life and a criticism of tendencies prevailing at the poet's time in his own country. And it gives a special interest to his satire, that it is written from the extreme standpoint of rationalism—that of the *Philosoph*. The charges thus brought against the clergy are numerous and grave. Krüger says that the country clergy is ignorant, coarse, and given to vice and brutish luxury. Their main occupation is to smoke, to drink *Doppelbier*, to plough their fields, and to cultivate their kitchen-garden. Their ignorance is only equalled by their arrogance and their impudent hypocrisy. "Most parsons pretend to know secrets; but in fact their only secret is their ignorance." It is said that the main duty of a pastor's wife is to know how to keep silent and how to lie. The city clergy, while less coarse, is said to be equally corrupt. And the result of these lamentable conditions is summed up in the following words: "Arrogance, hypocritical deceitfulness, and shameful ignorance are in them, as teachers of the unruly populace, the more culpable, since they create worse havoc than would be wrought by serious

¹ Once, also, Peter; see Prutz, Holberg, p. 294.

crimes, which disappear with the death of the criminal." These are sweeping statements, made in that uncompromising, haughty way which we already know to be Krüger's. But it seems as if, terrible as they are, they were not far from truth in those times. For their confirmation one need not go to the perhaps somewhat untrustworthy autobiographies of men like Bahrddt or Laukhard, although most of their stories are probably true. Even the gentle, timid Rabener tells instances of the incredible corruption, ignorance and coarseness of the country clergy in the Germany of those days.¹ And so we need not be astonished if Uz is delighted by Krüger's first comedy and if Gleim says that in spite of the "grober Scherz" he likes it; for "indessen sind viele Wahrheiten deutsch gesagt."²

Krüger's standpoint is that of the "Philosophen." His Wahrmund, Wilhelmine and von Roseneck are not, like the members of the pietistic group, "hübsch unvernünftig." They are not like Muffel and Tempelstolz, who "sind keine Philosophen; sie glauben hübsch, was die Alten geglaubt haben, sie läugnen die nothwendigsten Dinge zur Seligkeit nicht, als da sind die Gespenster, die Hexen und den Teufel." On the other hand, the philosophers know how to eliminate the inventions of the clergy in the traditional religion, and they know also how "ein höchstes Wesen vernünftig zu verehren." As to their political ideas, it is clear that for them difference of rank, as prevailing in those days of the *ancien régime*, is based on prejudice, and that only the degree of *Aufklärung* to which people have attained gives them their value and real rank. Fräulein Wilhelmine declares that she never would hesitate to recognize Wahrmund, her former tutor, as her equal, since his personal qualities entitle him to such a recognition.

These ideas have some resemblance to the principles of the

¹ Rabener, ed. Ortlepp, Stuttgart, 1839, v. III, pp. 29 ff.

² *Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Uz*, Hersg. von Schüddekopt (Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, v. 218), Tübingen, 1899, p. 61.

French revolution.¹ And as soon as Krüger had published his comedy, it was confiscated even in Berlin. The authorities had no sympathy with this violent outcry of "écrasez l'infâme;" but, as Gleim says in the letter already quoted, the play had an excellent but secret sale, and soon there was a rumor (March 29, 1744) that *three editions* were already exhausted. It is only natural that this play never appeared on the stage. Yet its violent aggression gave origin to a rather weak and confused answer by an unknown author: *Verbesserungen und Zusätze des Lustspieles Die Geistlichen auf dem Lande in Zweien Handlungen samt dessen Nachspiel. Zu finden in der Franckfurter und Leipziger Michaelis Messe, 1744.* The author of these *Verbesserungen und Zusätze* tells in the introduction that Krüger had given him the manuscript of the *Geistlichen auf dem Lande*, and that he, without knowing the objectionable character of the play, had given it to the printer. If he had read it before, the author adds, he would not have refused to Krüger the great service of destroying "eine so scheussliche Bruth." He pretends that Krüger wrote the play out of disappointment and jealousy, when he had seen that he never would succeed in his study of divinity. The spirit of the whole thing can best be seen by the following passage in the introduction: "Man sollte vielmehr, ie ansehnlicher der Vorwurf eines Standes, ie nöthiger und nützlicher er in der Gesellschaft der Menschen ist; mit desto grösserer Sorgfalt, die Fehlritte seiner einzelnen Glieder bedecken. Es verbindet uns ia dazu die gesunde Vernunft, vielmehr die Offenbarung, ia der Nutzen und Schaden, so unsere Mitbürger dahero nehmen können."

The main plot is a series of dialogues; for it is impossible to see how it could be called a play "in zweien Handlungen." Incidentally everybody but the clergy is blamed. Yet the

¹ Cf. Nicolai, *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand*, etc., p. 24 (of the preface): "Es gehet dem Wort ästhetisch fast ebenso wie dem Wort philosophisch, vor zwanzig und mehreren Jahren. Es war genung, einem (!) zum Kezzer in der Theologie zu machen, wenn man sagte: Er denkt philosophisch."

author's wrath is concentrated upon the *Freymaurer*, of whom it is said: "Fressen und Saufen wird wohl ihre einzige Absicht sein;" and upon the freethinkers or *Philosophen*. A pitiful specimen of this kind,—Espritfort is his name,—is introduced, and his nonsensical talk is constantly refuted.¹

Later on, Christlob Mylius wrote an imitation of Krüger's *Geistlichen* called *die Ärzte*. Lessing speaks of it in his *Vorrede zu den vermischten Schriften des Herrn Christlob Mylius*.

II.

The *technique* of this first comedy shows a good deal of natural ability. The way the author introduces his characters,—Muffel, for instance,—in a grotesque scene is perfectly natural and very effective. His distribution of the exposition throughout all the three acts has no doubt the same fortunate result as, for example, Lessing's exposition in *Minna von Barnhelm*, where the real nature of Major von Tellheim's embarrassments is only told in the sixth scene of the fourth act.

Yet there is one defect in this comedy; namely, the pretentious and doctrinaire tone in which the characters expose the author's views on religion and society. It is to this side of it that Jördens' criticism applies: "In seinem Dialog herrscht noch allzuviel müssiges Geschwätz." Or, as the critic of the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* puts it: "Die Personen sind zu geschwätzig und äussern sich mehr in Worten als in Handlungen, die feinen Schattierungen fehlen ihnen, sie deklamieren, wo sie reden sollen, und reden sich immer so sehr aus, dass ihnen nichts zu sagen übrig bleibt."

¹The *Verbesserungen und Zusätze* are remarkable for their curious and archaic style: Latin words have their Latin declension; *wann* is always used in the sense of "if;" *trucken* (= *trocken*), p. 71; *die Besessung der Weltweisheit*, p. 118; *dich* (!) *zum Brode verhelfen*, p. 86; *die Fräulein* (feminine), p. 92; *der Schnupftuch*, p. 131; *die hessliche* (!) *Beynahmen* (plural), p. 87, *absturb*, p. 87; *die Patronen* (plural), p. 88.

There is, however, a great improvement as to this in Krüger's second comedy: *Die Candidaten, oder, die Mittel zu einem Amte zu gelangen*, ein Lustspiel in 5 Handlungen, den 5 Februar 1748 in Braunschweig zum erstenmal aufgeführt.

By adopting the five-act partition, Krüger shows his aspiration to high literary standing. Unity of time and place are observed: "Der Schauplatz ist in des Grafen Pallaste."

The plot of the comedy turns upon the intrigues by which different solicitors try to obtain a *Ratsherrnstelle*, for which "der Graf" has the right of appointment.

In the first act we make the acquaintance of one of the candidates for the situation, Hermann, "des Grafen Sekretarius." Although he is especially fit for the place, there are several things that stand in his way. His "übertriebene Liebe zur Wahrheit," as Caroline, "der Gräfinn Kammerjungfer," calls it, hinders him from flattering the old, coquettish "Gräfinn," whose support he so loses. On the other hand, the ignorant count needs his services as secretary too much to grant him the advancement to the desired situation. Another obstacle emerges. Arnold, "Hofmeister der Söhne des Grafen," proposes to Caroline, who is engaged to Hermann. He bluntly tells her that he would like to marry her in order to concede to the count his rights as a husband, and adds that, as a reward for this, he will receive a pastorate from the count. Caroline's refusal shows him that her love for Hermann is likely to prevent the count's and his own intentions. He, therefore, advises the count not to place Hermann so as to enable him to marry.

In the second act two new candidates appear; both are equally unfit for the place, but are also equally well protected, the one by the count, the other by the countess. The countess promises her support to one Valer, whose flatteries and bold manners please her coquettish old age. The count's candidate is Chrysander, "ein Licentiat." He has never studied, and has purchased his degree from a poor relative; he is rich and ignorant; and he only applies for the situation in order

to comply with his *fiancée's* desire for an official title. He presents the count with a filled purse and promises naïvely to send this *fiancée* to the palace. This, of course, wins him the count's favor, who thus shows quite a different character from the honest old man in Gellert's fable, *Der Kandidat*.

The third act reveals, however, the true character of Valer. He is only disguised as a candidate. In reality he is the "Fähndrich von Wirbelbach." His colonel received a public insult from the countess when alluding to her rather advanced age. In order to mortify her, the *Fähndrich* has to win her grace under the disguise of a candidate, and finally to refuse the situation, when offered to him. His varlet, Johann, who plays the part of the *lustige Person*, is dispatched to inquire about the chambermaid's personality. Von Wirbelbach thinks he knows her, but is not able to place her. Johann therefore tries to obtain information from Caroline herself, when the count appears and forces him to hide under the table. He so becomes witness of a scene in which the count, in vain, tries to corrupt Caroline's virtue. Finally disturbed by Johann, he has to desist from these attempts. Arnold's plan to estrange the lovers by slander, fails after a short misunderstanding.

In Act IV Chrysander consults Johann. He is tortured by jealousy. Taking Johann's advice, he intends to hide with him behind a screen, in order to hear the count's interview with his *fiancée*. After this Valer appears again in his successful courtship of the countess. She declines to intercede in Hermann's favor, on account of his upright stubbornness and his unpoliteness.

Johann and Chrysander (Act V), concealed behind the screen, witness the interview between the count and Christinchen, which shows to the astounded Licenciat a degree of corruption he never before dreamed of. The arrival of the countess, however, puts an end to that scene, and the count tries to hide the girl behind the same screen where Johann and Chrysander already are. The confusion caused by this defeats

Chrysander as well as his protector. The countess triumphantly prepares for using in Valer's favor her just acquired advantage over her husband, when the Fähndrich discloses his intrigue. The countess, however, is saved from ridicule by Caroline, who proves herself to be von Wirbelbach's cousin. Reverses of fortune, for which her family was not responsible, have forced her to enter the countess's service, although she belongs to the nobility. She declares, in spite of von Wirbelbach's advice, that she will keep fidelity to Hermann, who finally gets the office.

Here again the plot as well as the characters are conventional and, in several instances, can be traced back to literary sources. Johann is Arlequin, and several comical situations remind us of Holberg's plays. Johann hides under a table, like the *Kannegiesser* or as Corfitz in the *Wochenstube*. And the rôle played by the screen in the *Wochenstube* is not without similarity to the one in our comedy.

Yet if we compare this comedy to the *Geistlichen auf dem Lande*, we find that it contains some new elements. To the primitive stock of the Italo-French comedy that of the *comédie larmoyante* is added. Caroline very closely reminds us of Orphise in Madame de Graffigny's *Cénie*. Orphise, although a noble lady, has been obliged by poverty and misfortune to enter Dorimond's service as Cénie's gouvernante. It greatly contributes to her unhappiness that she has lost sight of her husband and daughter, who, however, are discovered at the end of the play. Cénie herself is Orphise's daughter. But there is one important difference between Krüger and what we might call his model. Clerval, in Madame de Graffigny's play, offers to marry Cénie, although he is still ignorant whether or not she is of noble birth. But the kindness of fate prevents a *mésalliance*. Cénie is Clerval's equal. Krüger's Hermann is a commoner without any secret affiliation with the nobility; and, just as in the *Geistlichen auf dem Lande*, a *mésalliance* of the most shocking type takes place.

This shows that the social satire of the *Candidaten* is the

same as that of the first play. In his second comedy Krüger gives a picture of the social habits of the *ancien régime* with its favoritism and its corruption. In two striking instances he shows how the unworthy and the unfit are more apt than the virtuous and able to obtain the favors of a corrupt aristocracy. This aristocracy, while shamefully misusing its privileges, is engaged in a vicious pursuit of pleasure, disregarding as well the public interest as the indisputable rights of the individual. As to the ignorance of this class, the count's choice of an instructor for his sons is sufficiently characteristic. And he explicitly shows how low his literary taste is, when he asks Arnold to read with his boys, not the "Beyträge zum Verstande des Witzes" as he calls it, but "einen guten Roman von Menantes oder Celandern, woraus sie lernen können, wie sie mit den Damen umgehen müssen."

The best known satire of the nobility and clergy under the *ancien régime* is Beaumarchais's *Mariage de Figaro*; and it is remarkable how closely our comedy resembles the French play, although the latter was written some thirty years later. Krüger's "Graf" is the same brutal seducer as "le comte d'Almaviva," his relations to the "Gräfinn" bear the same troubled character as d'Almaviva's; except that Krüger does not spare the lady. Figaro and Suzanne depend upon the *comte* d'Almaviva's good will as much as Hermann and Caroline upon that of the *Graf*. The way in which the countesses get advantage of their husbands is the same in both plays. Even single scenes are closely similar. Johann witnessing the count's misbehavior towards Caroline is reminiscent of Chérubin hidden behind his chair; and the *comte* d'Almaviva's discovery of the page, when he tries to hide himself, and the series of misunderstandings in the scene near the two pavilions bear many traits of similarity with the scenes behind the screen.

Yet there is a difference between the brilliant wit and swift movement of the French play and the stern and sweeping but less elegant assertions of Krüger's comedy. This divergency

is significantly incarnated in the two respective characters of Figaro and Hermann. Figaro is the French Scapin, whose wit and inventiveness are never at a loss. Krüger's Hermann is the melancholy portrait of the poet himself. He has his "sehr mittelmässige Gabe, sich beliebt zu machen" and seems equally "ganz vom Glück verlassen" (Jördens). He has the "Heftigkeit, mit pathetischem Stolz und mit einem edelen Trieb verbunden" which the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* attributes to Krüger's appearance as an actor. The *Candidaten* was often played.¹

III.

In 1742 Krüger had joined Schönemann's troupe where he was busy in his double capacity as actor and author chiefly of *Vorspiele*. The rest of his literary activity was now inspired by practical reasons: we see it expressly stated of his translations of Marivaux's plays and of Destouches's *le Philosophe marié*; and we are permitted to divine it in respect to his original plays, if we consider the fact that after the *Candidaten* Krüger entirely abandons the satirical comedy of manners and altogether falls short of what had been at least the literary pretensions of the first part of his career.

*Der Teufel ein Bärenhäuter*² is called by Krüger ein Lustspiel von einer Handlung. It consists of two separate plots, which, although of opposite character, are welded into one action. One plot is of a farcical nature and reminds us of the gay frivolity of the *fabliaux* or early *novelle*, while the other is apparently derived from the stock of the *comédie larmoyante*. There are, besides, still other traces of "haste and hunger," as for instance the inconsistency of one of the main characters, Wilhelm Rabe, whose business morals are

¹ Cf. R. Hodermann, *Geschichte des Gotha'schen Hoftheaters*, p. 173 (Litzmann, *Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen*, v. IX); and Hans Devrient, *J. F. Schönemann* (Litzmann, *Th. F.*, v. XI), p. 373.

² "Zum ersten Mal den 27. May, 1748, in Breslau aufgeführt."

sometimes rather irreconcilable with the humane kindness and readiness to forgive, which this paragon of virtue soon afterwards displays.

This Wilhelm Rabe is a prosperous farmer. But, in spite of his success, he is unhappy on account of his wife's indifference to him. Forced by her parents, Hannchen has married Wilhelm and has abandoned her former true lover, Valentin. Since the latter left the village in despair, enlisted as a soldier, Wilhelm has never seen his wife contented, except when she received news from her absent lover. Wilhelm is worried by this fact; yet he forgives her and shows the same sort of kindness as does Nivelles de la Chaussée's Constance in *le Prêjugé à la mode*.¹ He thinks and acts along the lines expressed in the last words of Madame de Graffigny's *Cécile*: "Si l'excessive bonté est quelque fois trompée, elle n'est pas moins la première des vertus." Fortunately, however, this patience wins for him first his wife's respect and finally even her love. Therefore, when Valentin returns, she refuses to permit herself to be led astray by his requests. She even readily communicates to him her respect and admiration for Wilhelm Rabe's magnanimous character. So far our Lustspiel may be said to be a *comédie larmoyante*. But here the farce enters. Wilhelm's suspicions have been aroused by the *Küster* Ruthe. He, therefore, has listened in hiding to Hannchen's and Valentin's conversation, and now interrupts them in order to express his gratitude. The harmony thus established among the three causes them to plan a punishment for Ruthe's slander. It had been formerly understood by Ruthe and Wilhelm, that Ruthe under the disguise of the devil, should appear before Valentin and thus scare him out of Wilhelm's house. Valentin, who now is informed of this plan, waits for Ruthe, while the other two withdraw. Ruthe appears in his costume, and Valentin whips him, ties his hands and feet, and then leaves him lying helplessly on the ground. While Ruthe

¹Also Mme de Graffigny, *Cécile*; III, 2: "Obtenons tout par la tendresse et rien par l'autorité."

now gives vent to his fears of the real devil, who might come and punish his impudence, Ruthe's own wife Anna and his Knecht Peter enter. A love-scene between these two follows, and both agree that it is a source of particular gratification to them thus to deceive Ruthe. The unhappy *Küster* is not only forced thus to witness his own shame, but soon Anna and Peter, taking him for a block, sit down on him¹ in the darkness. Their tender conversation is interrupted by Ruthe's irate cries. The lovers leave, frightened; and in their place appear Wilhelm, Hannchen and Valentin, the last carrying a lantern. Ruthe is forced to repeat a formula of apology, which Valentin dictates to him. When the passage occurs, which relates to his slander of Hannchen, she slaps him in the face. He then is freed and the play closes with a "*Divertissement*" in verse.² Each person has one couplet, and each couplet discusses whether the devil is a *Bärenhäuter*. The last couplet is addressed to the audience, and contains the traditional "plaudite, amici," saying how hard it is to please after "Voltär, Detousch und Molier."

Thus *der Teufel ein Bärenhäuter* is nothing but an indiscriminating mixture of the stock jokes of the Franco-Italian comedy with the sentimental virtuousness of the *comédie larmoyante*. The two elements are as contrary to each other as possible; but their union undoubtedly must have been a successful speculation upon the literary taste of the theatre-goer of those days.

IV.

Not greater is Krüger's merit in the *Herzog Michel, ein Lustspiel von einer Handlung in Versen*. This play was very popular during the eighteenth century, and Goethe in Leipzig still acted in it.³ But as Lessing says: "Vom Herzog Michel

¹ Cf. Holberg, *Jean de France*, V, 2 (Prutz, p. 347).

² These *Divertissements* correspond to the *Vaudeville* at the end of the French comedies of the time, or to the verses with which Holberg closes his plays.

³ *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Buch 2, Kap. 7 (W. A., v. 27, p. 116).

brauche ich wohl nichts zu sagen. Auf welchem Theater wird er nicht gespielt, und wer hat ihn nicht gesehen oder gelesen? Krüger hat indess das wenigste Verdienst darum; denn er ist ganz aus einer Erzählung in den Bremischen Beiträgen genommen. Die vielen guten satirischen Züge, die er enthält gehören jenem Dichter, sowie der ganze Verfolg der Fabel, Krüger'n gehört nichts als die dramatische Form." This is the exact truth concerning the *Herzog Michel*. Krüger has taken J. E. Schlegel's tale, *das ausgerechnete Glück*, and has dramatized it by changing but a few lines. He only adds Hannchen's father, a character which he uses for the exposition.¹

V.

Of the two remaining comedies, one, "*Der glückliche Bankrottierer*" is a short fragment. All that can be said about it, is, that it absolutely copies the traditional stock figures, plot, motives, and intrigues of the *commedia dell'arte*. In fact, it looks like one of the Italian outlines in completed form.

Der blinde Ehemann combines all the successful elements of the Italian fairy comedy with the never-failing moralizing sentimentalism of the *comédie larmoyante*. Its plot is briefly this: Astrobal, Laura's blind husband, is told by his neighbor Crispin that he is a son of the deceased prince and that the fairy Oglyvia, the prince's wife, has blinded him out of jealousy. Thus the present prince is Astrobal's half-brother. But the attention he devotes to Astrobal is apparently due

¹ The last lines of the play, which are Krüger's, remind one of a passage in Marivaux' *la Double inconstance*. Michel says to Hannchen: "Du bist mein Herzogthum, mein Bier, mein Schweinebraten." In Marivaux (*Théâtre choisi de Marivaux*, publié par F. de Marescot et D. Joaust, Paris, 1881, v. I, p. 27) the passage is as follows: "*Trivelin*, Que vous auriez bû du bon vin, que vous auriez mangé de bons morceaux!—*Arlequin*, J'en suis fâché; mais il n'y a rien à faire. Le cœur de Silvia est un morceau encore plus friand que tout cela." This change from the words of the conventional Arlequin to those of Michel is characteristic both of Krüger's realism and of his somewhat crude style. The name of Hannchen's father, Andrews, is of course taken from Richardson's *Pamela*.

mainly to the latter's beautiful and virtuous wife, Laura, who opposes to all the persuasion and enticement of the prince an uncompromising and loquacious virtue. Crispin's wife, Florine, is rather different. To her usually drunken husband she prefers the prince's valet Marottin, who is mute and therefore, as she says, never squanders his time by gossiping. When Laura has resisted the prince's last attempt upon Astrobal's happiness, an old oracle has been fulfilled, which says that Oglyvia will regain her former beauty, when, "through her son's misfortune, Astrobal will have been made the happiest husband." She not only appears in all her glory, but by virtue of the same oracle his eye-sight is restored to Astrobal. The comedy is full of comical scenes and amusing tricks, mostly performed by Crispin, Marottin, or Florine. They all belong to the stock of the Italian comedy, and probably could be traced back to some old Italian *novella* or French *fabliau*. The whole comedy is an indiscriminate mixture of these jokes and a rather trivial and verbose virtuousness, both of which elements the audiences of those days always appreciated.

Lessing mentions Krüger several times. In the *Vorrede zu den vermischten Schriften des Herrn Christlob Mylius*, he says some strong things against *Die Geistlichen auf dem Lande*. But he at once adds that Krüger is a writer, "der aber nach der Zeit bessere Ansprüche auf den Ruhm eines guten komischen Dichters der Welt vorlegte." And in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* we read: "Doch hat wirklich unsere Bühne an Krügern viel verloren. Er hatte Talent zum niedrig Komischen, wie seine Candidaten beweisen. Wo er aber rührend und edel sein will, ist er frostig und affectiert."¹ We have seen what that means, and where this affectation and doctrinaire tone come from.

But there is no doubt that Krüger's first two comedies are among the best products of the German stage before Lessing. They treat purely national problems with a good deal of

¹ 83rd Stück.

resemblance to life; their humor and wit, if they are not always refined, are at least always comical and convincing, and somewhat on the same line as Holberg's. Their vivacity and unconventionality are more impressive than, for instance, the well-behaved timidity of Schlegel's *Stumme Schönheit* or Weisse's *Poeten nach der Mode*, not to mention trifles like Romanus's *Crispin als Kammerdiener, Vater und Schwiegervater*. Their tendency is narrow and doctrinaire, even a little fanatical; but that means at least that they defend an original standpoint and are not of this concentrated harmlessness which becomes so offensive in Gellert's or Weisse's comedies. Altogether we are fairly well entitled to say that the German stage really lost much in Krüger; and if we consider, as Jördens does, "was Krüger unter der schweren Last der Arbeit, die ihn als Schauspieler drückte, unter der noch traurigeren Beschwerde eines dahin welkenden Körpers, bei der stäten Veränderung des Aufenthalts, bei den mühseligen Übersetzungen, die er übernehmen musste, um nur etwas über seinen dürftigen Gehalt zu gewinnen, dennoch geleistet hat, so wird man leicht schliessen können, was er unter gegenseitigen, glücklichen Umständen, bei reiferen Jahren, geprüfterer Erfahrung noch vielleicht geleistet haben würde."

ALBERT HAAS.

XVI.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE
LEGEND OF SAINT GEORGE, WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO THE SOURCES OF THE
FRENCH, GERMAN AND ANGLO-
SAXON METRICAL VERSIONS.

I.

One of the earliest evidences of the existence of a legend of Saint George is found in a pronunciamento of Pope Gelasius, made in connection with the first Roman council of the year 494. In the presence of seventy bishops he endeavored to separate the canonical and authentic books of the Church from those which are to be looked upon as apocryphal. After mentioning the books of the Bible, the decisions of the councils, the church fathers, and the decrees of the Popes, he cites the Lives of Saints and Martyrs, and adds that some of these latter writings are justly viewed with suspicion, both because the names of their authors are unknown, and because their contents stamp them as being the compositions of heretics or sectarians; he then cites as examples “cujusdam Quirici et Julittae, sicut Georgii aliorumque hujusmodi passionēs, quae ab hereticis perhibentur compositae.”¹

This version of the legend of Saint George, condemned here by Gelasius, Baronius thought he recognized in a certain codex Vallicellanus, and in his *Martyrologium Romanum*² he gives some inklings of its contents. We are told that the account referred to introduces the name of a magician by the name of Athanasius, because of a confusion of the life of the saint with that of George, Arian bishop of Alexandria, and his struggle against his famous opponent, Athanasius the Great. Then he proceeds to add a list of the incidents con-

¹*Ad. SS. Aprilis*, vol. III, p. 101.

²Rome, 1630, p. 199.

tained in the account, which are unworthy of the life of the saint, such as "suspectum contubernium viduae, ars dolosa ejusdem ad perdendos gentilium magos, innumera tormentorum genera ut, praeter equuleos, ungulas ferreas, crates ignitas, rotamque mucronibus undique praefixam, calceosque armatos clavis etiam arca ferrea, clavorum cuspidibus intus ad feriendum aptata, praecipitium, contusiones malleis ferreis iteratae, columna ingentis ponderis super eum posita, ingentisque molis saxum super caput revolutum, ferreum ignitum stratum, liquens plumbum supereffusum, quadraginta igniti clavi quibus est confossus, aeneus bos candens, mersio in puteum, ponderis ingentis saxo ad collum ligato," all of which is said to have proved harmless to the martyr. Finally he agrees with the judgment of Gelasius and deems the account itself not worthy of publication.

The learned Father Papebroch, to whom we owe the exhaustive treatment of the legend in the *Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis*, vol. III, pp. 101-165, had before him a similar account in a MS. which he called Codex Gallicanus. He also pronounces the account unworthy of credence, and after copying the beginning of the text, he contents himself with reproducing the strictures of Baronius.

This version, which is of the greatest importance for the history of the legend, was completely lost after the dissolution of the order of the Jesuits in 1773, and the consequent closure of their chapter at Antwerp. It was only after much patient searching and many fruitless efforts that Wilhelm Arndt in 1874 rediscovered the Codex Gallicanus in the Bollandist library at Brussels, and published its version of the Passion of Saint George in the *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der k. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 1875, *Phil.-Hist. Classe*, pp. 43 ff.

It is this version of the legend which must form the basis for a comparative study of its different forms as they appear in the Middle Ages. Following established usage, we shall call it the *apocryphal Version*.

I. THE APOCRYPHAL VERSION.

The following texts of this version, which we shall in general call O, are accessible.

1. The Latin text of the Codex Gallicanus, already referred to and published by W. Arndt, in *Ber. ü. d. Verh. d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Classe*, 1874, pp. 43-70. The ms. is now in the Bollandist library in Brussels, where it bears the number 23. bibl. 1 Bollandiana. 23. Brux. 1 (1842). The portion of the ms. which contains the passion of St. George belongs to the second half of the ix century.¹ (G.)

Incipit.—In illo tempore adripuit diabolus regem Persarum et regem super quattuor cardines saeculi, qui prior erat super omnes reges terrae, et misit aedictum ut universi reges convenirent in unum. . . .

2. The Latin text of the Codex Sangallensis, published by Zarneke in *Ber. ü. d. Verh. d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Classe*, 1875, pp. 265-277. The ms. is in the library of Saint Gall, No. 550, and belongs to the ix century.² (Sg.)

Incipit.—In tempore illo erat rex paganorum nomine Datanus, qui fuit persecutor christianorum, et posuit tribunal suum et sedit super eam scripsitque literas et misit eas in omnem regionem habentes in hunc modum. . . .

3. The Coptic versions, published by Dr. Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia. The Coptic text edited with an English translation*, London, 1885. (C.)

¹Two later derivatives of this version have come to my notice in the Bibl. Nat. in Paris. The one marked F. L. 5593, f. 40 r-55 r of the xi cent. is very poor, while the other, F. L. 5265, f. 126 v-149 r of the xiv cent. is very well preserved. An abridgment of the same version is found in Paris, Bibl. Maz. 399, f. 55 v-59 r, of the xii century.

²Another fragmentary account of the same version is contained in the same library of Saint Gall, No. 435, f. 133, also of the ix cent.; cp. Zarneke, *l. c.*, 1874, p. 42, and 1875, p. 256.

4. The Syriac versions. The only published account of this version is to be found in Dillmann's article: *Ueber die apokryphischen Märtyrergeschichten des Cyriacus mit Julitta und des Georgius*, in *Sitzb. d. k. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1887, pp. 339 ff. Through the very great kindness of Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge of the British Museum, who has been preparing an edition of this version, I am able to make use of a copy of his translation of the text, which he allowed me to have prepared from his manuscript. It gives me the greatest pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to him and to thank him here for his kindness and courtesy. (S.)

5. The Arabic version. Knowledge of the contents of this version is possible only from the very brief account given of it by Dillmann in the article just cited. (Ar.)

Before entering into a discussion of the various opinions that have been held with reference to these versions, it will be necessary to examine their contents. The Coptic, Syriac and Arabic accounts, which are of the highest interest for the historical and comparative study of the legend, have never been seriously compared with G and Sg, and even Vetter,¹ the last to examine its development, in his introduction to Reinbot von Durne's M. H. G. poem on the passion of St. George, leaves them entirely out of account.

In order to facilitate a minute analysis and comparison, the account has been divided into paragraphs. These will be found to differ from those made by Arndt, and adopted by Zarneke and Vetter, because, during the course of this study, it became evident that that division, made without reference to the unity of the incidents of the story, was insufficient. We shall make G the basis of the comparison and note all the important points of variation in the other versions.

1. Datanus (Dadianus C, S, also Dacianus in Sg), king of the Persians (ruler over the four quarters of the earth

¹*Der heilige Georg des Reinbot von Durne*, hrsg. von F. Vetter, Halle, Niemeyer, 1896.

C, with whom were four wicked kings S) calls a council of his subordinate rulers. Seventy-two (seventy C, no number mentioned in S) kings (governors C) come together, and Datianus now commands that instruments of torture, previously prepared, be brought before the assembly. There is great fear among the Christians. George of Cappadocia appears (brought up in Paltene = Palestine? Sg), a count (a tribune, Sg, C, S) over many soldiers. (He comes to be made a count Sg, C, S.) He gives his money to the poor and confesses Christianity. The astonished emperor asks after his name and descent, and George tells his name, Cappadocian origin (and that he had also lived in Palestine G, served as a tribune in Palestine C). He is then commanded to sacrifice to Apollo (and Neptune G, and Poseidon C, no names of idols S), whereupon he blasphemes all pagan deities.

2. The tortures begin at once. (a) He is placed upon a rack (a wooden horse C, S) and torn to pieces; (b) (*absent in Sg*) *he is led without the city (absent in C)* and torn into pieces by four machines (four quaternions of soldiers C) and beaten; salt is sprinkled into his wounds, and they are rubbed with coarse cloth; (c) iron boots filled with sharp nails are put upon his feet; (d) (*absent in Sg*) then he is led back to the city (*absent in C*), thrown into a large chest filled with nails and barbed hooks, *a high platform is built and upon it George is lacerated by sixty sharp stakes, then he is cast into a cauldron of boiling water (absent in C)*; (e) his head is beaten in with a heavy hammer (with iron nails C, with lead Sg) so that the brains ooze out through the nose (through his mouth, white as milk C). All these tortures are of no avail, and no harm results from them to George. *He is, therefore, led back to prison (absent in C)* and (f) (*absent in Sg*), a heavy column, which eighteen men could not lift (eight men rolled it along C) is placed upon his body. (g) *In this condition he is left to pass the night (absent in Sg)*. Suddenly God appears to him and comforts him. George learns *that he is to suffer seven years (absent in C)*, that he shall be killed three times, and

that at his fourth death he shall enter paradise. (*The whole paragraph is omitted in S, with the exception of the first torture mentioned under (a).*)

3. (*Absent in S.*) The next day George is again led before the emperor. A new confession of his faith follows, whereupon he is stretched out and beaten, *until a hundred wounds appear upon his back and forty upon his belly (absent in C);* then he is led back to prison.

4. (*Absent in S.*) Datianus now sends out a letter, calling for a magician, who would be strong enough to overcome what he believes to be the magic art of George. Athanasius appears, and upon the emperor's question, whether he will be capable of conquering George, he calls for two oxen (one ox Sg, C, Ar). When these (the one ox Sg, C, Ar) are brought up, he whispers into the ear of one, which is immediately split in twain. The emperor is delighted with joy, which increases when Athanasius joins the two halves, and the ox is made whole as before (calls for a yoke and the two halves become two oxen Sg, Ar, calls for scales and the two halves are found to have identical weight C). George is now led into his presence, and when he sees Athanasius, he foretells his speedy conversion. The magician then gives him successively two poisonous potions (only one potion Sg, Ar), which he drinks without experiencing any harm, whereupon Athanasius confesses the power of George's God, and is immediately executed. George is led back to prison.

5. On the next day the tortures recommence. An immense wheel is brought up, fitted out with sharp swords and nails. George is led up praying, is thrown upon the wheel (he runs up on the wheel S), cut into ten pieces and gives up the ghost. The pieces of his body are thrown into a well (*puteus* G, *lacus* Sg, a dry pit C, an empty pit S), and the opening is sealed up with a stone. *The emperor returns to his palace and this has happened on a Sabbath day (absent in Sg, C, S).* While he sits at a meal with the seventy-two kings (sixty-nine governors C, it was time for eating S) a storm comes up

over the well (with earthquake G, C, S). God appears with Michael (Gabriel S), whom He sends to collect the portions of George's body (to whom He says: 'Bring up to Me My servant George' S). God touches them with His hand, and George is brought to life again. He returns at once to Datianus. The latter at first believes that he sees George's ghost, others (Magnentius Sg, Magentios S) say it is some one similar to George, but the martyr confesses his identity. Anatholius (C, Anatholis Sg, Antoninus S, Athanasius G), an officer, is converted with his soldiers, and at once all are led without the city to execution (1,098 in number, and one woman Sg; 3,009 in number, and one woman C).

6. (a) George is now laid upon an iron bed and molten lead (and iron G) are poured into his mouth and over his head (but have no more effect than would cold water G); (b) (*absent in Sg*) then sixty nails are driven into his head, a large stone is placed upon it, and molten lead is poured over the stone (he is rolled down a hill with the stone, and his bones are severed one from the other C); (c) he is suspended by his feet, a heavy stone is tied to his neck, and a fire is kindled underneath him, so that the rising smoke may torture him; (d) (*in Sg the following torture takes the place of b*) a metal ox (a bronze bull C) is produced, *fitted out with swords and nails inside* (*absent in Sg, C*) and George is placed into it. *The ox is then revolved by means of machinery in the hope that George might be ground to powder* (*absent in Sg*). In all these torments the martyr remains unharmed (in fact he was very handsome in appearance C). He is, therefore, led back to prison and during the night God appears to him again and comforts him. (He is told that he must die twice more and shall then enter paradise C.)

S omits all the tortures of the foregoing paragraph and substitutes in its place the following based upon 2-c, which was omitted above. George had been led back to prison, and Satan puts it into the king's heart to put iron boots on the martyr's feet, and to drive pegs through them into his soles.

In this condition he is made to walk. On account of the pain he goes very slowly, and the king, taunting him, asks him why he does not run; George prays and Michael comes and sprinkles dew from heaven on his feet, so that he feels no more pain. After a renewed confession of his faith, he is lashed with whips, until his body is lacerated.

7. On the following day (immediately after these tortures S), when George is led again before the tribunal, Magnentius (Magentios S), the king (one of the governors C), says, if George can change fourteen thrones (*G says twenty-two thrones, but the number becomes presently fourteen; Sg has no number whatever; C has seventy thrones, one for each of the governors*), which are there, into trees, and cause them to bear fruit or not, according to the nature of their wood, he will believe in George's God. The martyr answers that he will do the miracle not for him, but for the others present. He kneels down and prays, and the fourteen thrones (seventy thrones C) are changed back into the trees from which they were made. Magnentius (Dadianus S), however, attributes the miracle to the power of Apollo (and Hercules G, Heracles C).

8. (*Absent in S.*) On the emperor's command, George is then sawed in two (in seven parts Sg) and dies. The pieces are thrown into a cauldron *filled with lead and pitch and animal fat and bitumen, and boiled to atoms (absent in Sg)*, and the command is given to bury the cauldron with its contents. An earthquake occurs and darkness covers the sky. God and His angels appear, *Michael (Zelathiel C) is commanded to gather the portions of the martyr's body (absent in Sg) and God resuscitates George, though he had been dead five days (absent in Sg, C). After an exhortation to be brave, and the renewed promise that at the fourth death he shall enter paradise, God and the angels return to heaven. George begins again to walk about the city (absent in Sg).*

9. (*Absent in S.*) The martyr is led back to Datianus. While he stands in his presence a woman (called Scolastica Sg, Schollastike C) appears, falls at his feet, and relates that

while her son had been hitching her oxen (her one ox C) to the plough, one of them had fallen down dead. She implores the aid of George, because of her poverty. George tells her to take his ring (signaculum) (his staff C) and to place it on the dead beast. When she does so, the ox is brought back to life, and the woman (and all Sg) praise God. (*Sg has a peculiarly garbled account. Neither the ring nor the staff is mentioned. George says to her "vade ad illum, [read illum] et astringe nares et dic: In nomine Jesu Christi surge in pedes tuos."*)

10. Tranquillinus the king (the kings present Sg, Trakiali the governor C, Tarklînâ the king S) now demands that George, in order to show the power of his God, shall bring to life those buried (the one buried Sg) in a certain tomb, concerning whom nothing whatever is known. He answers that he will pray for the miracle *not for his sake, but for those present (absent in Sg, C, S)*. Servants are sent to the tomb (the king and many people with George go to the tomb Sg, Dadianus and the two governors of Egypt go to the tomb C, the king went and opened the tomb S) and the dust which it contains is brought to George. He kneels down and prays (reference to the seventy nobles that are with Dadianus S), *an earthquake shakes the ground (absent in Sg)* (a storm arises S), and 5 men, 9 women and 3 children (4 children Sg, 200 men and women S) come back to life. The emperor asks one of these for his name. He answers Jovis (Jobius Sg, Boes C, Yûbâlâ S). He had been dead 460 years (200 years Sg; more than 200 years C; 200 years, more or less, S) and had been buried before Christ was known. He had worshiped Apollo (idols S), *whose name he blushes to mention (absent in S)*. In consequence he had been suffering torments in a place filled with fire. Turning to George, he asks for baptism, whereupon the martyr stamps with his foot upon the ground, a spring bubbles forth, and when they have all been baptized, they disappear.

11. The emperor now is convinced that George is a magician. He commands him to be led into the house of a widow,

the poorest in the city. When he has arrived there, he asks the woman for some bread, and upon her answer that she has none, he tells her that the cause of her poverty is her worship of Apollo and Hercules (*absent in Sg, S, Heracles C*). The woman, to whom the face of George appears like that of an angel, goes away to beg some bread of her neighbors. George sits down by the gable fork of the house (the wooden pillar in the house C, S) which at once grows 15 cubits (12 cubits Sg) in height and bears fruit. An angel from heaven (Michael, the archangel C, S) brings bread to George and comforts him. When the woman returns, she sees the table spread, and the fruit-bearing tree. Kneeling down, she confesses Christ and asks George to heal her son, who is 3 months old (9 years Sg, C, no age given S) and blind, deaf, (dumb C), and lame. George prays to God, and restores his sight, but refuses for the present to heal his (speech C) hearing and lameness.

12. (*Absent in S.*) The emperor (with 70 kings S, 69 governors C) now sees the tree, and has George led again before him. New tortures follow. He is beaten, a red-hot iron helmet (red hot coals Sg) is put on his head (fire is built under him and vessels filled with fire are put on his head, until his body is consumed C), *his body is torn with hooks, torches are applied to his side (absent in Sg)* (he is hung up and iron pots full of fire are placed under him C) and he gives up the ghost. His body is then carried to a high mountain called Asinaris (Seres Sg, Siris C) to be eaten by the birds. (The soldiers that carry his body cut it into 9 pieces and bury them Sg.) But hardly have the soldiers entrusted with the execution of this command left the mountain, when an earthquake occurs, God and his angels appear, and George is resuscitated. He at once hurries after the soldiers, and when they recognize him, they are converted. George smites the earth with his foot, a spring bubbles forth (a spring is found there Sg, C merely relates that they are baptized), and they are baptized. Their names are Silicodies, Silentarius and Massarius, and many others with them (Klandane, Lasiri, Lasiriane and Klekon C, no names

in Sg). When they appear with George before the emperor, they are at once executed.

13. Datianus now exhorts George to sacrifice (he does so on the advice of Magentios S), and the martyr seems to assent. The emperor is beside himself with joy. (*The rest of the paragraph is absent in S.*) He wishes to kiss his head, but George does not permit it; he will first sacrifice, then the emperor may kiss him. In consequence, George is invited to pass the night in the palace, the guest of Alexandra (Alexandria Sg), the empress. During the night the saint improves the opportunity by instructing Alexandra in the doctrines of Christianity, and the empress is converted. (She asks George to keep the matter secret Sg, C.)

14. The next morning a herald is sent through the city to announce to the people the great festival in the temple of Apollo. At that moment the widow, whose son George had partially healed, appears with her child (without her child, and George sends her back to bid the child come to him Sg) and chides the saint for forsaking his God. George tells her to put the boy on the ground, and then he commands him, who was still deaf and lame, to rise (in Sg the child appears and falls at the feet of George, and he sends him into the temple; in S George calls the child, who stands up, runs to him, and worships him) and go to the temple of Apollo, and call the god to come to him. The boy does as he is bidden. The idol comes out (of the statue Sg) and confesses that he is not the true God; then George stamps upon the ground, which opens, and the idol is sent to the abyss. The saint now goes into the temple and breaks the statues of Hercules and others (Heracles and Zeus S) that were there. He is bound by the priests (by the crowd Sg) and led back to the emperor (the king Sg, S, the governor C) who then learns the destruction of the idols. *A ruse of George to inveigle the emperor to visit the temple fails (absent in Sg, C)* (George promises again to sacrifice to the king's gods, if he will bring them hither S) (George is sent back to prison Sg, S) and Datianus returns to the palace.

15. Venting his wrath before Alexandra, he learns to his surprise that she too has become a Christian. She is *led from the palace, hung up by the hair, and her naked body* (absent in Sg, C, S) beaten with whips (dragged by Dadianus and the 69 governors by the hair, hung upon the wooden horse and tortured C; hung up by the hair and combed with combs S). *Then she is suspended by the breasts and torches are applied to her sides* (absent in Sg, C, S). *Turning to George, she begs for baptism, but he tells her that her blood* (her tears S) *shall take its place* (absent in Sg). (In S she is beaten with strips of rawhide, until her body is lacerated.) Then the king pronounces the death sentence and she is executed.

16. Now all the kings present (Magnentius C) suggest to the emperor to pass sentence of death upon George (the death sentence is written Sg, C, S). On leaving the palace, the martyr prays to God, now that he has been tortured seven years, and fire falls from heaven, which consumes Datianus and the 72 kings (70 governors and 5,000 people C). (In Sg and S this punishment is related briefly after the final prayer and just before the martyr's final death.)

17. Arrived at the place of execution (where the queen had been executed Sg, S), George pronounces a (long G, S) prayer, in which he intercedes for those who should honor his memory and offer prayer in his name. A voice is heard from heaven as an answer. (Fire falls from heaven and consumes the 72 (70 S) kings Sg, S.) Then George kneels down and is decapitated. *Water and milk flow from his body* (absent in Sg, S.) (An earthquake and storm frighten those who witness the scene G, C.) (Many are converted to the Christian faith Sg.)

18. (*Absent in Sg.*) Passecras (Pasikrates C, S), the servant of George, who was with him during his seven years of suffering, wrote these events in the order in which they occurred.

All four versions belong to the same family and derive from the same common source, for all give the account in the same general order and all agree, in the main, in the facts that

are related. A study of their individual traits will aid us, however, to determine somewhat more closely their particular relation.

The differences between G and Sg consist in omissions and individual variations, which are controlled through a comparison with C and S. We may note in the first place a number of such omissions on the part of Sg. In § 2 the tortures described under *b, d, f* are absent; in § 6 the tortures of *b* are omitted and those of *d* are briefly referred to between *a* and *c*; the name of Passecras does not appear in § 18. In other instances the author of Sg has introduced traits which are not supported by C and S. So in § 4 Athanasius offers one poisonous potion to George, where both G and C mention two; in § 8 George is sawed into 7 pieces, in G and C into 2; in § 10 the kings present demand the miracle of the tomb, in G the demand is made by Tranquillinus, in C by Trakiali; the number raised to life includes 4 children in Sg, but only 3 in G and C; in § 13 the queen's name is Alexandria, but Alexandra in G and S. This list might be increased, but it would have no importance beyond that of emphasizing the fact that the author of Sg has both abridged the account and introduced some personal variations.

In another list of differences between G and Sg, comparison with C and S, and also with Ar, and with the Anglo-Norman poem of Simund de Freine¹ reveals the fact that Sg has preserved the original form, and that the author of G has introduced the variation. The most interesting of these instances is the account of the trick practised by Athanasius in § 4. In Sg, C and Ar only one ox is called for by the magician. In Sg he whispers (in Ar he spits) into the ear of the animal, which is straightway split in twain, and when a yoke is brought up, each half ox becomes a whole one, and is hitched up, while in C the magician calls for scales, and it is found that the two halves are of exactly the same weight.

¹For the detailed discussion of the contents of this poem, see part II of the present study.

In G he calls for two oxen, but only one of these is affected by the trick, and the two halves are then again joined together and the ox becomes whole as before. The incident is omitted entirely in S, but the Arabic version seems to agree with Sg, while Simund de Freine relates the story in accordance with G, with this difference, that only one ox is demanded by the magician, who is here called Anastasius. I am inclined to believe that the original version of the trick is preserved in Sg and Ar. The outcome of it, as told there, explains the number of oxen in G, and the various differences in G, C and Simund de Freine appear as natural variations, which could readily suggest themselves to later authors.¹

In the same incident Athanasius offers two poisonous potions to George in G and only one in Sg. G here agrees with C, Sg with Ar and Simund de Freine. From the fact that the canonical Greek version² also mentions two potions, it seems to follow that G and C are here nearer to the original than Sg, but on the other hand, since the development of such incidents proceeds from the simple to the complex, it is more probable that here also Sg has preserved the original form.

In the following instances, however, the variation is clearly due to the author of G, viz.: § 5 the name of Athanasius in the place of Anatholis Sg, Anatholius C; § 9 the omission of the name of Scolastica Sg, Schollastike C; § 10 those raised to life by George had been dead 460 years in G, but 200 years in Sg, C, S and Simund de Freine; § 11 the age of the crippled child of the widow is 3 months in G, but 9 years in Sg, C, S, while no age is given in Simund de Freine; § 12 the name of the mountain to which George is carried after his third death is Asinaris in G, but Seres Sg and Siris C.

¹ This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the story seems to have agreed with Sg and Ar also in the Greek version, of which some fragments only are preserved in the palimpsest of the v cent., of whose importance we shall speak presently.

² See below, p. 483.

It is evident that one version complements or corrects the other, and that both therefore derive from a common source. Their particular relation was defined by Zarncke, *l. c.*, p. 257, as follows: "Vielmehr überzeugt man sich leicht . . . dass wir es mit zwei verschiedenen Uebersetzungen desselben griechischen Originals oder zweier nur hier und da und nur redactionell von einander abweichender griechischer Texte zu thun haben, und zwar so, dass der Sangallensis im Ganzen kürzer gefasst ist, möge nun diese grössere Kürze bereits dem Original zuzuweisen sein, oder erst der lateinischen Bearbeitung." This relation of the two versions is also accepted by Vetter, *l. c.*, p. xix: "der Text des Gallicanus and der des Sangallensis sind zwei von einander abweichende Uebersetzungen desselben griechischen Originals, oder sie repräsentieren die Uebersetzung zweier unter sich abweichender griechischer Texte." There can be no question that the second of these alternatives is the correct one, and that we have in G and Sg translations of two different Greek versions, both closely related to the original form of the legend.

These latter Greek versions have lately been proved to have been closely related to the fragments of another Greek text, preserved in a palimpsest of the v century, which had been known for some forty years, since they were published by Detlefsen in the *Sitzb. d. Wiener Akad.*, 1858, pp. 383 ff., but which, curiously enough, seem to have escaped the notice of scholars who have busied themselves with this question. The proofs of this relation are brought by Vetter, *l. c.*, pp. xx-xxiii. They consist in a comparison of these fragments with the corresponding portions of G and Sg, and they leave no room for doubt.¹

The age of G and Sg can be determined approximately from internal evidence. Zarncke pointed out, *l. c.*, p. 260, that citations from scripture in both, do not agree with the Vulgate text, but point back to an earlier prehieronimic

¹ Vetter is also undoubtedly correct in inverting the order of the leaves of the palimpsest numbered by Detlefsen 2 v and 3 r respectively.

translation. Though both MSS. belong to the IX century, this fact forces the conclusion that the translations were made very much earlier.

The relation of C to G and Sg or their sources is a problem much more difficult of solution. Dr. Budge, in his edition of the Coptic text, p. xxvi, and elsewhere, accepts a strong probability that C was translated from the Greek. If this be true, then some of the points of resemblance between Sg and C, just pointed out, would probably demand the acceptance of a common source for both, and this Greek text would contain a version parallel to that of which G is a translation, and to that of the fragments contained in Detlefsen's palimpsest. On the other hand, Amélineau¹ has endeavored to prove that the Coptic version is the original one and that all the others derive from it. His reasons are based upon the internal features of the account, whose general arrangement agrees remarkably with that of other Coptic lives of Saints; and the scene and general point of view of the story, according to him, are clearly Egyptian. I am not able to form a personal judgment on the question, and prefer to remain neutral. This much is certain, that C does not represent the oldest form of the legend, and that Amélineau is clearly wrong when he maintains, *l. c.*, p. 287, that G (he does not know Sg) is a translation of C. The various agreements and differences between G, Sg, and C admit only of this one conclusion, that all three are closely related to a common source.

Dr. Budge, *l. c.*, p. xxxi, gives some data upon which the date of C may be established. It was known by Theodosius, bishop of Jerusalem, about 450 A. D., and by Theodotus, bishop of Ancyra, who lived in the early part of the same century, and was used by them as the basis for their encomiums published in the same volume as C. "If, however," Dr. Budge goes on to say, "the encomiums attributed to Theodosius and Theodotus are not genuine, though I see no reason why

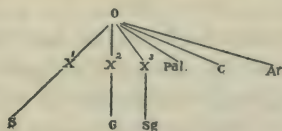
¹*Les Actes des Martyrs de l'église Copte, Paris, 1890, pp. 291 ff.*

they should not be, they were probably written about a century later."

The Syriac text derives from the same source as G, Sg, and C, though it is seriously abridged. The greater part of §§ 2 and 13, and §§ 3, 4, 6, 8, 9 are omitted, but the remainder of the account follows closely and in the same order the model of G, Sg, and C. The only important variation occurs in § 10. When George is asked to perform the miracle of the tomb, 200 souls of men, women and children come back to life. Their spokesman bears the name of Yûbâlâ, and he relates that they had been dead 200 years, more or less. The fact that this name occurs in a later Greek apocryphal version as Ἰοβήλ ¹ and that it reappears as Johel and Joel in the West European versions current in the Middle Ages,² together with the large number of souls raised from life, different from the small number given by G, Sg, and C, renders the source of S of peculiar importance. Dr. Budge, *l. c.*, p. xxvii, ascribes the Syriac account to the VI century.

Of the Arabic version very little can be said. According to Dr. Budge, it is "made from a comparatively modern recension of the original work." From Dillmann's account of its contents it seems to follow that the story, as told there, does not differ seriously from that of the texts examined so far. Only one important variation seems to occur, and that is in the introduction of Diocletianus as persecutor of George in conjunction with Maxentius and Dadianus, although the latter remains his main enemy.

From the foregoing considerations the following filiation of the different versions seems to follow :



¹ Cp. below, p. 488.

² Cp. below, p. 496.

II. THE CANONICAL VERSION.

There is sufficient evidence to show that George had early become one of the most popular saints of the church. On the other hand, the edict of Pope Gelasius had stamped the current account of his martyrdom as apocryphal and not worthy of credence. The story of his passion was therefore changed, so as to be no longer open to such criticism, and the result was the so-called canonical version¹ of his martyrdom. This form of the legend is characterized by the introduction of the name of Diocletian, due to the desire to connect the death of the saint with the tenth persecution of the Christians, and by the reduction of the tortures suffered by the saint and the wonders performed by him.

The earliest evidence of the existence of this form of the legend is to be found in the encomium of Andreas,² archbishop of Creta (VII–VIII cent.), and in the Greek version, accepted by the Bollandists, *AA. SS. April*, III, *Acta Graeca*, pp. vii–xii (b), and published also in Latin translation,³ *ibid.*, pp. 119–125 (l).

The legend appears here in the following form :

1. The emperor Diocletian, who has under his control the governors of the whole East, decides upon a persecution of the Christians. At that time George appears at his court. He had been born in Cappadocia of Christian parents. The father having died when he was still an infant, he had gone

¹ Cp. Kirpičnikov, *Saint George and Egorij Chrabry*, Saint Petersburg, 1879. *Veselófskij*, *Studies in Russian Sacred Poetry*, *Pubs. of the Russian Academy of Science*, XXI, No. 2. The former of these two volumes has, in spite of many efforts, remained inaccessible to me. For a knowledge of the contents of the second I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. George R. Noyes of the University of California. A detailed account of the conclusions of both studies can be found also by Heinzel in the *Zs. f. deutsches Alterthum, neue Folge*, xv, pp. 256–262.

² Publ. *AA. SS. April*, vol. III, *Acta Graeca*, pp. xx ff.

³ Ut extant apud Lipomanum et Surium, interprete Francisco Zino ex MS. Graeco Veneto. Collata cum MSS. Vaticano et Florentino.

with his mother to her native Palestine, where they had many possessions. The young man rises rapidly in honors. First *τριβούνος*, then *κόμης*, having lost his mother at the age of 20, he now appears at the court of the emperor seeking still greater honors. On the very first day of his presence, he sees the cruelties perpetrated against the Christians. Thereupon he distributes his money to the poor, and on the third day of the council he arises and confesses his faith in the God of the Christians.

2. Diocletian is so astonished that he cannot speak, and he nods to Magnentius, who was then consul, to answer George. Finally the emperor endeavors to win him over by flattery. He refers to his youth, his career, and his ambition, but the martyr remains firm, and he is finally handed over to soldiers and led away to prison. A spear, with which he is struck, bends back as though of lead, and George praises God. In the prison he is tied to the ground and a heavy stone is placed upon his breast.

3. On the next day George is led back to the emperor. He is placed upon a wheel, beneath which sharp knives are fixed, and is torn to pieces. Diocletian thinks he must be dead, taunts the God of George, and goes away to sacrifice to Apollo. A cloud appears, thunder and a voice from heaven are heard, while a man in a white garment is seen ministering to the martyr. When he is loosed from the wheel, he is found to be sound in body, praising God. The events are related to Diocletian, and when he sees George, he thinks it must be his ghost. (a) Two officers, Anatolius and Protoleus, are converted and at once executed. (b) Many others besides are converted, and among them the empress Alexandra.

4. George is now placed into a lime-kiln, to be kept there three days, but at the end of that period he is found unharmed. This fact is witnessed by a great multitude, and the rumor of it is carried to Diocletian, who commands the martyr to be led before him, and accuses him of working his wonders by magic.

5. Iron boots are now brought up, heated and put on his feet. In this condition he is driven back to prison.

6. On the following day he is again led before the emperor and the assembled senate, and Diocletian accuses him of magic. When he protests with indignation, he is struck on the mouth and beaten with cowhides.

7. Magnentius now suggests calling the magician Athanasius, and George is led back to prison. On the following day the magician is present. He prepares two poisonous potions, which the martyr drinks without experiencing any harm, the second on command of the emperor. Athanasius then suggests that George be asked to resuscitate a dead body. Should he succeed, both Athanasius and Magnentius promise to accept the Christian faith. The tomb where the body rests is half a stadium distant from the council hall. Evidently all go there, though the texts are silent on this point. George kneels on the ground and prays, a loud voice is heard, and the dead man rises. Diocletian and his friends think the matter a fraud, but the dead man prays to God and remains near George. Thereupon Athanasius falls on his knees and confesses Christ, while the emperor accuses him of being George's accomplice and of having deceived him with a body that was not really dead. Both Athanasius and the man that had been resuscitated are now executed and George is led back to prison.

8. During the night many visit him and are healed of various diseases. Among those who crowd to the prison, there is a peasant by the name of Glycerius, whose ox had fallen dead, while he was ploughing. George tells him to go back and that he will find his ox alive. When he finds that the saint's prediction has come true, he is beside himself with joy, confesses Christianity, and is executed.

9. On the advice of Magnentius a council is now ordered for the following day. During the night God appears to George in a dream and tells him that victory shall come to him on the next day. He obtains from the jailer the

permission to have his servant admitted to the prison. He gives him written directions that after his death he is to bury his body near his former home, in Palestine.

10. On the next day a new council is held. George is led before Diocletian, who again tries persuasion and argument, and even goes so far as to offer him half of his kingdom. The saint now declares himself ready to go to the temple, and the emperor sends out a proclamation for all to come and witness the sacrifice. George enters the temple, makes the sign of the cross before the statue of Apollo, and the demon dwelling within the idol confesses that the God of George is the only true God. All the other idols fall to the ground and are broken. A great tumult arises and the martyr is again bound.

11. When Alexandra receives the news, she cannot hide her faith any longer. George is led before the emperor, reviling his gods, and Alexandra joins the group, falling at the martyr's feet. Diocletian, beside himself, pronounces sentence of death against them both, and they are led away. Arriving at the place of execution, Alexandra sits down and renders her spirit to God. (The account does not say that she was executed.) George kneels down and is decapitated.

According to Kirpičnikov, as quoted by Vetter, *l. c.*, p. lvi, this version formed the source of all the later East European forms of the legend, of which he cites a number of Greek, Russian, and Serbian texts, and among these the life attributed to Metaphrastes¹ (Me) and the encomium of Gregorius Cyprius.²

While there can be no doubt as to the accuracy of this statement, it seems nevertheless to the point to mention a few features in which Me differs from b-l. These are :

1 (§ 1). The mention of Maximian by the side of Diocletian. Furthermore the reference to George's origin and

¹ Publ. *Migne, Patrol. Curs.* 2, 4, and *AA. SS. l. c. Acta Graeca*, pp. xii ff.

² Publ. *AA. SS. l. c. Acta Graeca*, pp. xxi ff.

parents is reduced to a bare mention ; cf. *τούτῳ πατὴρ μὲν ἡ Καππαδοκῶν, πατέρες δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, τροφὸς ἡ Παλαιστίνη, τὸ σέβας ἐκ προγόνων αὐτοῦ εὐσεβέστατος ἦν καὶ ἄτεχνος, τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν νεάζων. . . .*

2 (§ 7). Athanasius is not introduced until after the miracle of the tomb. The demand to raise a dead body to life is made by Magnentius,¹ and when George performs the miracle, Diocletian thinks he did it through magic, and therefore he calls in Athanasius, a famed magician, to undo the power of the saint. However, Athanasius can gain no more advantage over the martyr than did those called upon formerly to work their magic upon Moses. There is no reference whatever to a poisoned cup. Athanasius and many others are finally converted and promptly executed.

3 (§ 9). There is no mention of the appearance of God to George in prison, nor of the admission of the martyr's servant.

No great importance can be attached to these variations. The third is evidently a mere omission, the second may be an individual transposition of incidents, and the introduction of Maximian also followed naturally after the martyrdom had once been located in the persecution under Diocletian, though, of course, it is entirely possible that we have here influence of some later version, where Diocletian and Maximian were both mentioned.

Another Greek version, which was rejected by the Bollandists, shows more serious differences, and deserves closer study. This is the version accepted by Surius and translated by Lipomanus from a Greek ms. in Venice² (L-S). The main outline of this account does not differ from that given in b-1, but it contains the following characteristic features.

1 (§ 1). There is no reference to George's parents. The martyr is introduced as a tribune from Cappadocia. Seeing

¹As in L-S; see below, p. 486.

²Publ. *Surius, Vitae Sanctorum ab Aloysio Lipomano olim conscriptae*, Cologne, 1570, vol. II, pp. 251 ff.

the persecution wrought upon the Christians, he appears before the emperor and confesses his faith.¹

2 (§ 7). Magnentius demands the miracle of the tomb, as in Me, but there is no mention whatever of Athanasius.

3 (§ 9). The whole of § 9 is omitted as in Me. There is no mention of the appearance of God to George in prison, nor of the admission of his servant.

4. After § 11 follows the statement "ego vero sancti Georgii servus, nomine Pasirates, secutus dominum meum, omnia haec in commentarios collegi."

The general similarity between L-S and b-1 is too close to admit of the conclusion that we have to do with two independent versions, and that L-S stands closer to the original as Amélineau holds, *l. c.*, p. 271. Moreover it appears from the evidence published by Veselófskij, *l. c.*, p. 45, that the original of L-S (Venice, ms Graec. 1447, Olim 2030) bore in certain portions the closest verbal similarity to the version contained in the Vienna ms. Theolog. Graec. 123 and published by him, *ibid.*, p. 172 ss. This Greek text, of which we shall presently speak more minutely, is a member of the later Greek apocryphal form of the legend, and contains therefore much that is absent from L-S. However, in the passages relating the same incidents, notably in the rhetorical introduction and in the initial paragraphs of the story proper, the language of L-S reads like a translation of this Greek text. Veselófskij concludes therefore that L-S, though a member of the canonical group, stands under the influence of the apocryphal version, which point of view also explains fully the introduction of the name of Pasirates.

It will be noted also that outside of the addition of this name, the irregularities characteristic of L-S are quite similar

¹After the rescue of George from the lime-kiln (here "jussit S. Georgium in lacum conjici, ardentem ex materia illa, quae dicitur asbestos, quaeque non nisi post tres dies extingui solet") Alexandra confesses her faith again, which she had already done once after his rescue from the wheel. L-S agrees here with the encomium of Andreas and also with Me, while b-1 omits the second confession of the empress.

to those just noted for Me, so that the conclusion will probably be exact that the direct model of Me and the Greek original of L-S were closely related.

III. LATER EASTERN APOCRYPHAL VERSIONS.

By the side of the canonical version the old apocryphal form of the legend lived on apace, but its form was changed, partly through influence of the canonical version, and partly through the elaboration of individual data. Veselófskij, *l. c.*, pp. 87 ff., cites the following Greek texts as examples of this variation of the legend.

1. Vienna ms. Theol. Graec. 123, already spoken of, and published in full, *ibid.*, pp. 172 ff. (V).

2. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Graec. 1178 (Olim 148); extracts published, *ibid.*, pp. 198–199 and 38–41 (V¹).

3. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Graec. 1534, extracts published, *ibid.*, pp. 189–198 (V²).

The first of these mss. contains the following account of the legend:

1. Diocletianus is emperor, and Magnentius his friend, the second in the land. These two consult together how to suppress the worship of the Christians. Finally they send letters signed by Diocletian to all the governors of the empire, and command the persecution of all those who do not worship Apollo, Hermes, Dionysos, Heracles, or Zeus. During a council, which follows, George appears like a bright star in a dark night. He comes from Cappadocia, of noble family, is at this time *τριβοῦνος*, and now appears seeking the office of *κόμης*. Seeing the cruelties practised against the Christians, he decides to confess his faith. He gives his money to the poor, and, dressed like an athlete, appears before the emperor and the assembled council, and proclaims himself a Christian. Magnentios then asks for his name, and when George has answered, Diocletian decrees that he must sacrifice to the idols.

2. The tortures begin at once. George is suspended and his body is scraped until his bowels fall upon the earth. A spear with which he is struck bends like lead. Thereupon he is led to prison, tied to the ground, and a heavy stone, which four men could hardly lift, is placed upon his breast.

3. Then follows the torture upon the wheel. George is cut into 10 pieces; these are thrown into a dry well, and Diocletian goes to his meal. About the tenth hour a noise is heard, and a voice from heaven. An angel appears and resuscitates the martyr. He returns at once to the emperor and Magnentius, both of whom he meets before the statue of Apollo. Diocletian thinks he sees George's ghost, others maintain that it is some one similar to him. Anatolius, one of the officers, is converted with his soldiers, and at once led without the city and executed.

4. Then follows a series of tortures similar to those described in O § 6: (a) He is stretched upon a copper couch, and molten lead is poured over him. (b) He is hung up by his feet, with a heavy stone tied to his neck, and a fire is kindled under him, so that the smoke may torment him. (c) He is placed in a metal ox fitted out with nails and barbed hooks, which is then turned by machinery, in order that his flesh may be torn. After these tortures he is led back to prison, and during the night God appears to him, and tells him that at his third death he shall be received into paradise.

5. George is then sawed into pieces, and dies. The portions of his body are burned in resin and wax, and buried with the cauldron in the ground. An earthquake occurs, and God appears and resuscitates him. A renewed promise follows that at the third death he shall enter paradise, and George walks about the city teaching the people.

6. In the next place the incident of Scholastike and her ox is related. George gives her his stick to place upon the beast, and the animal comes to life again.

7. Diocletian now demands the miracle of the tomb. One man arises, whose name is Jobel (Ἰοβήλ) and who has been

dead 400 years. When he prays to be baptized, George strikes the ground with his foot, and a fountain springs forth.

8. New tortures follow. The martyr is beaten, a red-hot helmet is put upon his head, and his body is torn with hooks, until his bowels lie bare. When he is dead, his body is carried by soldiers to a high mountain. An earthquake shakes the ground, and God comes in a cloud and resuscitates the martyr. The soldiers are converted and baptized; they confess their faith before the emperor and are executed.

9. In the next place the incident of Glykerios and his ox is related, similar to b-l § 8. George tells him to believe and he will find his ox alive again. He is converted by the miracle and at once executed.

10. Diocletian now makes use of flattery, and George seemingly promises to sacrifice to the idols. Overcome with joy, the emperor invites him to pass the night in the palace, and George improves the opportunity by converting the queen Alexandra.

11. On the next morning a proclamation is published inviting all to come and witness the sacrifice of the martyr. George approaches the statue of Apollo, the idol confesses his vanity, and before the sign of the cross all the statues fall to the ground and are broken.

12. Alexandra now confesses the Christian faith. The emperor is mad with anger, and she is condemned to death. On the way to the place of execution she renders her spirit to God.

13. The martyr is also led to execution. He kneels down and prays. In answer a voice is heard from heaven. Then he is decapitated; an earthquake shakes the ground and a storm beats the air. After his death Christians bury him with his mother, Polychronia, in Diospolis.

Comparison with O on the one hand and the canonical version on the other, makes it evident that the present version occupies a position midway between the two. It contains the threefold death of the martyr and many of the

incidents of the original version. But the omissions are also quite numerous. These are the tortures of O 2 and 3, the figure of Athanasius (O 4), the miracle of the thrones (O 7), George's stay in the house of the widow (O 11) and the part played by the widow's son when the idols are destroyed (O 14), the torture of Alexandra (O 15). The name of Pasicrates is not found at the end, but that is an evident omission of small import, as appears from p. 175, l. 3, where the writer refers to George as 'my lord.'¹ The name Ἰοβήλ (§ 7) connects the immediate source of this version with the source of S; cp. above, p. 480.

On the other hand there are also decided points of resemblance with the canonical version. The main similarity lies in the presence of Diocletian and his friend and counsellor, Magnentios. In fact §§ 1 and 2 agree with the corresponding paragraphs of the canonical version, with this single difference that the early history of the saint is shortened as in Me and L-S.

The complete materials, which would enable us to locate this version definitely, are not accessible. But the text furnishes one argument, which proves that, if Veselófskij's theory of influence of this version upon the canonical version is correct, the reverse is equally true. That is the repetition of the miracle performed by George upon the dead ox. O related the incident with reference to Scholastike, the canonical version introduced the name of Glykerios. The presence of both names within the same account finds a reasonable explanation only if a fusion of the two is admitted.

The second of the manuscripts cited by Veselófskij adds to the beginning of the story as outlined a reference to the marriage of the daughter of Diocletian and Alexandra to Maximian, while the third (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Graec. 1534) brings explicit particulars about the parents of the martyr.

His father was called Gerontios, a senator of Sebastopol,

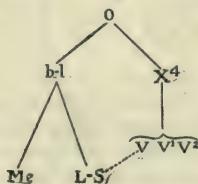
¹ ὁ λαμπρὸς τοῦ χριστοῦ τίμιος μαργαρίτης Γεώργιος, ὁ ἐμὸς δεσπότης.

of Cappadocian origin. His mother's name was Polychronia. The father was a pagan, while the mother was a Christian, and consequently brought up her son in the worship of the true God. One day Gerontios invites his son to go with him to offer up sacrifice to the idols of the land, and now George confesses his Christian faith. Gerontios, much distressed, urges him to forsake his false faith, but George remains firm, and during the night God visits the father with a mortal sickness. In answer to the saint's prayer the father is then converted and confesses Christ before he dies. After the burial George breaks the idols in the temple. Upon the accusation of Silvanus he is led before Ouardanios the governor, who threatens him with tortures without being able to persuade him to forsake his faith.

Then follows the story of George's passion as in the other manuscripts and at the end is added the description of the martyrdom of Polychronia before the eyes of her son, who receives the martyr's crown immediately after her. Finally in a closing paragraph is found the usual statement that the facts were written down by Pasicrates, which the Vienna ms. had omitted.

Veselófskij publishes furthermore, *ibid.*, pp. 163 ff., a Church Slavic text giving essentially the same account as the Paris Greek ms. 1534.

There can be no doubt that the variations of the last two texts represent later additions. If the general theory of mutual influence of the canonical version and that represented by V is correct, their relation can be represented as follows:



IV. LATER WESTERN VERSIONS.

The later West European versions¹ of the legend fall naturally into two families, which we shall call Y and Z respectively. Both derive from the apocryphal version and each must be studied separately.

FAMILY Y.

This group is composed of the accounts contained in the following manuscripts :

- a.* Paris, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève, ms. 588.
- β.* St. Petersburg, ms. Franc. Théologie F v 4 D.
- γ.* Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 23112.
- δ.* Oxford, ms. Add. d. 106.
- ε.* Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5575.
- ζ.* Brussels, Bibl. Reg. Cod. 380-382.
- η.* The text publ. Bibl. Casinensis, II, Florilegium, pp. 7-11.
- θ.* Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5306.
- κ.* Oxford, Canon. Misc. 244.
- λ.* Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 12606.
- μ.* Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5256.

A study of the contents of these texts reveals still further grouping.

Group 1 is made up of versions *a*, *β*, *γ*, *δ*.

a. Incipit.—Vraiment raconte la devine page que quant li saint home se penoient et esforcoient d'acroistre et d'essaucier la sainte loi Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist, si com vous avez oy, uns rois estoit en Perse, qui Dathiens estoit apelez.

¹The material for this portion of my study was gathered as the result of careful research in the Libraries of Paris, London and Oxford. I can lay no claim to completeness. Indeed all those who have ever busied themselves with a similar question will agree that completeness in hagiographical investigations is impossible. I trust, however, that my material is sufficiently large to give value to the facts which I shall try to establish.

This version has come to my notice only in the one MS. already cited, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève 588 (f. 113 r–118 r) of the XIII century.

β. The *incipit* of this version is identical with that of *a* just cited. It was published from the MS. in Saint Petersburg,¹ cited above by Veselófskij, *l. c.*, pp. 216 ff. Other copies of it are found in the following manuscripts :

1. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 17229, No. 24, XIII cent.
2. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 412, No. 16, XIII cent.
3. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 6447, No. 27, XIII cent.
4. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 183, No. 65, XIII cent.
5. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 185, No. 64, XIII cent.
6. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 411, f. 81–85, XIV cent.
7. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 23117, fo. 170 v, XIV cent.
8. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 413, f. 130 v–135 v, XV cent.

The same version is found presumably also in

8. Brussels, Bibl. Roy. 10326, No. 16, XIII cent.
9. London, Brit. Mus. Roy. 20, D. VI, No. 16.
10. London, Brit. Mus. Add. 17257, No. 67, XIII cent.
11. Cheltenham, Phillips MS. 3660, No. 31, XIV cent.

A rather free and somewhat abridged copy of the same version is found in Paris, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève MS. 587, f. 30 r–32 v of the XIII–XIV cent.; *Incipit*: En cel temps que li saint home se penoient d'acroistre et d'esforcier la sainte loi nostre seigneur uns rois estoit en Perse qui Dacien estoit apelez.

γ. *Incipit*.—Au tans Datien l'empereour qui les crestiens parsivoit et destruoit les eglises, iert conestables de chevaliers li boneures Joires.

This version is found, as far as I know, only in the MS. already cited, Paris, Bibl. Nat. 23112, f. 120 r–123 r of the year 1200.

¹ In *Notices et Extraits*, xxxvi, p. 677 ss., Paul Meyer publishes a description of a French legendary in Saint Petersburg (MS. Fr. 35) which contains another copy of the same version, fo. 156–159. I have no means of deciding whether this MS. is identical with Veselófskij's, numbered Fr. Theol. F. v. 4 D.

δ. *Incipit*.—In illo tempore arripuit diabolus regem Persarum et regem super quatuor cedras seculi qui prior erat super omnes reges terre, et misit ad omnes potestates qui sub regno ejus erant, ut convenirent in civitatem que dicitur Militena.

The version is contained in Oxford ms. Add. d. 106, fo. 78 r–81 v of the XII cent.

The following is an analysis of the account contained in these manuscripts, the paragraph division being the same as that adopted for the apocryphal version.

1 (= O 1). Datien (Dathien α, Datyen β), king of the Persians, instigated by the devil (absent in γ), summons his provosts and bailifs to come together in Melitene (Militainne β, Militaine γ, Militena δ). Threats are pronounced against the Christians and instruments of torture are prepared. At that moment George appears. He comes from Cappadocia, with much money to buy the position of maistre conseillicier (absent in γ). When he sees the fury against the Christians, he gives his money to the poor and confesses openly his faith in Christ. Datien offers dignities and tries to induce him to forsake his faith, but George remains firm, and when the emperor deplores his youth and handsome appearance, the saint admonishes him to think rather of himself and of his own salvation. Then Datien threatens and swears by his gods Gebeel, Apolin, and Arachel (Gabeel, Apolin, Arrachel β, Gabahel, Apolin, Heracel γ, Gebeel, Apollo, Arachel δ) that he will make an example of him. George answers that he will trust in his God.

2 (= O 2). The tortures begin at once. George is placed in a pillory, his body is scraped; he is led out of the city and beaten, salt is sprinkled into his wounds and they are rubbed with coarse cloth. At the end he is led back into prison. (*The paragraph is absent in β, γ, δ.*)

3 (= O 4). A magician is now sent for and Athanasins appears. When George sees him, he foretells his approaching conversion. Athanasins gives George successively two poisonous potions to drink, which do him no harm. There-

upon the magician confesses the power of George's God and is forthwith executed. George is led back to prison. (*The paragraph is absent in β , γ , δ .*)

4 (= O 5). On the next day (at once β , γ , δ) follows the torture of the wheel. George is cut into 10 pieces and these are thrown into a well, which is closed with a stone. Datien returns to his palace and sits down to his meal. An earthquake occurs, God appears with his angels, St. Michael is sent to gather the portions of the martyr's body, and God resuscitates him. He is then sent back to Datien, who, when he sees him, believes it is his ghost, while others think it is someone else who resembles him closely. Mananties (Magnanties or Manecies β , Maxentius γ , Magnentius δ), one of the officers, is converted with his household.

5 (= O 11). George is now led into the house of a poor widow. She has no bread and her son is lame, deaf, and mute. The saint restores his sight, hearing, and speech, but refuses to heal the lameness for the present.¹ A tree grows in the house, 15 cubits over the roof, and a table is spread for him by an angel from heaven. When Datien sees the tree, he sends to inquire, and when George is finally led before him, he asks by what magic he does these wonders.

6 (= O 7). Datien now demands the miracle of the throne. There are 14 of them (ms. 558, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève, gives only 12), and when these, after a prayer by George, are changed to trees, the emperor thinks again that all is done by magic.

7 (= O 13-14). George now promises the emperor that he will sacrifice to his idols Apolin, Gebeel, and Arrachel (Apolin, Gebel, and Rachel in Bibl. Ste. Geneviève ms. 587, Apolin, Gebel, and Herachel γ), so that Datien is beside himself with joy. When the martyr has arrived at the temple, the widow appears with her lame son. George gives him the power to walk and sends him into the temple to call out

¹ In the ms. 587 of the Bibl. Ste. Geneviève the account is distorted so that George is made to pray that the child may be given power to walk.

the idol. Apolin appears, confesses his lack of reality, and is sent into the abyss, which opens under the martyr's feet. The other idols are broken.

8 (= O 8?). George is now led back to Datien and thrown into a cauldron filled with sulphur and pitch. An angel from heaven extinguishes the flames and promises him paradise.

9 (= O 13(?) and 15). Alixandre (Alixandrine γ, Alexandria δ) the queen now confesses her faith in the power of God, and the emperor in his anger commands her to be suspended by the hair and beaten. When she asks for baptism, the saint raises his hand to heaven, and a cloud comes down and furnishes him with the necessary water. She is then led away to execution.

10 (= 10). Datien still promises George immunity from further suffering, if he will perform the miracle of the tombs. Servants are sent to gather the bones, but find only dust, which they bring before George. In answer to his prayer 200 men and women are brought back to life. One of these by the name of Joel (Johel δ) gives an account of their sufferings and says they had been dead at least 200 years. He begs for baptism for himself and his companions. George makes the sign of the cross on the ground and water bubbles forth. They are now baptized and vanish. Of the people that witness the miracle 3,035 (3,030 δ, 8,035 in Bibl. Ste. Geneviève MS. 588) men and women are converted and baptized and George offers up a prayer of gratitude, which contains a reference to his 7 years of suffering.

11 (O = 17?). Datien is so overcome with anger that he bursts his girdle and almost falls from his throne. After another reference to the 7 years of suffering of the martyr he now commands him to be led out of the city to be executed. A large crowd follows. When he has arrived at the place of execution, George offers up a lengthy prayer, a voice from heaven is heard in answer, then he is decapitated and angels from heaven receive his soul.

12 (= O 18). I, Eusebius, who was with the saint while he did his miracles, wrote his life and passion in Militene

(Militaine β apud civitatem Militinensem δ) in the province of Cappadocia, while Datien was emperor. (*The paragraph is absent in γ .*)

The close relation of this version to that contained in G, Sg and C is evident, but it presents also some important differences. There is to be noted in the first place the variation in the order of incidents. Retaining the numbering of O the paragraphs now appear in the order 1, 2, 4, 5, 11, 7, 13, 14, 8 (?), 15, 10, 17, 18. We note further a number of omissions and changes.

Omissions.—No reference is made to the presence of 72 kings in § 1. The tortures in § 2 are reduced by the omission of O 2-c, d, e, f, g, *i. e.*, the iron boots, the chest filled with nails and barbed hooks, the crushing of the head with a heavy hammer, the heavy column which is placed on the martyr's breast, the appearance of God in prison and the prophecy of 7 years of suffering and a triple death. Further omissions are the tortures of O 3, the trick of Athanasius with the ox O 4, the tortures of O 6, the death in O 8, though the nature of the torture is still recognizable, the incident of Scholastike and her ox O 9, the figure of Tranquillinus O 10, the tortures and third death O 12, the presence of the martyr in the palace during the night and the conversion of Alexandra O 13, the specific tortures of the queen O 15, and finally the death of Datien and the 72 kings by fire from heaven O 16.

Changes.—The changes are also quite important. In O George dies three times and is received into paradise after his decapitation, which constitutes his fourth death. Here only three deaths are thought of, *viz.*, 1) on the wheel, 2) in the cauldron, 3) the final decapitation. Of these the first remains as in the original account, while the second is mitigated in that the intended torture is rendered inefficient through the interference of an angel from heaven, and at the third death George is received into paradise. The idols of Datien are called Gebeel, Apolin, and Arachel with some unimportant graphic variants in the different manuscripts; and the scene

of the torture and martyrdom is localized in Militene.¹ Magnentius, who in the original account suggests the miracle of the thrones, now confesses Christianity after the single resurrection of George (§ 4) in the place of Anatholius, O 5. The number of people raised from death by the martyr is 200, the spokesman's name is Joel, and they had been dead 200 years. In G, Sg, and C it was 5 men, 9 women and 3 children, the spokesman was called Jovis (Jobius, Boes), and they had been dead 460 or 200 years. The sign of the cross on the ground causes water to bubble forth, with which they are baptized, while in O George strikes the ground with his foot with the same result. The queen Alixandre is here converted through the evidence of God's power, while George is being boiled in the cauldron, while in O 13 the martyr improves the night which he passes in the palace by instructing the queen. The description of the anger of Datien, the fact that he bursts his girdle and almost falls from his throne, is not found at all in O, and finally the name of Eusebius in all the versions but γ is substituted for that of Passecras or Pasikrates.

The relation of the different members of this group is not without difficulties. The complete account is contained only in α . In β , γ , δ the story is shortened by the omission of §§ 2 and 3: that is to say, after the appearance of George and the confession of his faith, the tortures begin at once with his death on the wheel, and this, be it said at once, is also the arrangement of all the other versions of this family which have come to my notice. This fact renders α therefore of the highest importance, since we have preserved here in a French translation a portion of the original account lost everywhere else. The explanation which suggests itself is that α is an independent translation of a Latin version containing §§ 2 and 3, of which no copy is found among the numerous manuscripts which I have examined. However, this hypothesis will not solve the difficulties, for α and β

¹ For the importance of this name in this form of the legend cp. below, p. 507.

show the closest verbal agreement, being practically identical throughout with the single omission under consideration, so that the only accurate conclusion can be that β is derived from α . Only one copy of α has come to my notice; all the other texts of this group which I have been able to examine are copies of the source of β , inasmuch as the paragraphs in question are omitted.¹

The version contained in γ presents no particular difficulty. It is evidently an independent translation of a Latin version giving the same account as α , less the contents of §§ 2 and 3.

It has already been intimated that this version is an offspring of O. A glance at its contents and the minute comparison which we have made furnishes sufficient proof. This conclusion is further emphasized by the fact that the only Latin manuscript of this group (δ) has the same *incipit* as G. As to contents δ agrees with β and γ , and this agreement is so close that but for the existence of α we should be justified in looking upon δ as the common source of β and γ . As the matter stands, it is necessary to accept the parallelism noted for α and β also for the Latin sources of the group: that is to say, the cause for the omission of §§ 2 and 3 was not scribal carelessness, but α is a valuable link in the chain of development of this version of the legend, presenting an intermediate step between the original account and the form in which it was later most widely known in Western Europe.² Most probably further search among the legendaries will bring to light a version δ' , the Latin source of α . The text contained in δ was not the direct source of γ , but must have been so closely related to it that for the sake of convenience we may consider γ to be its French form.

¹For the complete text of α see p. 515. It seemed advisable to publish the text in full, since the copy of β published by Veselófskij is rather inaccessible.

²The supposition that the paragraphs in question form an individual addition in α is scarcely tenable. The similarity with O is too close to be due to accident, and on the other hand the differences from O are exactly similar to those in the other paragraphs of this version.

The relation of this group to O may be determined with some degree of accuracy. We have pointed out that the beginning of δ shows close verbal agreement with the corresponding portion of G. A close connection must therefore exist between the two. However, the verbal agreement is after all limited, extending as it does only over the initial sentence, and there is good evidence on the other hand that the common source of this group was closely related to the source of S. The proof of this assertion lies in the manner in which the incidents connected with what I have called the miracle of the tomb (§ 11) are related in the different versions of this group. The number of souls raised to life and the number of years gone by since their burial are identical with those given in S, and the name Joel is evidently the same as the Syriac Jûbâlâ (V 'Iôβήλ). On the other hand, S contains none of the distinguishing features of this group pointed out above, so that the relation of the two cannot have been direct. The only alternative is the acceptance of a lost version (x^s), closely related to the source of S, if not translated from it, and standing also under the influence of G, from which δ and δ' are derived by means of a hypothetical version Y, which served as the point of departure for all the texts of this family.

Upon these considerations I believe the following filiation of these versions may be accepted :



The remaining texts of family Y which have come to my notice are all in Latin and can be formed into two further groups.

Group 2 is made up of versions ε, ζ, η, θ, κ.

ε. *Incipit*.—In illo tempore, cum tribunus militaret sub Datiano imperatore qui fuit persecutor ecclesiarum vel christianorum, misit ad omnes potestates que sub regno ejus erant, ut convenirent in civitatem que dicitur Militana (Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5575, fo. 113–120, XII cent.).

There seems to be a X century copy of the same version in Rouen, MS. 1379, f. 31 (*Incipit*—In diebus illis cum tribuni militarent) and another of the XII century in Chartres, MS. 506, fo. 75–77 (*Incipit*—In illis diebus cum tribunus militaret). Another version closely related is cited *Anal. Boll.*, VIII, p. 175, from the Bibl. Civit. Carnot, MS. 193, fo. 130–133, also of the XII century.

ζ. *Incipit*.—Tempore illo Dacianus imperator, qui fuit persecutor christianorum et ecclesiarum Dei, cum tribunis et militari manu misit ad omnes potestates quae in regione ejus erant, ut convenirent in civitatem quae dicitur Militana (Brussels, Bibl. Reg. 380–382, fo. 14 r–16 v, XV century, publ. *Anal. Boll.*, III, pp. 204–206). According to the *Anal. Boll.*, XI, p. 309, a version closely similar can be found in the Bibl. Ambros. E. 84 Inf., f. 81–84, of the XII century.

η. *Incipit*.—Romanorum imperatorum vicesimus quintus regnavit Decius imperator, persecutor et inimicus christianorum. Erat quidem tribunus militum Georgius de civitate Melena (publ. Bibl. Casin., II, Floril. 7–11).

θ. *Incipit*.—In eodem tempore sub Decio imperatore cum populus vel gens ydolorum culturas diligebat, Apollinis erradiens (sic) quod cum venisset beatus Georgius in civitate (sic) qui (sic) dicitur Palestine (Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5306, fo. 90 v–92 r, XIV century).

κ. *Incipit*.—Anno igitur ab incarnatione domini fere ducentesimo nonagesimo primo, residente in urbe Roma Marcelino pontifice et universali papa, dum predictus Cesar Dioclitia-

nus in provincia Capadocie christiane fidei cultores examinare cepisset, tantus pavor et ebitudo mentis cecidit super omnes ut nemo auderet se palam christicolam confiteri; adeo ut plurimi eligerent in montibus vitam cum bestiis ducere, quam christianam fidem supplicia verendo negarent. In diebus illis erat quidem tribunus nomine Georgius, de provincia Capadocia qui illic militare cepit temporibus Dioclitiani impiissimi imperatoris, qui fuit persecutor christianorum. Persequebatur autem ecclesiam dei et diversis penis laniabat eos, qui in Christo credebant. Eodem tempore, cum venisset Datianus preses in civitatem que dicitur Militina . . . (Oxford, Canon. Misc. 244, fo. 51 r-53 v, XIV century).

As to contents and order of incidents, the texts of this group resemble closely β , γ , δ of the previous group, that is to say, the tortures begin with George's death on the wheel. To characterize them, it will be sufficient to note the features peculiar to them. We begin with ϵ , which contains the best account. The emperor's name is Datianus and the scene is laid in Militana. The names of the idols are Apollo, Zetes, and Hercules. In the miracle of the tomb 19 men and women come to life, who had been dead 200 years. The name of their spokesman is Jobel. When Datian condemns George to death, no mention is made of the fact that his anger is so great that he bursts his girdle and falls from his throne, but the account adds that a bit is placed into the martyr's mouth, when he is driven to execution. Finally the name of the servant, by whom the account pretends to be written, is omitted.¹ The legend as told in ζ seems to be identical with that found in ϵ . The emperor's name is Dacianus and the scene is laid in Militena. The idols are called Zebees, Apollo, and Iracles. The edition (Anal. Boll., *l. c.*) is not

¹ Two additional points of difference are without importance. George is said to have been cut into 19 pieces during the torture on the wheel. The number is always written out in the text, *decem* on the line, and *et novem* added above it, seemingly by the same hand. In the account of the miracle of the thrones the senseless number 314 occurs, written out *trecenti quatuordecim*.

complete; the editors refer for the full text to η , but they add that ζ contains also the miracles of the 14 thrones, absent in the former.

The account of the martyrdom as found in η also agrees closely with that given in ϵ , though it contains some marked peculiarities. The emperor's name here is Decius and the scene is laid in Melena. The order of incidents is the same as in ϵ , but the miracle of the thrones is omitted, and in the miracle of the tomb neither the number of souls resuscitated nor the name of their spokesman, nor the number of years that they had been dead is given. The reference to the servant of George is also absent. In spite of these omissions and differences, however, the account agrees so closely with ϵ , that there can be no doubt of their common origin.

The same is true of ϑ . Here, too, the emperor's name is Decius, but the scene is laid in Diospolis in Palestine.¹ The name of the emperor occurs, however, only in the beginning, and throughout the rest of the story Dacian appears as the real enemy of the martyr. The idols to whom he is asked to sacrifice are called Apollo, Asclepyades, and a third referred to in the objective case once as Tharacly, and another time seemingly as Tharadi. In the miracle of the tomb 14 women come to life, but the name of the spokesman is given soon afterwards as Johel, and he relates that they had been dead 300 years.

¹ This localization of the passion at Diospolis may be a later addition. The name is not found in the text proper (cp. the incipit, cited above); it is supplied by a heading which reads: 'Passio sancti Georgii martyris Christi, qui passus est Palestina in civitate Diospoli sub Decio imperatore ix Kal. Mai.' The language of this version is the worst imaginable, and the copyist may have supplied the omission, which is evident in the opening sentence. The reference to Diospolis, which in its last analysis derives from the Greek versions, is not necessarily here due to Greek influence. The name is found in the martyrologies of Usuardus (*Migne*, 123, p. 963), Notker (*Migne*, 131, p. 1069) and Ado (*Migne*, 123, p. 251). Cp. also Amélineau, *l. c.*, pp. 308-309. Moreover the church of St. George at Lydda-Diospolis was well known in Europe during the XIV century.

The account contained in κ , in its main outline, also presents the same facts and incidents common to the other texts of the group, though it omits the miracle of the tomb. Its main interest lies in the introduction quoted in full above. The martyrdom is dated in the year 291, during the pontificate of Pope Marcellinus, and during the reign of the emperor Diocletianus. Soon, however, the names of Datianus and Militina are introduced, and then the story proceeds in the usual fashion. There is no reason whatever for believing that this date is a later addition. Though the manuscript is comparatively recent, the whole text makes in every way the impression of being much older.

All these texts, of which only κ is of interest, because of the introduction of the date 291 and the name of Marcellinus, which occurs also in the version of Petrus Parthenopensis and in the M. H. G. poem of Reinbot von Durne (see part II of the present study) derive clearly from a common source. This source which we shall call Y^1 differed from Y in the absence of §§ 2 and 3, and in the number of souls called back to life in the miracle of the tomb. The figures differ here in the different texts and in some they are absent, but where they are given, they agree more closely with G , Sg , and C than did the versions of group 1. As to the number of years gone by since their death the agreement is with Sg , C , and S , and the name Joel points back to a source closely related to S . All these lines characterize Y^1 as an independent abridgment of O , due to the same impulse which produced Y . Granting the priority of the form of the legend contained in Ya , it is not all impossible that the shorter form of Y^1 determined the omission of §§ 2 and 3 in versions β , γ and δ .

Group 3 is made up of versions λ and μ .

λ . *Incipit*.—Virtutum meritis insignis beatus Georgius ingenuitatem carnis summis actibus adeo decoravit ut martirii gloria non expers stigmata passionum Christi in suo corpore perferret (Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 12606, fo. 19 v–20 r, XII century.)

μ . *Incipit.*—In illis diebus hic tribunus militavit sub tempore Daciani imperatoris, qui fuit persecutor christianorum vel ecclesiarum. Hic ergo misit precones ad omnes potestates que in regno ejus erant, ut convenirent ad civitatem Militanam.

It is found in Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5256, fo. 176 r–182 v, XII century. Another copy exists in Paris, Bibl. Maz. 454, of the XIV century, and, as it would seem, also in Bibl. Civit. Carnot, 144, fo. 75 r–77 v of the X century. Cp. Anal. Boll., VIII, p. 127 (*Incipit.*—In illis diebus cum tribunus militaret sub tempore Datiani, imperatoris).

Both versions are closely related to those previously examined. The emperor's name is Datianus (λ) or Dacianus (μ), and the scene is laid in Militana (λ) or Militena (μ). The names of the idols in μ (§ 1) are Mars and Apollo, in λ the pale condition of the ink of the manuscript renders it difficult to say what names are given, though elsewhere of course the name is Apollo. Both texts omit the miraculous growth of the tree in the widow's house (§ 5). The miracle of the thrones (§ 6) is omitted in λ , but μ relates, that after the prayer of the saint "dissoluti sunt omnes troni et facti sunt arbores fructiferi qui fuerunt antea sine fructu." The number of souls raised from death in μ is 235, and the spokesman is called Zoel, but the number of years intervening since their death is omitted. In λ no names or numbers are mentioned in connection with this miracle. Neither version finally contains a reference to the servant of George as author of the account.

The main importance of these versions lies in the incidents related in § 7 (O 13–14). When George seems to be on the point of sacrificing to Apollo, and the widow appears with her lame child and chides him for his lack of trust in God, he requests her to place the child upon the ground and heals him as in the previous versions, but instead of sending him into the temple to call out the idol, he goes himself, forces

the mention of Militena as the scene of the martyrdom. This name is not new in the legend, for, although absent in C, it is found in the encomium of Theodosius (Melitene, cp. Budge, *l. c.*, p. 238), as well as in that of Theodotus (cp. *ibid.*, p. 286), both of which are based on the Coptic text.¹

It will be noted in the next place that the manuscripts of family Y date from the XII century or later, *i. e.*, after the crusades. Only two exceptions to this fact have come to my notice. The first is a copy of Y ϵ , contained in the library of Rouen, MS. 1379, and attributed by the *Catalogue général des bibliothèques de France* to the X century. However, the same manuscript contains also a text of a version of family Z (cp. below, p. 511), of which X century copies are not infrequent, so that I suspect that the codex in question is made up of portions written at various periods and later bound together. Another X century text of this family is the copy of Y μ noted in the *Anal. Boll.*, VIII, p. 127, but in view of the overwhelming evidence to the contrary I am inclined to suspect here also imperfect dating of the manuscript.

The great favor of the saint in the later Middle Ages is one of the results of the crusades, and of the two Western versions Y represents the new importation due to this contact with the East, while Z shows the earlier tradition. Both the encomiums just cited locate the martyrdom in Tyre, showing that the legend flourished along the route traversed by the Western armies on their march to Jerusalem, and it seems, therefore, quite natural that the name Militena should appear in the form of the legend brought back by the members of the various expeditions.²

¹This distinction between C and the two encomiums must be borne in mind in reading the summary of the Coptic legend given by Budge, *l. c.*, pp. xvii-xxvi, which is a composite of these three texts.

²For further particulars in regard to the introduction of Saint George as an active figure in West-European tradition, cp. part II of the present study.

FAMILY Z.

■ This family is composed of the texts contained in the following manuscripts :

- a. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Nouv. Acq. F. L. 2288.
- b. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 10870.
- c. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5565.
- d. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5639.
- e. *Legenda Aurea*.
- f. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 818.
- g. Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars. 570.

These texts also fall into two groups.

Group 1 is composed of versions a and b.

a. *Incipit*.—Tantas itaque ac tales martirum passiones roseis cruorum infulis consecratas, nullus omittit tante virtutis agonem impensius enarrare.¹

It is found in the following manuscripts :

Paris, Bibl. Nat. Nouv. Acq. F. L. 2288, fo. 151 r–154 r (Anno 1425).

London, Brit. Mus. Nero. E. 1, fo. 204 r–205 r (ms. written towards the year 1000, according to the catalogue).

London, Brit. Mus. Tib. D., III, fo. 45 v–47 r.

Rouen, ms. 1391, fo. 135–147 (XII cent.).

Bibl. Civit. Carnot 150, fo. 147 v–149 r (XII cent.). }²

Bibl. Civit. Carnot 192, fo. 65 v–69 r (XII cent.) }

Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars. 996, fo. 91 r–92 r (XV cent.).

b. *Incipit*.—Cum primates militarium gentium pro diversis negotiis ad Datianum romanorum imperatorem in Militene civitate confluxissent, advenit etiam Georgius miles egregius tribunus Cappadocie (Bibl. Nat. F. L. 10870, fo. 110 r–110 v, XII–XIII cent.).³

¹ For the full text of a see below, p. 530.

² Cp. *Anal. Boll.*, VIII, pp. 139 and 171.

³ The version given by Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, II, 13, belongs to the same group.

The following is an analysis of the account contained in these manuscripts, the division of paragraphs being again made to accord with that of the apocryphal version.

1 (= O 1). *Datianus the emperor is instigated by the devil to organize a persecution against the Christians. Seated on his throne, he commands that the instruments of torture, previously prepared, be brought forth, and a great sacrifice to the idols is proclaimed (absent in b).* At that moment George appears from Cappadocia (b locates the scene more particularly in Militena) provided with money *which his compatriots had supplied (absent in b)*, in order that he might buy the consulship over his province. *Seeing the sacrilege against the true God, he gives his money to the poor, and taking off the chlamys of earthly dignity and putting on the dress of a Christian (absent in b)* he steps before Datian and confesses his faith. The emperor, angry and astonished, asks who he is and whence he comes, and when he has obtained the answer, he commands that George must sacrifice to Apollo.

2 (= O 2-a). The tortures begin at once. a) George is placed upon the rack and torn to pieces; then burning torches are applied to his sides.¹ b) He is led without the city and beaten; salt is sprinkled into his wounds, and they are rubbed with coarse cloth. Then he is taken back to prison.

3 (= O 4). Datianus is now advised (the counsellor's name is not given) to send for a magician who might overcome the magic of George. Athanasius appears, and when the martyr sees him, he foretells his approaching conversion. The magician gives him successively two potions, and when these do not harm the saint, he falls at his feet and asks for baptism. He is at once led without the city and executed, while George is taken back to prison.

4 (= O 5). On the next day a huge wheel fitted out with sharp swords is brought into the amphitheater. George is led up singing a psalm, and when he is thrown upon it, the wheel is broken and the martyr remains unhurt.

¹ This last feature is not contained in G, Sg, and C.

5 (= O 6-a or 8). George is now to be thrown into a cauldron filled with boiling lead. After a prayer and the sign of the cross he jumps into it and experiences no harm.

6 (= O 13 in part). Datian now tries flattery and begs George to sacrifice to his idols. The martyr seems to assent, whereupon the emperor is so delighted that he wishes to kiss him for joy, but George does not permit him.

7 (= O 14 in part). On the appointed day the altars of Apollo, Jupiter, and Hercules are adorned, a herald announces the great festival, and a large multitude gathers. George enters the temple, kneels down before the altars and prays for the destruction of the idols. Fire falls from heaven and destroys the temple, the priests and a part of the multitude, while the earth opens and swallows up the idols. The news is carried to Datian, who commands that George be led before him. The saint then tries to persuade him that he has been misinformed, and endeavors to entice him to the temple, but fails in this attempt.

8 (= O 16, 17). Mounting on his throne, Datian now dictates the sentence of death and George is led to execution. After a long prayer, in which he intercedes for those who might pray in his name, he is beheaded. Christians from Cappadocia bury his body, and Datian and his ministers are consumed by fire from heaven as they return from the place of execution to the palace.

This brief analysis has made it evident that this version also derives from the original apocryphal account, though the omissions and alterations are most fundamental. All that was supernatural in the original story has been most carefully eliminated, and only the barest outline of the passion of the saint remains. Among the omissions are the triple death of George, the miracle of the tomb, the miracle of the thrones, his incarceration in the house of the widow, the manifold tortures, and with these has gone also the conversion of Alexandra. Now all this is so entirely in accord with the censure of Pope Gelasius, that we are ready to believe that

this version was prepared to supplant the older legend. We shall see presently that it became the canonical version of the West.

The two texts just examined agree closely, the only difference between them being the mention of Melitena in *b*. Both must, therefore, derive from a common source, which we shall call Z.

Group 2 is composed of versions c, d, e, f, g.

c. Incipit.—Tempore quo Dioclitianus romani urbis gubernandum suscepit imperium, cum undique res publica multis ac diversis quateretur in commodis. . . .

It is found in the following manuscripts :

1. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5565, fo. 82 v–93 r (XI cent.).
2. Rouen, ms. 1379, fo. 200–204 (X cent.).
3. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 9736, fo. 39 v–44 v (XII cent.).
4. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 12611, fo. 26 r–31 r (XII cent.).
5. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 14363, fo. 93 r–95 v (XII cent.).
6. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 16737 (XII cent.).
7. Paris, Bibl. Ste Geneviève 533, fo. 251 v–255 r (XII cent.).
8. Chartres, ms. 501, fo. 65–69 (XII cent.).
9. Chartres, ms. 137, fo. 144 v–147 v (XII cent.).
10. Paris, Bibl. Ste Geneviève 132, fo. 1 and 3, incomplete (XII cent.).
11. Bibl. Civit. Carnot 190, fo. 74–77 (XII cent.).
12. Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 396, abridged (XIII cent.).
13. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5280, fo. 175 r–180 v (XIII cent.).
14. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5322, fo. 26 r–29 r (XIII cent.).
15. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5371, fo. 230 r–231 v, incomplete (XIII cent.).
16. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5323, fo. 19 r–21 r (XIII cent.).
17. Rouen, ms. 1410, fo. 161–169 (XIII cent.).
18. Dijon, ms. 639, fo. 133–136 (XIII cent.).
19. Avranches, ms. 167, fo. 121–125 (XIII cent.).
20. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 11756, fo. 197 r–199 v (XIV cent.).

21. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 14365, fo. 149–155 (xv cent.).
22. Chartres, ms. 500, fo. 74–77 (xii–xv cent.).
23. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5292, fo. 273–276.
24. London, Brit. Mus. Harl. 2800, fo. 57 v–59 v.
25. Brussels, Bibl. Reg. 207–208, fo. 209 r–211 v, cited Anal. Boll., iii, p. 148.
26. Brussels, Bibl. Reg. 8690–8702, fo. 78 r–86 v, cited Anal. Boll., vi, p. 206.
27. Bibl. Ambros. P. 113, Sup., fo. 58 r–65 v, cited Anal. Boll., xi, p. 360.

d. Incipit.—Tempore Diocletiani et Maximiani tanta persecutio Christianorum fuit, quod intra unum mensem xvii milia Christianorum occisi sunt.

It is found in the following manuscripts :

1. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5639, fo. 37 v–38 v (xiii cent.).
2. Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5277, fo. 126 r–128 r (xiii cent.).
3. Auxerre, ms. 124 (xiii cent.).
4. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 937 (xiii cent.).
5. Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 1731 (xiv cent.).
6. Besançon, ms. 816 (xiv cent.).¹

e. Incipit.—Tempore Diocletiani et Maximiani tanta persecutio christianorum fuit ut infra unum mensem xvii milia martiris coronarentur.

This is the version found in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacob de Voragine.

f. Incipit.—En cel tens que Diocletians ere emperor de Roma et li diablos s'esforsaue d'affacier la lei crestiana, en cel tans aveint que veint de les parties de Capadoci uns gentix hom, noblos et preus qui estoit apelez Georgios.

It is found in the following manuscripts :

- Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 818, fo. 226 v–229 v (xiii cent.).
- Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 423, fo. 91 r–93 r (xiii cent.).

¹This is the version contained in the *Summa de Vitis Sanctorum*, described by Paul Meyer, *Notices et Extraits*, xxxvi, p. 3 ff., of which he there studies a French translation contained in the following mss.: Épinal 70, Lille 451, London, Brit. Mus. Add. 15231, Paris, Bibl. Nat. F. Fr. 988 and 1782, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 3706.

g. Incipit.—C'est la vie et lai passion monsignour Saint Gorge commant il fut martyries Dyocliciens et Maximiens en ycelz temps quis estoient emperours de Rome. Dont il auint que Daciens li preuos faixoit querir touz lez cristians et les faixoit morir de diuerses mors.

It is found in Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars. 570, fo. 106 r-109 v, of the XIII century. The text is published in full by Paul Meyer in the *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français* for 1901, pp. 57-61. The same scholar has recently pointed out (*Rom.*, xxx, p. 305) another French version, closely related to the present text in a manuscript in Brussels, Bibl. Reg. 10295-304, fo. 63 v-68 v.

Of these versions the one contained in *c* is the most important. As to contents it does not differ from versions *a* and *b* of the previous group, but it contains before the story of the martyrdom a lengthy historical introduction in which the names of Diocletianus and Maximianus are introduced. Here it is related how, during the reign of Diocletian, the Roman empire was threatened on all sides by invasions and internal upheavals, and how Diocletian then decided to associate Herculus Maximianus with himself in the government. Together the two bent their whole energy upon the extermination of the Christian heresy. Diocletian led the persecution in the East, and Maximian in the West. Then follows the same account as that contained in the two versions of group 1, and Datianus is represented as the archenemy of the martyr.

This version *c* was the most widely spread Latin form of the legend during the Middle Ages. The oldest manuscript which I have seen, and which forms the basis of my comparison,¹ belongs to the XI century; but from the published catalogue of the library of Rouen it appears that there exists in that collection a copy of the same text belonging to the X century. My own records so far include 27 copies

¹ Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5565; for the full text of the introduction cp. below, p. 534.

belonging to the X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV and XV centuries, and of these 14 are found in the different libraries of Paris, while the others are scattered in Rouen, Dijon, Avranches, Chartres, Brussels, and the British Museum. I have no doubt that a more extended search would reveal copies in many other libraries. It was evidently the version received as authentic during the Middle Ages in Western Europe.

Its relation to version *a* of group 1 is not difficult to see. The close verbal agreement between the two forces the conclusion that both derive from a common source. It is also evident that *a* must be the older, since it agrees with O in the absence of the names of Diocletian and Maximian. The conclusion must, therefore, be that *c* is based upon the source of *a*, and that the historical introduction is a later addition to it. This addition may have been made under the influence of some Greek version, though there is nothing to prove this supposition beyond the fact that the introduction of Diocletian belongs to the canonical version. The further addition of Maximian was a natural step, when once the martyrdom had been located during the tenth persecution.

Version *d* is clearly an abridged account of *c*, in which the historical introduction has been reduced to a single sentence, stating that a fearful persecution raged against the Christians during the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, so that in one month 17,000 of them were slain.

Version *e* represents the text of the *Legenda Aurea*. In spite of the similarity of the beginning to that of *d*, the body of the text gives proof of being independent of it; hence both *d* and *e* must derive from a common source.

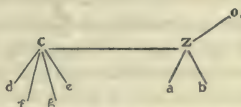
Versions *f* and *g* finally contain French translations of the same version. According to Paul Meyer, *Notices et Extraits*, xxxiv, p. 81, *f* is a translation of the form of the legend contained in Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5292, which is one of the many manuscripts of *c*. It would be preferable to cite another copy, of which there is a great profusion, as has just been shown, since the one contained in this manuscript has

several folios lacking. However, while there can be no question of the close relation of *f* and *c*, I do not believe that it was as close as Paul Meyer seems to infer. The long historical introduction of *c* is reduced to such a minimum that the name of Maximian does not even appear, so that, as a matter of fact, *f* bears a much closer resemblance to *d* and *e* than to *c*.

Version *g* is a translation of a text closely related to the source of *f*, if not identical with it. The historical introduction of *c* is reduced as in *d*, *e* and *f*, but the name of Maximian has not disappeared as in *f*.

The conclusion must be that *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g* all derive from a common source, which most probably was *c*, owing to the age and great favor which this version enjoyed.

The relation of the various members of family Z may be graphically represented as follows :



Ya. PARIS BIBLIOTHÈQUE SAINTE GENEVIÈVE, MS. 588.

F. 113^{rb}. Vraiment raconte la devine page que quant li saint home se penoient et esforçoient d'acroistre et d'essaucier la sainte loi Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist, si com vous avez oy, uns rois estoit en Perse, qui Dathiens estoit apelez. A celui roi entra¹ li dyables el cors, qui riches estoit et puissanz; si manda et commanda que tuit si prevost venissent a lui et li baillif qui estoient en son roiaume, et si leur manda qu'il assamblassent a une cité, qui estoit apelée Militene. Quant tuit furent assamblé et venu, Dathiens li empereres, qui plains estoit de desverie, commença oiant touz a dire: Se je truiz en ceste cité crestien, qui nos diex ne vueille aorer, ne (f. 113^{va}) a euls faire sacrefices, je li ferai les iex crever et la teste escorchier et tous les membres couper. Quant il ot ce dit et tout cil qui la estoient se taisoient, il commanda que tuit li maistre fevre de la vile venissent a lui, et si feroient engins pour les crestiens destruire et ocire. Quant il furent venu devant lui, si leur commanda qu'il feissent agues espées et tenailles a denz traire, et rasoirs²

¹ MS. estoit.

² MS. rasoir.

trenchanz a escorchier, et si commanda qu'il feissent une roe de fer ou il eust fichié es broches agues espées treuchanz et autres plusors engins que je ne sai mie nommer. Et quant ce virent cil de la cité, que li rois commandoit a faire ces merveilles et si granz, il n'i ot celui qui osast dire qu'il fust crestiens.

En celui jor et en cel tens estoit uns hons de la contrée de Capadoce, qui avoit non Jorge [et estoit venus a grant compaignie de chevaliers, dont il estoit sires, et avoit aporté de son pays or et argent a grant plenté que il vouloit donner a Datien por estre maistres conseilliers de Capadoce, dont il estoit li plus haus hon].¹ Lors se pensa qu'il iroit en la cité de Miletene on Dathiens li empereres estoit. Quant il vint la, si aperçut que toutes les genz, qui la estoient venues, blasmoient et despisoient Dieu et aoroient les dyables par le commandement Datien, l'empereor. Quant il aperçut ces choses si fu molt dolenz en son cuer, si dist a lui meisme (f. 113 v^b) : Que me profitera, se je trespasse de ce siecle atout grans richesses, qui tost seront alées, et je suefre en l'autre les paines pardurables qui touz jors durront. Quant il ot ce dit, si prist l'or, qu'il avoit avoec lui aporté, si le departi tout aus povres por l'amour de Nostre Seigneur. Puis si vint a l'empereor Datien et li dist : Rois Dathien, je te di por verité que je sui crestiens, et si aore Dieu qui fist le ciel et la terre et toutes les choses qui enz sont. Mais tu aores le dyable et li dyable avuglent les cuers des mescreanz por ce qu'il ne connoissent lor creator, qui fist le ciel et la terre. Empereres, tu es trop deceus, qui croiz en ces ydoles et en ces fausses images qui sont sourdes et mues, qui bouches ont et si ne parolent mie, et ont eux et ne voient goute et oreilles et n'oent rien, et ont narilles et ne flairent nule chose et ont mains et nule chose n'atouchent et ont piez et si ne vont mie. Il convient que l'en les gart par mut que l'en ne les perde ; et les faites d'or et d'argent et de pierres. Je pri Dieu, que tout cil qui les font et qui faire les font, et qui en euls croient, soient autreteles com eles sont.

Quant li empereres Dathiens oy ce, si fu molt corrouciez et dist a Saint Jorge : De quel desverie te vient tel hardiece, et qui es tu qui mesames mes diex ? Di moi qui tu es et de quel terre et comment tu as non. Sains Jorge li respondi : Je sui crestiens et serf Jhesu Crist et si ai non Jorge et sui de Capadoce, dont j'ai amené grant compaignie de gent avoec (f. 114 r^a) moi et saches que je vueil volentiers perdre l'onneur de ce siecle por avoir la conpaignie dou ciel. Dathiens li dist : Jorge, tu es fols ; sez tu autre chose dont tu soies corrouciez ? Vien avant, si sacrefie a Apolin, qui bien te porra ta folie pardonner, et se tu veus avoir seignorie ne digneté, je la te donrai et saches bien que j'acomplirai tous tes voloires, si que tu seras sires deseur moi en mon regne ; mais que tu laisses cele mauvaise creance. Sains Jorge respondi : Je ne quier ne ne veil avoir ta seignorie ne ta digneté, car ele est tost trespassee et alée, mes je te di pour

¹ The passage in [] is absent in version β .

verité, que je aore Dieu et croi, qui nous racheta de la mort pardurable, et fait miex a croire que ton faus dieu Apolin, qui onques ne fist se mal non. Quant Dathiens, li empereres l'oy ainsi parler, si li dist : Jorges, voir, je sui molt corrouciez de ta grant biauté, qui definera par griez tormenz et por cruiex paines. Sains Jorges li dist : N'aies mie dolor de moi, mais de toi meisme maine duel et de ton aage et de ce que tu as perdue la lumiere. Ce est que tu ne connois Nostre Seignor Jhesu Crist, qui tout le monde forma et fist. Dathiens li empereres li dist : Que paroles tu tant. Fai mes volentez et se tu nes veus faire et aemplir, je te jure par toz mes diex, Gebeel et Apolin et Arrachel, que je te ferai tant de dolor sentir que tuit cil qui sont en terre en porront faire essample et avoir poor et si verrai se tes Diex te porra delivrer de mes mains. Sains Jorges li respondi : Je croi tant en (f. 114 r^b) mon Dieu, qui me fist et forma, que il confondra toi et tes faus ymages. [Quant Dathiens oy ce, si fist prendre Saint Jorge e metre en un pilori, et puis commanda traire li les ongles de fer par les costez. Apres li commanda les costez aflamber si aigrement, que toutes les entrailles li pareussent. Tout ce soufri bien et en pais Sains Jorges. Et quant il ot molt longuement soufert, si le fist Dathiens jus metre et commanda que l'en le menast hors de la vile, batant tant qu'il fust tous plaiez, et puis emplist on toutes ses plaies de sel et puis bien tenter d'aspres haires. Touz ces tormenz li fist Dathiens souffrir, mais il ne li valut riens, car li cors Saint Jorge n'en empira onques.

Quant Dathiens vit que en ceste maniere ne le porroit veintre, si le fist metre en une parfonde chartre et manda par toutes les citez dou pays que, s'il i avoit nul enchanteur, que il venissent a lui et il lor donroit dou sien molt largement. Lors i vint Athanasins, qui estoit uns des maistres enchanterres de la terre et li dist : Empereres, por quoi m'as tu mandé ? Dathiens li dist : Porroies tu destruire les enchantemenz aus crestiens ? Athanasins dist : Viengne avant cil que tu dis qui enchanterres est, et se je ne le puis veintre, je sui dignes de morir. Lors fist Dathiens Saint Jorge venir avant, et li dist : J'ai cest enchanteur mandé por toi. Ou il veintra tes enchantemenz on tu les siens ; car li uns de vous (f. 114 v^a) convient l'autre destruire. Sains Jorges regarda Athanasim si li dist : Il m'est avis que tu prens petit et petit la grace Dieu. Et Athanasins prist un henap et mist ens une maniere de boivre molt fort et apela le non au dyable desus, puis le dona a Saint Jorge a boire et il le but ; tout onques mal ne li fist. De ce fu Dathiens molt iriez et dist a Athanasim : Qu'est ce ? N'en feras tu plus ? Et il dist : Je ne sai que faire plus que une seule chose, et se cele ne li nuist, je me convertirai a Jhesu Crist. Lors retorna a Saint Jorge et li donna une autre manere de boivre, si le but ; mais onques ne li greva. Et quant Athanasins vit ce, si se laissa tantost cheoir aus piez monseigneur Saint Jorge et li pria qu'il le feist baptizier. Lors les fist Dathiens prendre ambedens et fist a Athanasin couper le chief et Saint Jorge metre en prison. L'endemain fist Dathiens assamblar tous les pers et toutes les genz de sa cité et fist Saint Jorge venir devant

lui. Dont commanda Dathiens, que l'en li feist apporter une roe toute plaine d'espees trenchanz de toutes pars et dist que l'en laissast Saint Jorge cheoir de haut sur ces espees tout nu, por lui faire destruire. Quant Sains Jorges vit cel torment qui por lui estoit apareilliez, si regarda vers le ciel et dist : Sire Diex, entent a moi et haste toi de moi aidier.]¹ Quant il vint devant la roe et il la vit si dist a lui meisme : Pourquoi douterai je ces (f. 114 v^b) tormenz qui fin prendront et ne durront mie pardurablement? Et lors commença a crier a haute voiz et a dire : Dathien, fai la volenté dou dyable ton pere ; et puis si dist a lui meisme : Je sai bien que Nostre Sires Diex fu crucefiez entre les larrons pour pecheors delivrer de la mort pardurable. Je porquoi ne morroie por Nostre Seigneur en ce siecle terrien por vivre pardurablement. Et lors commanda Dathiens a lier le et a geter le seur la roe et qu'ele fust escrollé a tornoier. Ele trencha et parti le cors dou beneoit martir en x pieces. Quant Dathiens, li empereres, le vit si dist : Jorges, ou est tes Diex? Viengne, si t'ayt et si te delivre. Lors commanda a prendre les x pieces et a geter en un oscur puis desert et la bouche du puis deseure a seeler d'une pierre. Quant ainsi fu fait, li empereres se departi de la, si ala mengier, et tuit s'empartirent avoec l'empereour, que nus n'i demora. Et Nostre Sires Jhesu Criz, qui plus est et misericors et qui n'oublie mie ses sers vint deseure le puis atout grant compaignie d'angres et d'archangres. Adont s'esmut la terre et crolla par l'avenement du² sauveeur. Et lors apela Saint Michiel, l'arcangre et li dist qu'il descendist enz el puis et si rassemblast les pieces et les membres de Saint Jorge, son serf, et meist devant lui. Et Sains Michiel, li angres, fist ainsi comme Nostre Sires Jhesu Criz li avoit commandé. Et quant les pieces et li membre dou saint (f. 115 r^a) martir furent devant Nostre Seigneur, il mist sa main deseure et si dist : Icele destre qui Adam le premier home fist et forma, cele meisme te resuscite. Et tantost li beneoiz martirs se releva touz sains et touz haitiez et dont li dist Nostre Sires :

Jorge, va t'en et si confont Datien. Et lors s'en remonta Nostre Sires es ciex avoec sa haute compaignie. Et Sains Jorges s'en vint en la cité a grant joie, si commença a haute voiz a crier et a dire : Dathien, on sont ti cruiel torment et tes gries paines? Je sui Jorges, que tu feis partir en x pieces, mais Nostre Sires Jhesu Criz vint a moi et si me resuscita par sa grant misericorde. Quant Dathiens, li empereres, le vit, si en ot grant poor et dist a ceus qui entour lui estoient, que ce n'estoit mie Jorges, ainçois ert li esperiz de lui. Li autres disoit que non estoit, ainçois ert uns hons samblables a lui. Sains Jorges respondi et dist : Sachiez vraiment que je sui Jorges, qui fui depeciez en x pieces et el puis getez. Uns chevaliers qui la estoit, Mananties avoit non, et maistres estoit des chevaliers. Quant il vit Saint Jorge, qui ainsi estoit revenuz par la volenté de Nostre Seigneur, si crut en Dieu le pere tout puissant par le

¹ The passage in [] is absent in version β.

² MS. au.

haut miracle qu'il avoit apertement veu, si atorna apres ce petit de tens toute sa maisnie a vraie creance. Dont commanda Datiens li empereres que on preist Saint Jorge, si le meist on et enclosist en la maison d'une reve dame qui (f. 115 r^b) pres d'iluec manoit. Quant il i fu venuz si dist a la fame: Bonne fame, donne moi un pou de pain. Ele respondi: Biaus Sire, je n'en ai point, et bien sachiez que ceenz n'a pain. Sains Jorges li dist: Quel dieu croiz tu et aores? La fame li dist: Apolin. Et Sains Jorges li dist: Por ce que tu aores Apolin n'as tu point de pain. Et cele fame a cui il parloit, en cui maison il estoit menez, avoit un fill, qui clop estoit et sours et muz, et ele dist au saint home: Se tu pues mon fill garir ou faire¹ tant qu'il soit gariz de ses granz enfermetez, je croirai en ton Dieu.

Lors se retorna Sains Jorges vers l'enfant et dist: El non Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist puisses tu parler et veoir et oyr et entendre. Et la fame prist a prier mon seigneur Saint Jorge et si li dist: Biaus Sire, je te pri que tu le faces aler.² Sains Jorges li respondi: Pour ce que il soit mes tesmoins de la haute puissance Nostre Seigneur, qui en lui est demostrée, soit ta volenté aemplie.³ Et lors entra Sains Jorges en la maison et commença ses oroisons a faire a Dame Dieu. Et tout maintenant qu'il les ot finées, si crut uns⁴ granz arbres enmi la maison et tant se hasta et estendi qu'il trespasa toute la hautece de la maison xv coutes de haut, et desouz cel arbre se reposoit mesires Sains Jorges, et li angre li apareilloient et amenistroient ce dont il avoit mestier.

Quant Dathiens li empereres vit cel arbre, si se merveilla molt, que ce pooit estre, tant c'on li anonça et dist que cil arbres (f. 115 v^a) estoit nez et creuz en la maison ou Jorges estoit enclos. Quant li sergant i vindrent qui envoié i estoient, si trouverent une table que li angre i avoient mise et apareilliee. Quant il orent ce veu, si repairierent au roi et si li distrent ce qu'il avoient veu. Lors commanda li rois que on alast et delivrement si l'amenast on devant lui. Et quant il i fu amenez il li demanda et dist: Jorge, par quel mal engin destruis tu tout ce pueple? Sains Jorges li respondi: Nostre Sires mes Diex, en cui je croi et cui j'aore, fait par tout sa volenté. Datiens li dist: Est tes Diex plus granz que Apolins? Sainz Jorges li respondi: Nostre Sires, qui fist le ciel et la terre et la mer et toutes les choses qui enz sont, est mes Diex; car il est Sires doutez et Sires de toute creature. Mais Apolins, cui tu croiz et aores est sours et muz et avugles et comment puet⁵ il estre diex, quant il est tiex, qui a lui n'a autrui ne puet aidier. Datiens li dist: Se cil est vrais Diex que tu preeches et aores et tu veus que je croie en lui, je ai xii sieges emperiaus en mon regne, ouvrez et entailliez de fust molt noblement. Or prie ton Dieu, qu'il soient desfait et si deviengnent arbre aussi comme⁶ il estoient devant, et cil qui fruit portoient, soient chargié

¹ MS. fai.² aler omitted in MS.³ MS. demostree.⁴ uns omitted in MS.⁵ MS. pue.⁶ MS. conme.

de fruit et cil qui point n'en portoient, point n'en aient. Se tu pues ce faire, dont verrons nous sa poesté, que tu nous anonces.

Sains Jorges li dist : Je sai bien que tantost comme j'aurai fi- (f. 115 v^b) née m'oroison, que Nostre Sires me donra ce que je li requerrai et pour ce ne croiras tu mie. Mais nequedent pour sa grant gloire demoustrer et sa grant puissance l'enproierai je et ferai mes oroisons. Et lors s'agenoilla a terre et pria molt saintement Nostre Seigneur. Et quant il ot s'oroison finée, la terre crolla et trembla et tuit cil sieges¹ emperial se deschevillierent et desjoindrent et devindrent bel arbre et gent et tuit chargé de fruit et de fueille, si comme il avoient devant esté. Et touz li pueples qui la estoit et ce veoit glorefioit et gracioit Nostre Seigneur² et si disoient : Molt est granz li Diex que Jorges aore. Mais pour ce ne crut mie Dathiens, li empereres, car il disoit, que kanque il faisoit, estoit par enchantement dou dyable. Et Sains Jorges li dist : Je faz toutes ces choses que tu voiz el non dou pere et dou fill et dou saint esperit, et non mie par mauvais art, si comme tu croiz. Et Dathiens li dist : Jorge, je te pri et commant que tu viengnes avoec moi et sacrefies si com je ferai, et lors porras aler seurement la ou tu voudras. Et Sains Jorges li dist : A cui commandes tu que je face sacrefice? Dathiens li respondi : Je vueil que tu faces sacrefices a mes diex Apolin et Gebeel et Arrachel. Sains Jorges li dist : Or fai que tes crierres assemble toute la gent de ceste cité et je sacrefierai a tes diex. Et Dathiens, quant il oy ce, si fu merveilles liez, car il cuidoit vraiment veintre le saint home. Et lors la veve fame, qui devant est nommée qui Saint (f. 116 r^a) Jorge³ avoit herbergié, porta son fill devant le saint home, et si li dist : Saint Jorge, mon fill, qui muz estoit, feis tu parler et avugles, tu le renluminas, et sours, tu le feis oyr, comment puet ce estre que tu veus sacrefier as mues ymages et as vaines ydoles ; et Nostre Sires meismes te resuscita de mort a vie? Sains Jorges la regarda et si li dist : Met jus ton fill que tu portes. Quant ele l'ot mis jus, si dist sainz Jorges a l'enfant : El non Nostre Seigneur qui te fist parler et oyr et veoir, en son non relieve toi, et si va au temple Apolin et si li di que Jorges, li sers Dieu, li mande que il viengne a lui. Tantost se leva li enfes et commença a aler grant aleure et a loer Nostre Seigneur, tant qu'il vint el temple ou les ydoles estoient, et lors prist a apeler Apolin, et si li dist : Jorges, li sers Dieu te mande et si t'apele, que tu viengnes a lui. Et li dyables, quant il l'oy n'osa arrester, ains s'en vint maintenant devant monseigneur Saint Jorge. Lors li dist li sains hons : Apolins, tu es rois des Sarrazins. Apolins li respondi : Je sui cil qui fait les homes errer et foloier, si qu'il ne croient en Dieu, et si lor faz aorer les dyables. Sains Jorges li dist : Comment oses tu tant de mal faire devant Dieu et devant ceuls qui le servent? Apolins li respondi : Je te jure par celui feu qui m'atent, ou je serai mis pardurablement que se je peusse, je t'eusse amené a ce que tu m'aorasses. Sains Jorges li

¹ Ms. *cierge*.² Omitted in MS.³ Omitted in MS.

dist : Or quier contrée ou tu voisies, k'en ceste n'arresteras tu plus. Quant il ot ce dit, li sains hons feri son pié a terre et ele aouvri si que li abismes aparut et la dedenz envoya il et plunja Apolin et toute sa force. Et maintenant que li dyables fu en terre si reclost, et li sains hons entra en la maison ou les ydoles estoient, et si les commença toutes a depecier et a combrisier. Endementres qu'il faisoit ce,¹ disoit il : Dyables, dyables,² fueiez dedevant moi, car je sui sers Nostre Seigneur.

Quant li prestre dou temple virent que lor ymages estoient mal atornées et depeciées et defroissies,³ il pristrent saint Jorge, si le menerent devant l'empereor si li dirent a haute voiz : Cis hons a toutes vos ymages defroissies et Apolin vostre grant dieu a il envoieé jusqu'en abisme. Quant Dathiens l'entendi, si fu molt corrouciez et molt airez. Puis si dist au saint home : Jorge, pourquoi m'as tu menti ? Tu me disoies que tu sacrefieroies a mes diex et si aoreroies. Sains Jorge li respondi : A cui me commandes tu sacrefier et aorer ? Dathiens li dist : A Apolin, nostre grant dieu. Sains Jorge li dist : Et ou est Apolin, vostre grant diex ? Ensaigniez le moi et si le me moustrez. Dathiens li dist : On m'a dit, que tu l'as trebuchié et enclos en parfont abisme. Li sains hons li dist : Et pourquoi me commandes tu a sacrefier a lui qui ne se deffendi mie ? Quant ce oy li empereres, si fu molt corrouciez et molt maltalentis. Si commanda, c'on li aportast un vaissel de terre tout plain de soufre et de poiz ensemble⁴ boullis et si commanda, c'on li depeçast (f. 116 v^a) tous les membres et les meist on en cel vaissel boullir. Et maintenant que ce fu apareillié, li angres Nostre Seigneur descendi enz el feu tout ardant et si estainst toute la chaleur. Et Sains Jorge remest tous sains et tous saus, si commença a loer Nostre Seigneur. Et dont li dist li angres : N'aies nule⁵ pooir, car tu as ja veincu ton anemi et si aras la coronne que Nostre Sires t'a apareillié. Et tous li pueples qui veoit la merveille crut en Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist et li rendirent graces, et si distrent : Li Diex que Jorge aore est vrais Diex et Sires de toute creature.

Quant Alixandre la royne, qui fame estoit al empereor vit ce qui fait estoit, et les granz miracles si crut en Nostre Signor et si osta la coronne de son chief et toute sa roial vesteure et si dist a Dathien : Rois, je te di par verité que je sui crestienne, et si croi fermement el dieu que Jorge croit et aore. Quant Dathiens oy ce si fu plains de si grant forsenerie, qu'il ne sot de lui nul conseil, si dist a la royne Alixandre : Jorge⁶ t'a souzduite par ses enchanteries. Or me di, veus tu de male mort morir ? La royne respondi : Je croi tant el Dieu que Jorge aore, que nus ne me partira de la charité qui est en lui. Quant Dathiens l'oy, si prist a plorer et grant duel a demener, et si dist : Alixandre, je sui molt dolens de ce que tu veus deguerpir mon regne, et desconfortez pour ce que tu me laisses et pour ce que tu desi-(f. 116 v^b)res plus la mort que la coronne.

¹ Omitted in MS.² MS. dyable.³ MS. defroissies.⁴ MS. emsemble.⁵ MS. nul.⁶ MS. Jorge.

La royne respondi : Je desir a avoir la vie qui est pardurable, non mie cele qui tost est trespassee et corrompue, et pour ce t'otroi mon cors a tormenter, si com toi plaist a ta volenté. Dathiens li dist : Dame royne, ne vueilles mie tel chose faire, ne deguerpir mon regne, ne moi desconforter. Alixandre li respondi : Mais je seroie guerpie et desconfortée, se je ne faisoie ce que j'ai proposé a faire. Je recevrai le pardurable regne. Qui puet ore estre tant fols qui n'entende que l'en puet connoistre les celestiaus choses des terriennes et les pardurables des temporeus.

Adont fu Dathiens li empereres molt corrouciez, si commanda que on la preist et pendist par les treches et batist de verges molt durement. Si com l'en faisoit le commandement le roi de la royne, ele regarda Saint Jorge et li dist : Serjans Dieu, prie pour moi et si me donne baptesme, que je puisse eschaper dou dyable. Lors tendi mesires Sains Jorges ses mains vers le ciel et si dist : Biaux Sire, ayde t'ancele, qui por l'amour de toi a deguerpi ce siecle terrien, et si li donne le lavement dou saint baptesme, si qu'ele soit regenerée a la foi de sainte eglise. Tantost comme il ot ce dit, une nue toute chargiée¹ de rousée descendi devers le ciel et Sains Jorges reçut de l'aigue en ses mains, si en baptiza la royne el non dou pere et dou fill et dou saint esperit, et quant il l'ot baptiziée, si dist : Va t'en seurement es celestiaus regnes.

(F. 117^{ra}) Quant Dathiens li rois vit ce, si commanda que l'en la menast dehors la cité si li trenchast on la teste. Li sergant cui il fu commandé en menerent la sainte royne au lieu on ele devoit recevoir le martire et ele regarda mon seignor Saint Jorge et li dist : Sains hons de Dieu, prie pour moi Nostre Seigneur, que je soie digne de recevoir martire pour lui et que li dyables ne soit encontre moi par aucune chose dont il me puist enpecchier. Sains Jorges li respondi : N'aiez nule poor, mais soiez de ferme corage, car Nostre Sires est ensemble o vous ; ne onques ne se parti ne ne deguerpi ses sers en nul perill. Et quant la dame parvint au lieu, si la decola on. Et Dathiens repaira en sa sale, si s'assist en son haut siege, si commanda que l'en li amenast Saint Jorge. Et quant il fu venuz devant lui il parla au saint home et si li dist : Or as tu morte Alixandre la royne par tes enchanteries et encore ai je une chose a demander toi et a enquerre, se tu le me veus faire. Et Sains Jorges li dist : Et que est ce que tu me veus demander ? Di le moi, Nostre Sires le t'otroiera a savoir. Dathiens li dist : Dehors ceste cité si a molt de fosses et de sepultures, ou molt de gent ont este enfoui, et dont li os sont encore aparant, et nus de ceus de ceste cité ne set qui il furent. Et pour ce te pri je, que tu pries a ton Dieu, qu'il soient resuscité et nous croirons en lui. Dont respondi Sains Jorges : Alez si m'aportez les os de ces sepultures. Lors s'en partirent li serjant et vindrent (f. 117^{rb}) as sepultures, si les descouvrirent et ouvrirent, si trouverent les os qui tuit estoient en poudre menue par ce qu'il avoient longuement en terre geu.

¹ Ms. chargie.

Et lors pristrent cele poudre et concueillirent si l'aportèrent devant le saint home. Quant Sains Jorges les vit, si mist ses genolz a terre, et pria Nostre Seigneur et si dist : Biaus Sire Diex Jhesu Criz, qui tans miracles as daigné demoustrer par ton serf, or te pri je que tu ta douçor et ta misericorde daignes demoustrer seur ceste poudre, si que ces genz ne puissent dire a nous : Ou est vostre Diex ? et qu'il puissent dire et connoistre que tu es seuls Diex tout puissanz, et qu'il n'est autres Diex que tu. Et quant il ot son oroison finée, et il ot dit amen, la voiz dou ciel li dist : Jorge, n'aies nule poor, car je sui avoec toi, et quanque tu me demanderas je t'otroierai¹ et donrai. Et tantost de cele poudre resusciterent et leverent cc que homes que fames. Et lors rendi graces a Nostre Seigneur mesire Sains Jorges et dist : Biaus Sire, or connois je et sai bien que tu ne t'esloignes mie de ceuls qui t'apellent par vrai cuer et par vraie pensée. Lors prist un de ceuls qui estoit resuscitez, si li dist et demanda comment il avoit non. Cil respondi : J'ai a non Joel. Sains Jorges li dist : Combien a il de tens que vous fustes mort. Je vueil que vous le me diiez. Joel li respondi : cc ans dou² mains, si n'en sui pas en doutance. Sains Jorges li demanda : Quel dieu aoriez vous, (f. 117 v^a) quant vous estiiez en vie ? Joel li respondi : Nous aorions et creyons Apolin et ne savions noient de Dieu. Pour ce fumes nous mené en dolereuses paines, ou nous avons esté jusques a ore que nous resuscitames par tes prieres. Or te prions nous, sains sers Nostre Seignour, par cui oroison nous sommes resuscité, que tu nous baptizes si que nous ne repairons es dolours ou nous avons esté. Lors commanda mesires Sains Jorges que l'en li aportast de l'aigue et nus ne s'en mut ne ne l'en aporta. Quant il vit ce si fist le signe de la sainte croiz en terre et maintenant en sailli une bele fontaine, et de cele aigue baptiza il el non Nostre Seigneur et dou pere et dou fill et dou saint esperit touz ceuls qui la estoient resuscité, et quant il les ot baptiziez, si lor dist : Or en alez devant moi en paradis.

Quant il ot ce dit si s'esvanoyrent devant touz ceuls qui la estoient, ne puis a nului ne s'aparurent. Li pueples et tout cil qui la estoient, qui ce virent, crurent tuit en Nostre Seigneur et si distrent a haute voiz : Molt est granz Diex et puissanz li Diex aus crestiens ; et si ne doit on aorer se lui non seulement, qui par les mains de Jorge son serf a fait tantes merveilles. Dont commencerent a dire a Saint Jorge : Serjanz Dieu, prie pour nous. Quant Sains Jorges oy ce, si mist ses genolz a terre et rendi graces a Nostre (f. 117 v^b) Seigneur et si commença ses oroisons a faire et a dire : Biaus Sire Diex, tu es beneoiz es siecles des siecles, car tu venis en terre par ta grant humilité et encore i vendras par ta grant gloire. Biaus Sire, je te pri, que tu demoustrés tes granz miracles en ces homes, qui en toi croient. Car je sai bien que mes termes et mes tens approche et hui sont vii anz acompli que tu as maint signe, et maint miracle

¹ MS. otroierai.² MS. .i.

demoustré au pueple por moi, qui sui tes sers. Et Biaux Sires Jhesu Criz, filz Dieu, je te pri que tu daignes ton saint esperit envoyer en ces homes qui croient en toi et en ton saint non, si qu'il en soient reconforté, aussi com tu l'envoias sor tes sains apostres, qui conforté en furent. Et quant il ot ce dit, et il ot s'oroison finée, la voiz dou ciel li dist : Jorges, Nostre Sires Jhesu Criz a ta voiz et t'oroison oye et entendue. Et lors baptiza Sains Jorges el non dou pere et dou fill et dou saint esperit tout le pueple qui la endroit estoit assamblez et a Nostre Seigneur convertiz. Et de ceus qui la furent baptizié i ot por conte $\frac{xx}{iiii}$ mile et xxxv.

Quant Dathiens li rois vit ce, si ot tel duel et tele ire que sa ceinture en rompi par mi et si genoil li tremblèrent et ses cors meismes crolloit si que por pou qu'il ne cheoit. Et lors commença a haute voiz a crier et a dire : Las, cheitis, que ferai je ! Mes regnes est tous periz et destruis. Jorges m'a tout mon pueple tolu et robé (f. 118 r^a) et preé et donné a son Dieu. Et se il vit plus il me honnira et destruira ; car hui a vii anz que il ne fina de moi tormenter, et tous tans li croist sa vertuz et sa force. Et tantost com il ot ce dit, li sergant qui de ce furent apareillié prirent le saint home, si l'en menerent au lieu que je vous ai devant devisé et molt de genz ensivirent le saint home, pour ce qu'il requistrent de luy beneyçon. Et quant il aprocha au lieu si dist a ceus qui le devoient martirier : Je vous pri que vous soufrez un petitet tant que j'aie faite m'oroison a Nostre Seigneur. Et lors tendi ses mains vers le ciel et si dist :

Biaux Sires Diex, vrais peres omnipotens, recevez mon esperit et si demoustretez vos hautes miracles por moi apres ma mort aussi com vous feistes tant com je vesqui. Biaux Sire Diex, je te pri par ta haute douçour, que quiconques fera de moi memoire en terre au quatorzieme ¹ (sic) jor d'avrill, toutes enfermetez et toutes dolors soient ostées de lui et de toute sa maisniée. Ne tempeste ne famine ne anemis ne mortalitez ne puist aprochier la contrée ou memoire en sera faite. Biaux Sires Diex, encor te pri je par ta grant misericorde, que tuit cil qui en mer seront en perill on en voie ² on en desert, ³ pour que il en ayde m'apelent et proient, qui sui tes sers, que tu lor vueilles aidier et secorre et conseilier. Et tantost comme il ot ce dit, vint la voiz dou ciel qui li dist : Beneoiz hons et sains, vien (f. 118 r^b) si entre el pardurable repos de ton seigneur, que tu as servi et bien saches, que li ciel sont aouvert et t'oroison est oye de Nostre Seignour, et quiconques apelera ton non et proiera a Jhesu Crist de chose droituriere, ele li sera otroiée. Lors abaissa le chief si fu decolez et regut martire por Nostre Seigneur, pour la cui loi il avoit mainte paine souferte. Et li saint angre vindrent tout apertement, si pristrent son esperit et porterent es ciex devant Nostre Seigneur. Je, Eusebius, qui ses sers estoie, fui avoec le saint martir, endementres qu'il faisoit les

¹ Evidently the ms. had *xxiiii*, which was misread by the copyist.

² ms. en mer.

³ ms. desers.

miracles que je vous ai contées, et si les vi a mes propres iex, et si escriz sa vie et sa passion en la contrée de Capadoce en la cité de Militene, el tens que Dathiens, li empereres regnoit ; et Nostre Sires Jhesu Criz nous otroit estre parçonniers des saintes prieres au saint home martir a cui honors et gloire soit par tous les siecles des siecles, Amen.

Yμ. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, F. L.
MS. 5256.

Passio Sancti Georgii Martiris qui passus est Militane et Capadocie sub Daciano Imperatore viiii Kal. Madias.

(F. 176 r) In illis diebus hic tribunus militavit sub tempore Daciani imperatoris, qui fuit persecutor christianorum vel ecclesiarum. Hic ergo misit precones ad omnes potestates, que in regno ejus erant, ut convenirent ad civitatem Militanam. In congregatione autem eorum cepit Dacianus dicere ad eos, iracundia repletus : Si invenero in aliqua provincia christianos, oculos eorum eiciam, capita excoriabo, membra eorum igne cremabo. Post hec jussit venire artifices qui facerent ferramenta ad christianos torquendos : gladios acutissimos et forcipes ad dentes excutiendos, et rasoria ad cutem capitis radendam vel sartagine ferreas. Et jussit fieri rotam ferream, habentem serras¹ vel gladios diversos (f. 177 v). Hec autem omnia videntes populi, nullus audebat dicere : christianus sum. In illis diebus erat quidam tribunus de provincia Capadocie, nomine Georgius. Hic congregavit auri pondus immensum et profectus est ad imperatorem Dacianum in civitatem Militanam ut probaret eum comitem. Tunc videns sanctus Georgius apud civitatem Militanam deum verum contemni, ac culturam vanam idolorum venerari, vehementer cepit tribulari et ait intra semet ipsum : Quid mihi in hoc seculo transeunti dignitatem perituram prodest querere et in futuro penam consequi. Aurum autem et omnia que habebat pauperibus erogavit et iterum venit ad imperatorem Dacianum et dixit ei : In veritate ego christianus sum, et adoro dominum vivum et verum qui fecit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt. Et non adoro ydola surda et muta, que os habent et non loquuntur, oculos habent et non vident, aures habent et non audiunt. Similes illis fiant qui faciunt ea et omnes qui confidunt in eis. Audiens autem imperator hec Dacianus tristis factus est valde et dixit ei : Georgi, quid pateris ut (f. 177 r) legem despicias.² Forsitan minus habes quam velis aut dignitatem queris. Dabo tibi omne quod vis, tantum desine ab hac vana cultura, et secundus eris in regno meo. Sanctus Georgius dixit : Ego

¹ MS. ferreas.

² MS. decipiaris Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5575, f. 113 v, ut a lege nostra discedas.

dignitatem tuam non quero, que corruptibilis et perdita est, sed patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum in trinitate unum deum adoro in veritate. Dacianus imperator dixit: Vere doles super pulchritudinem tuam, ne in tormentis multis penis deceptus pereas. Sanctus Georgius dixit: De me non doleas, sed de te dole et tuam etatem luge que perdita est. Dacianus imperator dixit: Non multum loqueris. Fac voluntatem meam; nam iuro tibi per deos magnos Martem et Apollinem, quia si non feceris, omni tempore exemplo eris et videbo si venerit deus tuus ad liberandum te de manibus meis. Sanctus Georgius dixit: Adjuva me domine, deus meus, et omnes qui adorant idola confunde. Tunc iussit eum Dacianus imperator comprehendi et duci ad rotam illam et cum serris partivit eum in decem (f. 177 v) partibus. Et ridens Dacianus dixit: Georgi, ubi est deus tuus? Et statim terre motus factus est magnus, et venit dominus cum milibus angelorum et suscitavit servum suum Georgium, et dixit ei: Ipsa dextera que plasmavit Adam, primum hominem, ipsa te resuscitat. Et surrexit et stetit incolumis. Tunc beatus Georgius, veniens cum gaudio magno, exclamavit voce magna, dicens: Daciane, Daciane, ubi sunt poene tue? Videns autem Dacianus imperator, timore comprehensus est magno. Tunc quidem magister militum, nomine Magnantius, videns sanctum Georgium resurrexisse, credidit in domino deo cum omni exercitu suo. Tunc iussit Dacianus imperator comprehendi beatum Georgium et ad vidue domum duci. Et dixit ad mulierem: Da mihi modicum panem. Respondit mulier et dixit: Non habeo panem. Beatus Georgius dixit: Quia Apollinem adoras, propterea non habes panem. Et hec vidua habebat filium mutum et surdum et claudum. Et dixit ei mulier: Fac filium meum sanum, et credo in dominum (f. 178 r) deum tuum. Tunc beatus Georgius conversus ad mulierem dixit: In nomine domini mei Jesu Christi, aspice et vide et loquere et audi. Et statim loqui, audire et videre cepit. Tunc vidua illa deprecata est dicens: Obsecro te, serve Christi, fac eum ambulare. Sanctus Georgius dixit: Sic itaque modo fiat, quia in testimonium michi necessarius est. Et post hec introivit in domum beatus Georgius, ubi erat mensa repleta omnibus bonis et angelis preparata. Tunc iussit eum imperator ad se celerius duci et interrogavit eum dicens: Georgi, quo maleficio perdis populum istum? Beatus Georgius dixit: Dominus meus omnia quecumque voluit, fecit, et dignum sibi ad se vocare dignatus est. Dacianus imperator dixit: Numquid major est deus tuus Apolline? Sanctus Georgius dixit: Deus meus fecit celum et terram; Apollo autem tuus mutus et surdus vel claudus. Quomodo potest deus esse, vel dici? Dacianus imperator dixit: Si vere deus est deus tuus, quem predicas, ecce quatuordecim troni regni sunt. Ora ergo dominum tuum ut dissolvantur et eficiantur arbores qui (f. 178 v) fuerunt antea sine fructu nunc cum fructu. Sanctus Georgius dixit: Ego scio quia non credis; sed tamen propter gloriam domini mei oratione facta prestabit michi dominus. Et posuit genua in terra (et terra)¹ tremuit et dissoluti

¹ Omitted in MS.

sunt omnes troni et facti sunt arbores fructiferi qui fuerunt antea sine fructu. Et omnes populi qui aderant glorificabant deum dicentes : Magnus est deus Georgii. Sed Dacianus imperator non credidit, sed ita dixit : Ista omnia per maleficia sua ostendit. Sanctus Georgius dixit : In nomine domini dei mei Jesu Christi facio et non maleficio. Et ridens Dacianus imperator dixit : Rogo te, veni, sacrifica diis sicut et ego, et ambula quo vis in regno meo. Sanctus Georgius dixit : Clament precones civitatis et omnis populus conveniat et ego sacrificabo diis tuis. Dacianus imperator audiens hec repletus est gaudio magno, (et)¹ sperabat se vicisse eum. Tunc vidua illa, que eum in hospicio suo habuerat, portans filium suum, venit ad eum magna voce dicens : O beate Georgi, qui filium meum mutum loqui fecisti et oculos similiter inluminasti, (f. 179 r) et te ipsum dominus resuscitavit et modo vadis ydolis sacrificare mutis et surdis ! Aspiciens eam beatus Georgius dixit : Mulier, depone filium tuum quem bajulas. Et ait ad puerum : In nomine domini mei Jesu Christi qui fecit te loqui audire vel videre, in ipsius nomine surge et ambula. Et statim surrexit puer sanus et ambulare cepit laudans et glorificans deum. Et introivit in domum ydolorum et vocavit Apollinem beatus Georgius et dixit ei : Tu es deus gentium. Apollo dixit : Ego sum qui facio omnes errare adeo et ydola adorare. Sanctus Georgius dixit : Et quomodo ausus es tu deo presente tanta mala exercere. Et istis dictis percussit pede terram beatus Georgius et aperuit abyssum et dimersit eum cum virtute domini magna. In illa hora exiit a domo ydolorum et omnia idola comminuit. Audiens autem hec Dacianus imperator iratus est valde et iussit afferri sartaginem bullientem et iussit membra (f. 179 v) ejus dividere et mitti in sartagine. Statim autem descendit angelus domini de celo et ignem ardentem extinxit. Beatus autem Georgius stabat inlesus, laudans et glorificans deum. Et ait ei angelus : Noli timere ! Jam vicisti inimicum tuum et coronam a domino paratam habes in celo. Et omnis populus videns mirabilia hec dedit gloriam deo dicens : Magnus est deus quem Georgius colit ! Et Alexandria regina videns mirabilia que facta fuerant, credidit in deo. Hec jactavit coronam de capite suo vel vestem regalem et dixit ad Dacianum : In veritate ego christiana sum et adoro dominum deum qui fecit celum et terram, mare et omnia que in eis sunt. Dacianus dixit : Alexandria et te Georgius per maleficia seduxit et vis malam mortem suscipere. Alexandria dixit : Credo in deum quem Georgius colit, quod nullus me poterit separare ab caritate dei que est in Christo Jesu, domino nostro. Dacianus impe-(f. 180 r)rator dixit cum lacrimis vel dolore cordis : Domina Alexandria, doleat tibi quare desolaris tantum regnum meum. (Alexandria dixit)² : Desolabor ergo, si tuis aquievero persuasionibus ; nam sicut cepi, perseverabo, ut regnum meum accipiam. Nam qui potestatem habet, qui non cupiat pro terrenis celestia mercari et pro temporalibus sempiterna ? Tunc Dacianus imperator iratus est valde et iussit eam

¹ Omitted in MS.² Omitted in MS.

crinibus suis pendere et virgis cedi. Illa autem cum penderetur, respiciens ad beatum Georgium dicebat: Sancte Dei, ora pro me et da michi baptismum immortalitatis, ut possim evadere diabolum. Tunc beatus Georgius expandens manus suas ad celum dixit: Domine, obaudi ancillam tuam, quia pro amore tuo terrenum regnum reliquit, et dona ei baptismum regenerationis. Statim descendit (nubes lucida)¹ repleta rore. Et suscipiens beatus Georgius aquam in manibus suis, baptizavit eam in nomine patris et filii et (f. 180 v) spiritus sancti. Et dixit ei: Ambula ad regna celorum. Videns autem hec Dacianus imperator, iussit (eam)² eicere extra civitatem et gladiis percuti. Illa autem vadens cum spiculatoribus ad locum ubi expectabat coronam martirii, respiciens ad beatum Georgium dicebat: Sancte Dei, ora pro me ut digna inveniam martirium,³ ne forte diabolum aliquid seminet adversum me. Dixit autem beatus Georgius: Noli timere, constanter age! Dominus tecum est, qui non discedit a servis suis. Cum autem exisset foras civitatem, statim percussa est gladio. Et Dacianus imperator, videns quod factum esset, ascendit super tronium suum et iussit ad se celerius adduci beatum Georgium, cui et dixit: Ecce Alexandriam reginam magicis tuis artibus seduxisti, tamen petitionem habeo adhuc ad te petere. Sanctus Georgius dixit: Et quod est quod tu a nobis petis. Dominus meus omnia, quecunque voluit, fecit. Dacianus imperator dixit: Ecce foras civitatem sepulchrum et nostrum nemo novit qui ibi positi sunt. Ora ergo dominum deum (f. 181 r) ut resurgant qui ibi positi sunt et credo in domino tuo. Sanctus Georgius dixit: Ite, aperite sepulcra eorum et colligite ossa eorum et afferte michi. Abierunt et aperientes sepulcra eorum et ossa jam non invenerunt. Sed tamen pulverem colligentes adtulerunt ad beatum Georgium. Videns autem pulverem Sanctus Georgius, posuit genua sua in terram et deprecabatur dominum dicens: Domine Jesu Christe, fili dei vivi, qui tanta mirabilia per me servum tuum ostendere dignatus es, exaudi orationem meam, ne dicant gentes, ubi est deus eorum, sed cognoscant omnes, quia tu es deus solus et non est alius preter te. Et cum complisset orationem dixit: Amen. Et vox ei de celo facta est dicens: Georgi, noli timere, ego tecum sum. Et quidcunque petieris in nomine meo dabitur tibi. Et statim surrexerunt viri ac mulieres, anime ducente triginta quinque. Beatus Georgius (f. 181 v) gratias egit deo dicens: Cognovi, Domine, quia non elongas te a servis tuis. Et apprehendens unum ex his qui resurrexerant, dixit ei: Dic michi, quid nomen est tibi. Ille autem dixit: Zoel.⁴ Dixit autem beatus Georgius: Quem deum colebatis. Zoel dixit: Apollinem. Deum autem nesciebam propterea post mortem ducti sumus

¹ Omitted in ms. ; supplied from Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5575, f. 117 v.

² Omitted in ms.

³ Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5575, f. 118 r, ut digna inveniar in conspectu domini nostri.

⁴ Evidently a copyist's error for Joel.

in penas et ibi fuimus usque dum resuscitavit nos deus pro tuis orationibus. Rogamus te autem, serve Christi, pro cujus orationibus resurgere meruimus, da nobis baptismum immortalitatis, ut non iterum revertamur in penas pristinas. Et statim petivit beatus Georgius aquam et nemo illi dedit. Ipse autem signum crucis fecit in terram et fons ebullivit, et baptizavit eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti et dixit eis: Antecedite me in paradiso. Et postea non comparuerunt. Populus autem qui aderat, credidit in domino et voce magna dicebat: Magnus est deus christianorum et non est alius deus preter eum, quia per manus servi sui Georgii multa mirabilia operare dignatus est. Audiens autem hec Dacianus (f. 182 r) imperator tremefactus est ita ut zona, qua cingebatur, rumperetur pro nimio timore. Genua autem ei tremebant, ita ut caderet de trono suo et voce magna clamavit: Ve, michi misero, quoniam periit regnum meum. Omnem autem populum meum convertit Georgius et tradidit domino suo. Quod si adhuc vixerit, me ipsum igne cremabit. Quia hoc die septem anni sunt, quod eum tormentis affligo. Illius autem virtus adcrevit. Unde ergo jubeo mitti frenum in ore suo et duci foras civitatem, ubi Alexandria regina interfecta est et in ipso eodem loco jubemus decollari. Et his dictis ministri cum fustibus rapuerunt beatum Georgium et duxerunt ad locum predictum. Milia autem virorum ac mulierum sequebantur post beatum Georgium, ut benedictionem ab eo acciperent. Cum autem adpropinquarent ad locum, continuavit se et benedixit populum¹ qui post eum venerat. Et dixit carneficibus beatus Georgius: Obsecro vos, paululum me sustinete, donec adorem dominum meum. Expandens manus suas ad celum voce magna clamavit: Domine, deus meus, accipe spiritum meum. Et rogo bonitatem tuam, Jesu Christe, fili dei vivi, ut quicumque in terris commemorationem meam (f. 182 v) viii Kal. madias celebraverit vel coluerit, auferatur in domo illa omnis infirmitas, non hostis adpropinquaret, non famis, non mortalitas. Domine deus, presta quicumque in aliquo periculo sive in mari sive in via² nomen tuum per me servum tuum commemoraverit, misericordiam consequatur. Et cum complisset orationem dixit: Amen. Et facta est vox de celo: Veni jam benedicte, aperti sunt tibi celi. Quicumque autem meum nomen per servum meum commemoraverit, exaudiam eum. Et inclinavit cervicem suam beatus Georgius et decollatus est. Videntibus cunctis animam ejus susceperunt angeli et portaverunt in celis.

Acta sunt autem hec in provincia Capadocie apud civitatem Militanam, sub Daciano imperatore, regnante domino nostro Jesu Christo, cui est honor et gloria, virtus et potestas in secula seculorum, Amen.

¹ MS. populo.

² Reading of Bibl. Nat. F. L. 5575, f. 119 v, and Oxford Add. d. 106, f. 81. The present MS. reads *in munere*.

Za. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, NOUV. ACQ.
F. L. MS. 2288.

(F. 151 r) Tantas itaque ac tales martirum passiones roseis cruorum infulis consecratas nullus omittit tante virtutis agonem impensius enarrare. Datianus igitur imperator, dyabolica dominatione arreptus, ut omnem provinciam sue imperio ditionis subderet, injusta potestate super reges et presides principatum gerens, contigit eodem tempore imperii sui ut sacra velocius perurgeret jussa, ut ad orationem deorum et immolationem impiissimam universus populus omni cum festinatione advenisset. Et sedens pro tribunali, stante universo populo qui ex diversis civitatibus venerant, precepit Datianus ministris officiorum, quorum fuerat cure commissum, afferre diversa genera tormentorum que (f. 151 v) preparaverat hiis qui se in domino Jesu Christo credere fatebantur. Et cum allata fuissent, Datianus impius, ut leo fremens, exclamavit dicens: Omnis qui non curvatis genibus venerabiles deos meos adoraverit prostratus, in hiis penis faciam interire, ita ut linguam ejus abscidam, oculos, aures faciemque membratim evellam. Simili modo per plateas preco circuiens clamabat emissa fortiter voce, ut unusquisque in suis diversoriis deos deasque erigerent immolando. Talibus igitur minis cuncti timore perterriti, derelinqentes Christum, ydolis immolabant, et magis magisque dyabolus in suis argumentis insistebat, quemadmodum innocua pectora suis laqueis irretiret. Tunc in medio apparuit sanctus Georgius, Capadocie regionis genere ortus, civitatisque sue comitatum gerens, super numerum militie multe, a suis videlicet civitatum primis summam pecuniam accipiens, quo posset a Datiano imperatore premio et munere dignitatis infule consulatus adipisci gradum, eo quod sue mitis verecundus docibilis rector habebatur. Sanctus vero Georgius aspiciens ex omnium provinciarum populis multos adesse, Christum dominum blasphemantes et demones adorantes, tunc omnem pecuniam quam secum attulerat egenis distribuit, et exuens se clamide terreni imperii, baltheo se induit fideique lorica et crucis vexillo protectus, jubareque sancti spiritus inundans, sic erupit in conspectu Datiani imperatoris dicens: Omnes dii gentium demonia, deus autem noster celos fecit. Excecavit autem dyabolus oculos diffidentium, ut non cognoscant factorem celorum, dominum Jesum Christum. Nam dii tui, imperator, opera hominum sunt, aurea, argentea, lapidea, et lignea, que jugi vigilantia et custodia reservantur, ne nocturno silentio subripiantur a furibus. Hoc audito Datianus imperator vehementer exarsit, et intra semet ipsum fremere cepit et dixit ad sanctum Georgium: Que infrenata te ac furiosa excecavit temeritatis audacia, aut cujus officii munere fultus ista temere prosecutus sis, ut non solum nobis injuriam audacter irroges, verum etiam et venerabiles deos nostros, qui omni mundo subveniunt, demones esse dicas? Fatere tamen ex qua provincia vel de qua urbe huc advenisti, aut quo nomine vociteris. Sanctus Georgius dixit: Christianus

et dei servus ego sum. Georgius nuncupor, genere Capadocus, patrie mee comitatum gerens. Et hoc melius diligo, temporalis hujus seculi dignitatis exui honore et immortalis dei adherere imperio. Cui respondens imperator Datianus dixit: Erras, Georgi; accede pronus et immola invictissimo deo Apollini, qui poterit tue ignorantie subvenire, et sibi veridicum exhibere cultorem. Cui beatus Georgius respondit: Quis melius diligendus est, aut cui debemus exhibere culturam, domino nostro Jesu Christo, redemptori omnium seculorum aut Apollini omnium auctori demoniorum? Quo audito Datianus imperator, ira repletus, jussit sanctum Georgium in eculeo elevari, et extensum membratim ungulis corpus ejus lacerari. Deinde precepit lateribus ejus lampades applicari, ita ut interiora viscerum ejus apparerent. Cumque has penas martir pro Christo sustinuisset, jussit eum deponi et extra civitatem eici et ad verbera extendi et diversis plagis cruentari. Salem vero in vulnera plagarum aspergi et ex cilicio plagas vulnorum ejus fricari. Et in his omnibus penis que in sancto dei famulo Georgio exhibebantur, corpus ejus manebat illesum. Tunc Datianus imperator videns quod in hiis penis sanctum Dei superare non valeret, jussit eum in ima carceris trudi, et inimico consilio inito per diversas civitates misit edictum, ut si quis magus inventus fuisset, omni cum festinatione ad ejus imperium pervenisset, quo posset dono muneris magni honorari. Hoc audito quidam magus, nomine Athanasius, adveniens ait imperatori: Pro qua causa vocasti me? Cui imperator respondit: Poteris solvere magicas (f. 152 v) Christianorum? Magus respondit: Veniat quem dicis Christianum esse, et si non potero solvere magicas ejus, reus sum. Et statim factus est letus imperator, et jussit ministris, ut beatus Georgius educeretur de carcere. Et cum oblatus fuisset, dixit ei: Georgi, pro te hunc magum acquisivi. Solve magicas ejus, aut certe ipse solvet tuas, aut certe perdet te, aut tu eum, si perdere prevaleas. Sanctus vero Georgius respiciens juvenem, dixit ei: Video etenim te paulatim comprehendere gratiam dei. Et sumens Athanasius calicem, invocavit nomina demoniorum et dans sancto martiri bibere, nichil ei nocuit. Tunc magus imperatori ait: Unum superest quod faciam; quod si non nocuero eum, convertor et ego ad crucifixum. Itemque accepto calice invocavit nomina demoniorum fortiorum, existimans esse pejorum, et dans ei bibere, nichil prevaluit. Hoc cum magus vidisset, statim ad pedes martiris se prostravit, ut Christi baptismum percipere mereretur. Quo facto jussit eum impiissimus Datianus extra urbem eici et caput ejus abscidi. Sanctum vero Georgium, custodie mancipandum tradidit. Sequenti igitur die, impiissimus Datianus jussit sibi in amphitheatro sessionem preparari, sanctum vero dei martirem carcere educi et suis aspectibus sisti. Tunc itaque jussit ministris ut rotam eneam afferrent, et gladios bisacutos in ea infigerent, atque martirem super eam ponentes, ex alto demitterent. Hoc cum beatus Georgius vidisset, oravit dicens: Dominus in adjutorium meum intende, domine ad adjuvandum me festina. Et hec dicens positus est in rotam. Et dum devolveretur

statim comminuta est et martir dei illesus permansit. Hoc cum vidisset Datianus dixit ei: Quoadusque tui ero patiens; quoadusque maleficia tua prevalebunt? Per deum solem et per omnes deos venerabiles, quia diversis cruciamenis te faciam interire. Cui beatus martir respondet: Mine tue temporales sunt; non terreor, si qua michi impendi volueris cruciamenta. Corpus quidem meum habebis in potestatem, exerce in eo que velis, animam autem meam non habes in potestatem. Datianus vero repletus furore dixit ministris (f. 153 r): Afferte sartaginem eneam, et plumbo eam replete; et ebulliente illa Georgium contumacem in eam proicite, quo possit ejus stultitia superari. Cumque hec fuissent preparata, elevatis oculis in celum oravit dicens: In nomine Domini mei Jesu Christi insilio in te. Spero enim quia sicut me eripuit de tantis tormentis, ita me nunc de hac sartagine bulliente illesum eripiet, cui est laus et gloria et virtus in secula seculorum, Amen. Et facto signaculo crucis, in sartagine erat repausans. Plumbi vero densitate flammivoma nutu divino refrigerans dei famulus exultabat. Datianus itaque haustu dyaboli percussus, jussit sanctum Georgium adducere. Cumque venisset, dixit: Georgi, nescio quantum venerabiles dii nostri pro te laborant usque nunc, et tui patientes sunt, ut et ea que per ignorantiam geris, mites veniam condonant, quo duritiam cordis tui mulceant, et sibimet lucrifaciant cultorem. Hoc itaque te ut filium meum genitivum exhortor, ut amota Christianorum superstitione vanissima michi prebeas assensum, et accedens sacrificia invictissimis diis et deo magno Apollini, quo poteris magnum honorem consequi. Sanctus Georgius spiritu sancto repletus subridens ait: At si contra phas mens cogatur supernis voluptatibus de tanta (*sic*) velle quod non vult, tamen oportet nos immortalis deo sacrificium immolare. Qua propter ea que cupis incunctanter a me exhibebuntur. Et sperans quod ejus assertio vera fuerit, resiliens festinus, sanctum Georgium apprehendit, et cum caput ejus osculari vellet, non hoc admisit fieri, dicens: Non polluas caput meum; primum est ut diis exhibeamus culturam. Indicta vero die, Datianus gaudio repletus, magna cum exultatione omnem certaminis mesticiam abiciens, jubet ministros aram deorum ac templa parare, in quibus Apollo, Jupiter et Hercules habebantur ut splendidius ipse ymagines deaurate fuissent, platee quoque vel menia totius civitatis laternis, lampadibus et luminaribus semper lucerent, et lucifluo lumine celsius flammescerent. Sacerdotes autem precepit omnes adesse, parietes vero ex argento dealbari (f. 153 v) triclinia, ingressus vero ac cameras ex sericis velari.¹ Preco etiam personabat per vicos totius civitatis ingentibus clamoribus dicens: Si quis non ad delubra deorum omni cum festinatione advenerit, se reum conscientia sua auctore diis sistit propter Georgium, qui relictam Christianitatis cultura jam venerabiles deos nostros procul dubio frequentat extollere. Universi ergo sexus et etates conveniebant. Tunc jussit Datianus imperator adesse sanctum Georgium ut diis thura

¹ ms. per triclinia ingressus vero ex sericis velare cameris.

offerret, qui festinus ad locum pergebat. Et ut venit intra aras deorum, aspiciens Apollinem figens genua, dominum Jesum Christum deprecabatur, dicens: Domine, deus omnipotens, exaudi preces servi tui in hoc loco deprecantis, ut sicut cera fluescit a facie ignis, ita et hec imagines miserrime redigantur in pulverem, ut hii qui in te credituri sunt, cognoscant te, et credant unum solum verum deum, et quem misisti in seculum, Jesum Christum. Et completa oratione, subito ignis de celo descendit, et omne templum combussit una cum diis et sacerdotibus templi et aliquam multitudinem paganorum. Et se aperiens terra absorti sunt ab ea, ita ut etiam et ipse imagines omnino non comparerent. Hoc audito impiissimus Datianus quod dii sui comminuti et in pulverem redacti fuissent, sanctum Georgium ad se precepit venire. Et cum a ministris duceretur, psallebat dicens: Sepius expugnaverunt me a juventute mea et non prevaluerunt adversum me. Dominus vero justitie concidet cervices peccatorum. Et cum in conspectu ejus sisteretur, ait Datianus: O Capadox, en carminum illecebra et maleficiorum tuorum bachatus detestabile facinus et invisum a temet ipso gaudes in diis fuisse commissum? Cui beatus martir respondit: Nequaquam imperator credas diis ista contigisse. Sed ut eos conspicias illesos, precipe pariter usque illuc unum pergere, quo potuerim sub tui presentia immolare. Cui Datianus respondit: Hoc solum modo niteris, ut sicut dii in pulverem redacti sunt, sacerdotes absorti sunt, ita et me ipsum terra absorbeat. Cui sanctus (f. 154 r) Georgius dixit: Et quibus diis nos credere hortaberis, imperator? Qui se non potuerunt liberare de inferis, te quomodo poterunt liberare? Hoc dicto ministris eum tradidit et sedens pro tribunali, talem adversus eum dictavit sententiam, dicens: Georgium, omnium scelerum signiferum, actoremque criminum, qui decus et lumen deorum nostrorum per magicos sophie incantationes in pulverem redegit, precipio eum facie prostratum per omnes vicos platearum ut homicidam et reum trahi, et ita tandem gladio occidi. Cumque a ministris duceretur, veniens ad locum supplicii, duabus horis spatium indutiarum sibi petiit, sub quarum spatio fixis genibus dominum deprecabatur, dicens: Gratias tibi ago, domine, deus celi et terre, qui michi victoriam contra inimici rabidam severitatem dignatus es condonare, precipe, queso, in hac hora supplicationis mee, imbrem benedictionis super faciem terre, et pluviarum saturitatem venire et serva cunctos in te credentes, ut non in eis habeat aditum lupo rapax, semper sancto gregi tuo infestus. Et hoc dicens spiculatorem petiit ut eum gladio percuteret. Et facto signaculo in nomine domini nostri Jhesu Christo ab spiculatore percussus est. Tunc venientes Capadocie regionis viri, qui in agone certaminis ejus aderant, viri excellentissimi et primi christiani civitatis corpus ejus nocturno silentio abstulerunt, ac diversis odoribus nectariis et aromatibus sepultus in eadem civitate, in qua passionem martirii consummavit, reconditus est. Dominus vero omnipotens, aperiens cataractas celi, omnem aridam terram pluviarum nimbis jugiter inebriavit. Datianum vero impiissimum imperatorem una cum suis ministris ad palatium

properantem, subito turbinum ignei currus circumdederunt, et pariter uno momento flammeo globo devorati sunt, et ultus est dominus in persecutoribus ictu repentino. Martir vero Georgius ab angelis coronatus est in celis, regnante domino nostro Jesu Christo cum patre et spiritu sancto, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum, Amen.

Zc. PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, F. L. MS. 5565.

Fol. 82 r. *Incipit sancti Passio Georgii,
beatissimi martiris.*

F. 82 v. Tempore quo Diocletianus romani urbis gubernandum suscepit imperium, cum undique res publica multis ac diversis quateretur incommodis, Carausio videlicet per id tempus in Britannii sumpta purpura rebellante, Achilleo quoque Egyptum invadente, Juliano in Italia impetrante, cum quinque gentium etiam Affricam vastarent, Narseus, quoque, rex Persarum orienti bellum inferret, cum itaque ad tot romane rei publice pericula sedanda se solum minus sufficere posse Diocletianus videret, Herculum Maximianum sibi quondam commilitonem ex Cesare Augustum creavit. Constantium autem et Galienum Maximianum in ejus loco Cesares instituit. Diocletianus itaque obscuro satis apud Dalmatiam loco oriundus, nam Anolini senatoris libertinus erat, ut publica continent gesta, moratus callide fuit, sagax propterea, et admodum subtilis ingenii et qui severitatem suam aliena vi vellet explicare, sed ex diligentissima sollertia atque sollertissima diligentia, in quibus non mediocriter claruit, principatus monarchiam licet ignobilis, obtinuit. Porro Hercules qui et Maximianus, quem sibi collegam pro tuenda republica ascivisse jam diximus, pro palam ferus et incivilis ingenii asperitatem suam etiam vultus horrore non celabat. Hi itaque duo velut quedam truculente belue cum tuendum gubernandumque orbis romani suscepissent imperium immanissima id severitate atque atrocissima acerbitate atterere studuerunt, in eo vel maxime quod eos omni nisu atque omni studio exterminare penitusque abolere satagerunt, quibus ob salutem rei publice patronis presulibus atque tutoribus precipue erga divinam majestatem uti eis congruebat id est Christianis. Quos tanta rabie persecuti sunt, ut in toto terrarum urbe, quocunque crudelitatis eorum edicta profana pervenire potuerunt, cedibus, proscriptionibus, suppliciis antea inauditis atque omni mortis genere omnes omnino usquequaque dampnarentur. Qua tempore omnis fere sacro martyrum cruore orbis infectus est: adeo quippe certatim gloriosa in certamina ruebantur. Nec ullius tum major christianis erat consequende glorie aviditas, quam ut gloriosis mortibus palmam martyrum ad quam (f. 83 v) cotidie preire quisque alterum festinabat, adipisci meruissent. Nullis umquam bellis magis mundus exhaustus est, neque gloriosiori umquam triumpho mundi principes reges videlicet cesares,

dictatores, consules, imperatores, duces, vel si qua sunt alia deliramenta secularium dignitatum, triumpharunt, quam eo tempore vicerunt Christiani, quo per decem continuos annos continuatos etiam stragibus vinci non potuerunt.

Siquidem tam acerbissima tanquam creberrima tunc persecutio flagrabat, ut intra unius spatium mensis ad decem et septem milia passos diligentissimi tradant historici. Itaque cum ad devastandos undique ut diximus ecclesias Diocletianus in oriente, Maximianus vero in Occidente licet dissimilibus moribus, consimili tamen sententia conspirassent ad exequendum tam crudele ministerium immo sacrilegum suis competentem votis sacrilegum eundemque crudelissimum haud difficile reppererunt ministrum, Dacianum videlicet, qui per id tempus tyrannice sue crudelitatis atque vesanie atrocis erga cunc-(fo. 84 r)tos et precipue Christianos rumorem per totum sparserat orbem romanum. Cui cum diu exoptata velut famelico et oblatranti cani seviendi in Christianos tandem offula cecidisset, suisque impiissimis votis concessa aspiraret potestas, nullas uspiam vel differende aliquantulum sevitie patiens moras, jussit voce preconaria ut omnis undique populus ad sacrificandum, ut ipse asserebat diis, re autem vera demonibus conflueret. . . .

(To be continued.)

JOHN E. MATZKE.

APPENDIX I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, HELD
AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
CAMBRIDGE, DECEMBER
26, 27, 28, 1901.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

The nineteenth annual meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., December 26, 27, 28, in accordance with the following invitation :

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, *Cambridge, Dec. 8, 1899.*

The President and Fellows of Harvard College invite the Modern Language Association of America to meet at Harvard University during the Christmas recess of the year 1901.

THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE,
BY CHARLES W. ELIOT, *President.*

All the sessions of the meeting were held in Sever Hall, Room 11. Professor E. S. Sheldon, President of the Association, presided at all.

FIRST SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 26.

The Association met at 2.30 p. m. The session was opened by an address of welcome from President Charles W. Eliot :

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen :

I do not know how any body of learned men could possibly be more welcome to Harvard University than the Modern Language Association. We have been struggling here ever since 1816 to build up the study of Modern Languages in this institution. 1816 was the date of the election of Professor George Ticknor to the first Modern Language Chair; and ever since we have been pressing towards the mark towards which you press,—the development of high scholarship and practical instruction in the Modern Languages. I congratulate you on the immense progress which has been made in your department in all the American universities

and colleges during the last thirty years. It is one of the most striking phenomena in American education. The scale on which we began was a modest one. Let me compare the German Department of 1826 in Harvard University with the German Department here to-day:—In 1826 Charles Follen, a German Doctor of Law, was the instructor in the German Language in Harvard College; and this was his title (I wrote it down lest I should not give you the whole of it)—Instructor in the German Language, in Ethics, and in Civil and Ecclesiastical History. The noteworthy thing about this extended title is this,—there was no other instructor in History; so you can see that Dr. Follen's labors were probably divided tolerably evenly between German, Ethics, and History. His salary was \$500. The present German Department in Harvard University numbers three professors, eight instructors, two Austin Teaching Fellows, and one assistant; and the salary list this year is a little over \$20,000. I mention these facts to show what the development has been here; but it has been similar in many other American institutions; indeed, I think the progress has been more rapid in some other American institutions than it has been at Harvard; for they started from nothing a shorter time ago.

Mrs. Eliot and I are to have the pleasure of receiving the Association to-night at our house. We wanted to invite all the Harvard teachers who belong to the Modern Language Division, a Division which, with us, includes English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Celtic, and Slavic. Mrs. Eliot informed me that there were sixty-four notes to be written. That represents, therefore, the strength of our Modern Language Division to-day.

You are also to be congratulated on a certain cohesion and mutual coöperation which is greater than I observe to exist in some other departments of learning represented in Harvard University. A striking illustration of this coöperation and consent was given last June in the Modern Language papers of the Joint Examination Board of the Middle States and Maryland. These papers were, in the first place, good in quality and judicious in quantity; but, moreover, they represented a far greater agreement as to standards and aims among the college and university teachers in these subjects than could be procured in some of the other departments. This I count a clear sign of strength gained for the Modern Language department in American colleges.

One other point I shall mention as a subject of congratulation, namely, that the study of the Modern Languages in the United States is beginning to connect itself intimately with the life of the nation. If we look back twenty years, we find the connection between the actual occupations of Americans and the study of the Modern Languages to be but slight. More and more we can see developing a real connection between Modern Language study and the actual national interests and aspirations. Now I hold this to be a most favorable circumstance for the development of Modern Language study in the United States. I am inclined to believe that no great subject

in education has ever got firm hold on an intelligent and highly civilized nation, unless it had some connection with the contemporary life of that nation. Take Latin, for instance,—a subject which has had for many centuries the firmest hold on educated men, and on the life of the European peoples. Latin got that hold through being the common speech of learned men and therefore an indispensable element in any prolonged education—that of the cleric, for example. The clerical profession was relatively vastly more important five hundred years ago than it is to-day in the intellectual life of any nation; and Latin was an indispensable thing for a clergyman of any sort. Latin got its impregnable place in education while it was an indispensable element in the daily life of important portions of each nation. As our country develops industrial and commercial relations with the whole world, which it is sure to do within the next twenty years, the study of Modern Languages in school and college will more and more commend itself to the American people; and I cannot but congratulate you on this relatively new prospect for the department of education to which you are devoted. I would not in saying this seem to disregard the learned element or the literary element in the Modern Languages: these are things which in every university we need constantly to take thought for; but your subject is going to have a stronger hold in the next twenty years than it has had in the past, because in addition to this eternal interest in literature and learning you are to be supported by a vital connection with the industrial and commercial activities of the day.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor James W. Bright, submitted as his report the published *Proceedings* of the last annual meeting and the complete volume of the *Publications* of the Association for the year 1901. He also reported that by a unanimous vote of the Executive Council a contribution had been made to 'The Commemoration of the Millenary of King Alfred the Great, 901–1901' at Winchester, England, Sept. 18, 19, 20, 21, 1901. [See *Proceedings* for 1899, pp. xviii f.] The report was approved.

The Treasurer of the Association, Professor Herbert E. Greene, submitted the following report:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, December 26, 1900,	.	.	.	.	.	\$1,507 48
Annual Dues from Members, and receipts from Subscribing Libraries:—						
For the year 1893,	.	.	.	.	\$	3 00
" " " 1894,	.	.	.	.		3 00

For the year 1895, . . .	3 00	
" " " 1896, . . .	3 00	
" " " 1898, . . .	9 00	
" " " 1899, . . .	29 40	
" " " 1900, . . .	127 80	
" " " 1901, . . .	1,389 30	
" " " 1902, . . .	100 50	
	<hr/>	\$1,668 00
Reprints:—		
Professor H. Collitz, . . .	6 00	
Professor Thomas R. Price, . . .	15 75	
Professor Morgan Callaway, . . .	196 10	
	<hr/>	\$ 217 85
Sale of <i>Publications</i> , . . .		30 30
Advertisements, . . .	75 00	
Interest on deposits, . . .	45 69	
	<hr/>	\$ 120 69
Total receipts for the year, . . .		<hr/> <hr/> \$3,544 32

EXPENDITURES.

Publication of Vol. XVI, No. 1, and Reprints, \$	311 65	
" " " " " 2, " "	447 12	
" " " " " 3, " "	215 36	
" " " " " 4, " "	281 42	
	<hr/>	\$1,255 55
Job Printing, . . .	44 02	
Share of Expense of Program of Meeting at Philadelphia (1900), . . .	22 67	
Contribution to King Alfred Memorial, . . .	50 00	
The Secretary, . . .	200 00	
Supplies for the Secretary: stationery, pos- tage, mailing <i>Publications</i> , etc., . . .	62 75	
Supplies for the Treasurer: stationery, pos- tage, etc., . . .	33 52	
Expenses of the Central Division, . . .	46 00	
Bank Discount, . . .	4 24	
Expenses of Committee on International Correspondence, . . .	11 55	
	<hr/>	\$ 474 75
Total expenditures for the year, . . .		\$1,730 30
Balance on hand, December 24, 1901, . . .		1,814 02
		<hr/> <hr/> \$3,544 32
Balance on hand, December 24, 1901, . . .		\$1,814 02

The President of the Association, Professor E. S. Sheldon, appointed the following committees :

- (1) To audit the Treasurer's report: Professors E. S. Babbitt and W. Stuart Symington.
- (2) To recommend a place for the next annual meeting: Professors H. E. Greene, F. H. Stoddard, F. B. Gummere, G. E. Karsten, and A. Cohn.
- (3) To nominate officers: Professors Calvin Thomas, Albert S. Cook, O. F. Emerson, H. C. G. von Jagemann, and L. R. Gregor.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "Notes on the Ruthwell Cross." By Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale University.

2. "Augier's *L'Aventurière* of 1848 and 1860." By Professor A. Rambeau, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

I. Bibliography:—

Augier's *avertissement* of May 2nd, 1860, in *Théâtre Complet*, edition Calmann Lévy, Paris, 1897, volume I, p. 163; Francisque Sarcey's *feuilleton* of April 16th, 1869, in his *Quarante Ans de Théâtre*, vol. v (1901), pp. 7-15; Mr. Doumic's essay upon *Émile Augier*, in his *Portraits d'écrivains* (1894?), pp. 66-67, and his article upon the comedy of manners in the nineteenth century, in Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française*, vol. VIII (1899), p. 117.

II. Mr. Doumic's opinion:—

1) *L'Aventurière* of 1848 is a pure *comédie picaresque*, based upon a single conception of dramatic art and free from discrepancies or disparities, all the characters of the play being consistent with themselves and in full concordance with the surroundings or *milieu* in which they are placed.

2) *L'Aventurière* of 1860, being founded upon two extremely different conceptions of dramatic art, a strange compound of *comédie picaresque* and *drame bourgeois* (or contemporary comedy of manners), lacking unity of tone, color, and conception, and containing most shocking discrepancies or disparities, is therefore inferior to the first version.

3) Augier was a slow worker, a slow, though very powerful thinker. He was liable to spoil a dramatic work by remodeling or recasting it after

a certain number of years (e. g., *L'Aventurière* of 1848 and 1860). On the other hand, he was able to improve a drama by taking up the same theme again after many years of thinking, giving it a new dramatic shape, and treating it in an entirely new comedy (cp. *Un Homme de bien*, 1845, and *Maître Guérin*, 1864).

The first of these statements, made by Mr. Doumic with all the resources of a brilliant rhetoric, is wrong: he gives no facts, and there are none, I think, that would prove or corroborate the truth of his assertions, and it appears to be a creation of his fertile imagination. Consequently, the conclusion which Mr. Doumic reaches in the second statement is unfounded and gratuitous. Moreover, the conclusion contained in the third statement is at least unwarrantable, so far as it refers to *L'Aventurière*.

III. Comparative study of the two versions of *L'Aventurière* (A and B):—

- 1) Place and local color;
- 2) The *dramatis personae*, and their names;
- 3) Plot, situation, dramatic action, and *dénouement*;
- 4) Characters and rôles.

IV. Résumé and Conclusion:—

1. The old version (A) of *L'Aventurière* is essentially the same play as the new one (B),—that is, a combination of two or even three different conceptions of dramatic art, a *comédie picaresque* and a modern *drame bourgeois*, with an idyllic love episode.

2. The changes introduced into the text by the revision of 1860 concern details, the language, and only one character.

1) The most important change of details is in the last part of the play, which is much longer in the old version (Act IV, with the last four scenes of Act III, and Act V having been replaced by one act in B). Here the dramatic action leading up to the *dénouement* advances, in the original drama, very slowly and, no doubt, according to the poet's opinion, too slowly.

2) A great many verses have been altered, or suppressed and replaced by another text, in the new version. As a rule, style and versification, where the two texts differ, are better and more careful in B.

3) Mucarade's character, in A, is inconsistent; that of Monte-Prade, in B, is consistent. This change has affected the general impression of the play in some measure,—by no means in the *dénouement* nor in regard to the general tendency of the drama,—but very obviously at the beginning, which is burlesque in A. This fact seems to have caused M. Doumic's error.

The combination of two or even three different conceptions of dramatic art in the same play may be objectionable from a critic's point of view. But his judgment is not confirmed by the opinion of the public and the decisive vote of posterity. *L'Aventurière* not only was a successful play during the poet's lifetime, but its success seems to be durable and rather to increase with the lapse of time; whereas Augier's purely realistic dramas,

including even *Le Gendre de M. Poirier*, *Maitre Guérin* and *Les Effrontés*, which were most admired by his contemporaries, and which modern critics universally declare to be his masterpieces, have already lost part of their lustre and a great deal of their interest—at least, for a French public. In these dramas, the powerful realism and the extremely exact portraiture of living characters,—the delight of Augier's contemporaries and their principal title to fame,—already prevents them from being quickly understood at every point, and from being fully appreciated in every detail at the present day. They have begun to grow old and to appear somewhat faded, since the generation to which the poet himself belonged, and which he portrayed so faithfully, has passed away. Indeed the *bourgeois* society, in France, has changed considerably since Augier's time. Some of the social questions raised in his realistic plays have been settled, or have disappeared entirely. The public no longer recognizes as really existing all the characters painted by Augier, and no longer regards as actual and true a great deal of what was the exact picture of real life about the middle of the last century.

However, the peculiar mixture of fancy and realism, with a moral and social question rather generalized by the vague and foreign local color of the play, combined with a good versification, half Classical, half Romantic, which is not the least of its charms, and with a poetical language (which, in a literary work, is likely to resist time longer than prose), seems to insure the success of *L'Aventurière* far into the future.

As to the relative value of the two texts of *L'Aventurière*, I think that Augier himself (see his *avertissement*) and the administration of the Théâtre-Français were right in giving the preference to the new version, and that it is on the whole superior to the original drama. But I am well aware that Sarcey's criticism has some strong points, which I have stated and frankly admitted. In purely aesthetic matters, there is, it would seem, no absolute standard; and in settling such questions, a great deal (sometimes, perhaps, all) depends on the critic's personal taste and his individual standpoint.

In reality, my first and foremost aim was to correct, in this paper, a serious error regarding a fact, an error which was started by Mr. Doumic in an essay several years ago, and repeated by him, only two years ago, in an important book of reference. I am afraid this error may become eventually one of those common "literature legends," which, unless destroyed in time, spread and creep into class-books, manuals, and encyclopaedias, and are thus handed down from generation to generation as historical facts.

[This paper is to appear in full in the English *Modern Language Quarterly*.]

3. "Three Swabian Journalists of the American Revolution." By Dr. John A. Walz, of Harvard University.

4. "A Discrepancy in several of Schiller's Letters." By Professor J. B. E. Jonas, of Brown University.

5. "Report of the Pedagogical Section." By Professor W. E. Mead, of Wesleyan University, Secretary of the Pedagogical Section.

THE UNDERGRADUATE STUDY OF ENGLISH COMPOSITION.

A year ago the Pedagogical Section of the Modern Language Association investigated the question as to the feasibility of making advanced work in rhetoric (using that term in the broadest sense) a part of graduate university work counting toward a degree. The report read at the December meeting of last year was printed in the *Proceedings*. This year the investigation has been carried a step lower down, and has endeavored to test the opinions of competent judges on the question whether the methods of teaching composition now so widely followed are beyond the reach of criticism.

With this in view the committee selected, from a brief article in the *Century Magazine*, a passage representing an attitude of extreme hostility to the plan of compelling students to write frequent themes which should be corrected and returned to the writers.

The passage runs as follows :

A wide reader is usually a correct writer; and he has reached the goal in the most delightful manner, without feeling the penalty of Adam. . . . We would not take the extreme position taken by some, that all practice in theme-writing is time thrown away; but after a costly experience of the drudgery that composition work forces on teacher and pupil, we would say emphatically that there is no educational method at present that involves so enormous an outlay of time, energy, and money, with so correspondingly small a result. . . . In order to support this with evidence, let us take the experience of a specialist who investigated the question by reading many hundred sophomore compositions in two of our leading colleges, where the natural capacity and previous training of the students were fairly equal. In one college every freshman wrote themes steadily through the year, with an accompaniment of sound instruction in rhetorical principles; *in the other college every freshman studied Shakspere, with absolutely no training in rhetoric and with no practice in composition. A comparison of the themes written*

in their sophomore year by these students showed that technically the two were fully on a par. That is weighty and most significant testimony.—The Century Magazine (vol. LI, pp. 793, 794).

Comments were requested on the question raised by this quotation. Details of similar experiments, if known, were called for. And, finally, the question was raised as to the possibility of conducting an experiment, or a series of experiments, which should furnish conclusive proof of the value, or the futility, of requiring freshmen to write themes steadily through the year.¹

The reports that came back in response to these inquiries varied in length from a line or less to elaborate discussions which filled several pages. Taken as a whole, they may be regarded as fairly representative of the present position of college and university teachers of English throughout the country as to the relative importance of reading and theme writing. Harvard University, Yale, Columbia, Cornell, the Universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Chicago, Leland Stanford Jr., Johns Hopkins, Louisiana, and many other institutions have had a voice in the discussion.

Our report naturally divides itself into three parts: (1) A summary of opinions on the question raised by the quotation; (2) an account of experiments similar to that just outlined; (3) a discussion of methods for determining with some accuracy the relative value of reading and practical work in composition.

So much depends in this investigation upon the experiments that we are naturally most curious to learn whether this question has been very generally tested. I therefore take up the second division first. Unfortunately, most of those who answered the questions in the circular of inquiry knew of no other such experiments. Some teachers thought they had tested the matter by noting that students in their classes in composition wrote better at the end of a course than at the beginning, or by observing that the winners of prizes for literary work in the various college publications were almost without exception students who had had systematic training in composition.

¹The circulars of inquiry were issued under the direction of Professor F. N. Scott, of Michigan University, the president of the Pedagogical Section.

One professor of rhetoric¹ holds that he has proved the falsity of the position taken in the quotation, and he sends on a printed collection of unedited college themes, which he offers to compare with a collection of articles written by college undergraduates who have not had drill in theme-writing. One instructor had been led to the conclusion in his own classes that the most omnivorous readers are often careless writers, because they write as they read, without much thought.

We have, however, a few accounts of positive experiments. One of our pedagogical psychologists writes:

I am getting short themes written in class from high schools in different parts of the country, with the intention of comparing the quality of the work with the nature of the instruction given. In some cases there is regular theme-writing, in others not. In some cases there is much required reading of English classics, in others little.

The results of his work are not yet tabulated, but they ought to be of considerable importance, if sufficient safeguards are employed.

The next witness has experimented only upon himself, but he has had "some convincing personal experience." He says:

I have published several books on the subject of rhetoric, and I considered myself fairly expert in the art of composition, besides trying to cultivate a sense of style. I never had instruction, but obtained whatever proficiency I had from reading and the teaching of composition. Last summer I was printing a book on a literary subject, and the proof-sheets passed through the hands of a friend who is also a teacher of rhetoric. Scarcely a paragraph or sentence was left as originally written. I trembled for the result of such anxious revision. But now the book has been said, by several competent judges, to be written in a pleasing and unaffected style! I honestly believe that this practical instruction I obtained has yielded certain and important results which my reading never has yielded and never can yield. This case is not quite parallel to a student's case, but, as being in the nature of expert testimony, should be worth something.

The three following are the only reported experiments similar

¹ For a variety of reasons it has been thought desirable to suppress the names of the writers of the individual reports and to allow the opinions and facts to speak for themselves. Much care has been taken to secure a really representative expression of opinion. Names will, however, be furnished on application.

to the one mentioned in the quotation; and these must be confessed to be not altogether conclusive. Says one:

I have tried a similar experiment twice, for a period of three months. I found that the study of Shakspeare influenced the vocabulary of many students the next quarter, but did not affect their prose style otherwise.

A Harvard instructor writes:

The only experiment of the kind I know of was in the comparison of a certain number of papers written in a course in literature at Yale College with a number of similar papers written in a similar course at Harvard. Of three or four of our men here who examined the papers, all but one agreed that the papers written at Harvard were better written, and showed the result of the time given to English composition.

This is presumably the experiment described in our quotation. Lastly, we have the following:

In one of our eastern colleges, about two years ago, the course in rhetoric and theme-writing was transferred from the sophomore to the freshman year. As a consequence, the sophomores had no course in rhetoric and theme-writing during the first year of the new plan. Nevertheless their writing showed in the junior year no important difference from that of the succeeding junior class. Having myself read the essays of both classes, I may affirm that a slight improvement in sentence-structure, and a little more freedom from glaring faults of taste and method, were the only noticeable distinctions. I fail to see that the later class commanded a style a whit more resourceful or effective. In short, the result was negative, not positive. And I venture to say that this negative result—of mechanical correctness, not real correctness—is all that is obtained in teaching unread students in any college of the United States.

Some sympathy with the conclusions of the writer of the paper in the *Century* is expressed in several of the reports; but, taken as a whole, the reports reveal a pretty general skepticism concerning the conclusiveness of the experiment therein described. One experiment, it is urged, is not enough to establish a conclusion so far-reaching in its results.

Evidently, after this showing, anyone who is seeking an unclaimed subject for investigation has a well-nigh virgin field to work in. This leads us to a discussion of the possibility of settling the question by experiment. A considerable number of teachers hold that the matter lies outside the range of conclusive experiment, owing to the difficulty of taking all the factors into consideration, and one volunteers the opinion that pedagogy

is running mad and needs an infusion of common-sense. Some think experiments to be possible, but very undesirable for the students.

We do not [says one] tie up a student's arm and then read him anatomy; we exercise the arm. We have no business to tie up his writing-hand for a year and expect him to absorb technique of any sort through the skin.

One suggests a test course, half of a large class doing writing, and the other half receiving instruction in literature, the experiment to be continued for two years. To another, such an experiment seems possible at a very large institution, but too risky for a small one. Some think the case for composition already made out, and the experiment therefore needless. "Experiments to determine whether freshmen should profit by practice in composition are futile, but experiments to ascertain suitable methods of instruction should prove of the highest value." "Results," however, "cannot be obtained by a condensed report of many opinions where all are at sea, but through an investigation of the essential principles and conditions of effective work."

Many of the suggestions go no further than to propose the division of a class into sections. One section of freshmen could be admitted immediately to a required course in English literature without a prerequisite course in composition. At the close of the year these freshmen could be tested and the results compared with the written work of the freshmen who had taken the prescribed course in composition. But this plan, it is urged, would interrupt the regular course of instruction and be unadvisable, because the results would necessarily be uncertain and unscientific.

A more elaborate scheme, but adopting essentially the same method, is the following:

Take a freshman class of a hundred or more students. Let this class be conducted for a few weeks as a class in English literature, and let the study be of poetry rather than of prose, which might serve as a model. Call for weekly short papers and for one or two essays in which emphasis is laid upon thought, not upon form. Upon the information thus obtained, divide the class as soon as possible (in two months at the outside, sooner if practicable) into four sections, A, B, C, and D. Let sections A and B contain the upper half of the class—better still, the upper third, or even the upper

quarter—the grading to be based solely upon the work in this single subject up to the time of the division of the class.

Let Section A study English literature (prose and poetry) during the rest of the academic year; let Section B study rhetoric. At the end of the year it will probably be found that there is little difference between the members of the two sections as regards skill in writing. Each section will furnish some of the best writers in the class.

Let Sections C and D (the lower half, or, better still, the lower two-thirds or three-quarters of the class) be treated in the same way. Let Section C study English literature; let Section D study rhetoric. At the end of the year it will probably be found that there is a marked difference between the members of the two sections as regards skill in writing. A few members of Section C will write as well as those in Section D, perhaps, even, as well as the average members of Section A or Section B: there must inevitably be some mistakes in grading. The members of Section D (rhetoric) will, however, write with more accuracy, with more freedom from the faults that abound in the manuscript of nearly all students who have not received special instruction in English composition. Especially will this be true if the members of Section D have been required to do some reading of good prose in connection with their study of rhetoric. My own classes are required to make an analytic study of nineteenth-century prose in connection with their study of rhetoric.

A suggestion that might be adopted without too great an expenditure of time, and without interfering with the work of students, is the following:

It is proposed that a collation be made of the data to be found in the registrar's offices in our colleges and universities with reference to the influence of various lines of study upon the use of English. "I now have several people at work," says the writer, "upon the data in the office of the registrar in our own university, with the end in view to see if I can get any evidence relating to the effect of classical and other fields of special study upon the appreciation and writing of English. I am taking the records for a number of years of students in the different courses and comparing these with reference to their grades in English to see if the figures reveal anything. Of course there are difficulties of a serious character surrounding the investigation, since students come with different kinds and qualities of preparation, and those who elect science often do not have a chance to show the influence of their scientific training upon their English before they pass out of this study. But I still think something of value may be gained, and I wish the work could be repeated in the various universities, and taken up also in the high schools. I mean to examine the records in our registrar's office of pupils graduating out of different courses in the high schools and compare their standings in English. This may perhaps give us more satisfactory results than the examination of the records of the university students.

The most extensive outline of a proposed experiment is the following. It comes from a well-known investigator in the Teachers' College of Columbia University. He criticises the experiment described in the quotation as "extraordinarily carelessly devised and lazily administered," and goes on to say :

Even conclusive proof can be obtained as to the exact amount of the value of composition work in improving the ability to write English, in case there is such.

If, for instance, five or six or more colleges would split the freshman class into two sections, dividing them at random (alphabetically), and would give one section theme-writing and the other a reading course, data could readily be obtained that would settle the question.

The data should be four or more themes written during the first two weeks of the year by all the students, and a similar number written during the last two weeks of the year.

To make the test valid requires (1) that the students be representative of the general class "college students," and not peculiar in any respect; (2) that there be enough of them to reduce to a negligible quantity the chance variation in quality of the work of individuals which occurs in theme-writing as in anything else; (3) that the instruction in theme-writing and in the reading course be of the same relative grade of efficiency (*e. g.*, if the instructors in the theme courses are such that out of a hundred college instructors picked at random 27 per cent. would be superior to them, then the instructors in the reading courses must also average at the same percentile grade).

(1) Would be satisfied by picking students at random from colleges picked at random.

(2) Would be satisfied, I am fairly sure, by four hundred individuals in each of the two classes, "students with a year's theme work" and "students without that, but with a year's reading course in its place." Probably two hundred in each class would do to get a result accurate within 10 per cent."

(3) Would be satisfied by the random selection of pairs of instructors at approximately the same rate of salary in the case of each pair.

It would be possible to answer the question even without splitting classes into two sections, though less surely and less easily.

If eight or more colleges now giving regular theme courses would provide the data mentioned above, and eight or more colleges giving approximately the same quality of general work would do the same, but replace their theme courses by reading courses during the year, the data would serve.

The matter of gaining an exact measure of the results of the year's work in the case of both sorts of training, and of comparing these measures, is a very elementary problem in statistics. If ten fairly trustworthy critics of English writing, *e. g.*, assistants in rhetoric in colleges, and four experts,

e. g., editors or college professors, would each read 300 themes, or if twenty assistants and eight experts would each read 150 themes, and if the expenses of correspondence were defrayed, anyone skilled in handling educational statistics would probably be willing to work up a report on the data and risk his reputation upon its accuracy.

There are means of getting precise measures of the improvement of the ability to write good English; measures that will not be invalidated by personal bias, or be so vague as not to advance us beyond common-sense opinion.

It is impossible for me to take the time to describe in more detail how the test themes should be obtained, *e. g.*, whether all should write on the same subject in some cases or not; whether a time limit should be set in some cases or not; whether more than four themes are needed or not. If one knew just what opportunity could be granted by teachers of English in the colleges for any such experiment, one could plan its details with surety.

The only difficulty in the world is to get the data. If colleges would turn over to me the data I mention and money to hire men to read the themes, I could get the answer in a month. The exact statistical treatment is perfectly possible.

We are now prepared to take up the discussion of the question suggested by the quotation from the article in the *Century Magazine*. The comments upon the quotation are not easily summarized in a few words. But they generally emphasize the fact that composition is an art rather than a science, and therefore can be mastered only by practice; and this preferably under competent instruction. They point out important aspects of work in composition that may or may not co-exist along with technical correctness, such as unity of conception, logical development of a theme, proportion of parts. These and many other matters that have to do with the work of the accomplished prose-writer are, they urge, the very things that trouble us most, even when we have read widely and carefully for years, and have given anxious thought to the task of expressing ourselves with clearness and precision.

I should, however, be very unfair to the contributors to this discussion were I to attempt in a word or two to summarize their arguments. I must therefore be content to indicate thus briefly their general drift, and allow as many as possible to speak for themselves.

As a matter of fairness I present first the views of those who

are in general agreement with the position of the writer of the article in the *Century*. Says one:

I hesitate to express an opinion which is still unsettled in my own mind. I am, however, somewhat strongly inclined to sympathize with the writer from whom you quote. Of the two, I feel sure that reading is better training than writing; but I do not believe that either will help a student to write well if he has to be driven to it. I think, therefore, that the first aim of the teacher of English to underclassmen in college should be to interest them in what they read. If he succeeds in this, they will perhaps afterward be ready to profit by instruction in the principles of rhetoric; if he does not succeed in the first task, I think the second is in most cases foredoomed. I have known of men who got little pleasure or profit from their instruction in English literature, yet learned a good deal from their later work in rhetoric; but in my experience such cases have been decidedly exceptional.

Of the same general tenor is the following:

Wide reading is certainly, in my opinion, much more valuable than study of the text-book and practice in theme-writing—in the proportion of ten to one more valuable. For, by reading, the student attains a vocabulary, an array of phrases and idioms, and a notion of the qualities of style. Not one of these benefits, it strikes me, has ever been attained by the text-book and the required essay. Teaching English composition to a student who is unread is much like trying to make bricks without straw.

Says another:

The writer seems to me to have overstated his case. I should agree with him, however, that in many of our colleges there is too much theme-writing. For some years I have had a section of freshmen in English, and I feel strongly that the daily themes which by the custom of the institution I must require of them, are not only unproductive of good, but by their monotony they depress the student, and render him less capable of genuine pleasure in composition. I hope for a change, but I trust that it will not be quite so radical as that suggested by this quotation. My own plan would be to give two-thirds or three-fourths of the time to reading, and to require a few themes. These would give the student a chance to try his hand, and should be criticised with reference to matters in which reading is not a sure help.

Apart from some very brief expressions of opinion, on the whole favoring the extreme position taken in our quotation, this is nearly all I have to offer on the one side. On the other hand, the opponents of this position furnish an embarrassing mass of material, of which I can present but a small part. Says one:

Looked at theoretically, the proposition that a pupil can learn to write good English by reading Shakspeare, with no practice in composition, is as absurd as to maintain that one may become a good pianist by listening systematically to good piano-playing; or that one may become a good skater or a good painter by watching the performances of those who excel in these arts. I believe that the great fundamental error which lies at the bottom of our prevalent unsuccessful teaching of English is that of considering English composition as a science, and not as an art. If it is a science, then the comparatively easy method of sound instruction in rhetorical principles will be successful. But if it is an art, then, like every other art, it can be mastered only by long and faithful practice.

Another says:

I do not think that there is any necessary connection between wide reading and good writing. I have myself known mature men, scholars of exceptionally wide reading in many languages, who wrote in a style not absolutely incorrect indeed, but exceedingly dull and difficult. Wide reading forms the style and enlarges the vocabulary of the born writer, the man who, like Stevenson, reads with an instinctive feeling for style, in its broad effects and its niceties of phrase. But such a reader turns naturally from reading to writing, using what he has gained from the style of others, unconsciously or (as in Stevenson's case again) by a deliberate reproduction.

Such cases manifestly give no support to the generalization in your quotation. The Stevensons hardly enter into the problem of the instructor in English. The fine appreciation of style in others is naturally and commonly associated with the power and probably with the desire to write, but this conscious and discriminating appreciation of style is rare. Thousands read widely who neither possess nor acquire it; reading for the matter and oblivious of the manner. In such cases wide reading has but little or no effect on style.

In general I should say, that the art of writing (so far as it can be learned at all) must be learned by writing, as the art of painting must be learned in the studio rather than by looking at pictures in a gallery. Practice in either art should begin early. As to the experiment cited, it seems permissible to ask, if the results claimed were gained by a study of Shakspeare, why give up reading for writing in the sophomore year, or the junior year, or the senior? If the ability to write will come by reading, a very burdensome occupation will be gone.

It is important to note that, in the judgment of a Harvard instructor—

the opinion quoted from the *Century* is not borne out by the experience of the department of English at Harvard. We find a marked difference between the work of the freshman and sophomore classes in English composition, a difference which shows that the writing of the same man before

the course in freshman composition and after it, is technically of very different quality. With one exception all the members of the department who teach English composition agree in this opinion.

Objection to the position taken by the writer of the article in the *Century* is raised in the following report on the ground of psychology:

There is a great difference between (1) interpreting visual forms to get their meaning-equivalents, and (2) employing these forms to express one's own thoughts. A simple illustration of this is found in the case of adults who read Shakspeare and who enjoy him, but who could not possibly construct a half-dozen sentences on the Shaksperian plan, because their relations with their author have not involved this factor of reproduction of his phraseology and peculiar modes of expression. Then to proceed on the plan of having pupils read widely without the necessity of writing will not accomplish as much as the quotation claims for it. But if occasion be made for the pupil to convey his thoughts in the happiest and most effective manner, the best preparation therefore is unquestionably to have him brought into vital, sympathetic connection with models in which these qualities are embodied. An individual will grow in the power of literary expression mainly by the more or less close imitation of good models presented in his literary environment; just as in the formation of character in general it is far more effective to put one in the presence of a concrete, living personality exhibiting certain desirable qualities of conduct than to give him a program of formal rules setting forth how he should behave himself. One can imitate an act more easily than he can transform into execution a verbal description of the act. So the life, the spirit, the effectiveness at any rate of one's linguistic expression must come, it seems to me, from his reading rather than from his formal study.

But still formal, technical things must often be learned in a formal, technical way. A pupil may read ever so widely and still go on using the split infinitive in his own writing. Again, some of the larger characteristics of good expression will often be missed by even the widest reader if his attention has not been especially directed to such matters. For instance, I have in mind now a man who has pastured in all the richest literary fields, but who frequently presents an anti-climax in his written performances. The fact is that most readers are interested in the content of what they are reading, and not in the forms of expression, and so they never get hold of these latter so as to use them. Without doubt much experience will give a certain kind of consciousness of things technical, yet it is certain that in some cases, at any rate, this consciousness will not be vivid enough to have a controlling influence upon the individual's writing. It must be remembered that the processes involved in motor execution are not immediately connected with the processes of interpretation of visual symbols, so when a man takes a pencil in his hand it does

not follow by any means that the experience gained through the eye will determine the activities of the fingers.

This connection is to be established by a certain amount of attention which will weld together the graphic and other language processes, and the initiative in turning the attention upon the proper things must often be taken by some one other than the learner himself.

Emphasizing the same general thought in a different fashion is the following:

Though the average student may be a wide reader, he is certainly a careless reader; he will never acquire a good style by unconscious imitation. In every college are to be found students who spell badly, who punctuate indifferently, whose diction is meager and inaccurate, who have little feeling for idiomatic phrasing or for sentence-structure, who will write an entire essay in one or two paragraphs, or who will make a paragraph of each sentence; so blind have they been to the examples of correct usage that have been before their eyes ever since they learned to read.

In the matter of form, of constructing an essay that shall have an organic relation of parts, even very good students may be deplorably weak; in fact, one may have a good command of language, yet fail entirely to write about his subject. I quote an instructive passage from the *Autobiography* of Philip Gilbert Hamerton: "I offered two or three papers to the 'Westminster,' which were declined, and then I wrote to the editor asking him if he would be so good as to explain, for my own benefit and guidance, what were the reasons for their rejection. His answer came, and was both kind and judicious. 'An article,' he told me, 'ought to be an organic whole, with a prearranged order and proportion amongst its parts. There ought to be a beginning, a middle, and an end.' This was a very good and much-needed lesson, for at that time I had no notion of a synthetic *ordonnance* of parts."

This lesson, I submit, might have been given by a college teacher; but a teacher of that kind Hamerton never had; and I admit that the lessons that are given by an editor—when he is willing to give them—are more deeply imprinted in the mind, and are more completely learned. Certainly this lesson was an important one for the youth, who—whatever his merit as a writer may be—eventually became a successful editor and the author of a dozen or more of interesting books.

If the college cannot help the student in the matter of English Composition, why expect the preparatory school to succeed? Or why stop there? Is it right to place so much drudgery upon the grammar and primary schools? Where is the line to be drawn? At spelling? or punctuation? or at the ability to construct sentences that are grammatical? Or shall we leave everything that comes under the head of English Composition to be learned by unconscious imitation, by absorption, and devote our energies to the teaching of Shakespeare?

The question really resolves itself into this: Can instructors in English Composition accomplish anything with their students? I believe that even the duller students can be taught enough to justify the time and the nervous energy that are expended by their instructors, that much can be done toward the correction of faults, something even in the direction of positive excellences.

I freely admit that this work involves a considerable outlay of time, energy, and money; but I doubt whether the result is correspondingly any smaller than is the case with certain other subjects. In colleges in which mathematics is required throughout the freshman year, can the instructors felicitate themselves upon the attainments of the lower half of the class, especially upon those of the lowest quarter of the class? And do not the members of this lowest quarter hold on to the little English that they have learned, and get more profit from it, than the members of the lowest quarter in mathematics get from their little learning?

The spirit of the large number of individual reports is, I think, substantially expressed in the foregoing extracts, though the limitations of space compel the omission of much material worthy of a place in this discussion.

So able and complete are the expressions of opinion already presented that it is quite unnecessary for this committee to add anything. The case for reading as a sufficient independent means of teaching composition has evidently, in the judgment of most college teachers, not yet been made out. The burden of proof, therefore, still rests upon the advocates of reading as against theme-writing. No one doubts the value of reading as an aid to composition, and most of us will probably agree that the constant endeavor to draw something out of nothing is as dismal a failure as the attempt to get up steam in an empty boiler. On the other hand, to rely wholly upon reading as a means of reaching the rhetorical goal is, to quote the picturesque phrase of one report, about as satisfactory as trying to walk on one leg instead of two.

The report was discussed by Professors C. S. Baldwin and F. N. Scott. Professor Baldwin spoke as follows:

My own comparison of two cases as nearly parallel to the one cited as may be led to an inference directly opposite. But I should not call either the one experience or the other an experiment. The principles involved in this question have an importance so general that I beg the privilege of

the floor long enough to discuss the subject rather than the quotation, and to use these notes, prepared in reply to the circular.

Since the quotation seems to imply a confusing distinction between rhetoric and composition, let me say that I understand the topic for discussion to be the college study of prose composition and diction, both theory (as in manuals, lectures, and analysis of good prose) and practice (as by the writing of themes regularly for regular criticism). This study, by whatever name it be called, is not uniformly valuable in all its parts. For first, *diction* (*i. e.*, all that relates to words and phrases separately and to their harmony) cannot to any great degree be directly inculcated. The development of a man's vocabulary being largely the development of his experience, a theme-reader's criticism of it is limited usually to correction and general suggestion, *i. e.*, is largely negative. This is the less unfortunate since the best means towards range, precision, and force of phrase is reading. I should have thought this a truism, if it had not been so solemnly affirmed in the quotation. And I have to add only

(1) that "wide" reading is not so likely to be productive as deep reading; and

(2) that just here courses in rhetoric and courses in literature, instead of clashing, may complement each other.

Assuming, then, that in general (it would by no means always be true of a given case) diction may be improved as well by reading as by writing, we have still unanswered the whole question of composition in the literal sense; *i. e.*, of construction. But this is the proper domain of rhetoric. Therefore the fallacy in the inference quoted on the circular is in arguing mainly beside the point. The real question is in effect this: Can the average student learn as well how to make his own writing lucid and forcible in construction by reading the best poems, plays, and essays as by practice and criticism directed toward his specific ends? Remembering that the student may do both, and in fact often does both concurrently, observe that composition may be roughly divided into the *logical* sort, the sort that proceeds from proposition to proposition, and the *artistic* sort, the sort whose progress is not measured by propositions. The two sorts overlap, especially in what we call essays, but the distinction is real. Now the practice of the latter sort, the artistic or literary, is the affair of the few. The study of it in masterpieces covers almost the whole range of college courses in English literature, and I suppose we all agree to this as part of any scheme of liberal education; but the practice, the composing, for instance, of short stories is the affair of the few and these few precisely the ones to whom teaching, whether of rhetoric or of literature, is least important. That college courses in rhetoric are useful even to these is sufficiently established by experience; but the point is that such courses must be a small part numerically of college work in rhetoric.

We are brought, then, by exclusion to this important fact, important enough, it seems to me, to be called cardinal; *the main business of rhetoric*

with the undergraduate mass is to teach,—by precept, by analysis of masterpieces, by example,—logical composition.

To this I should add a corollary : It is also clearly within the province of rhetoric, as we now use the word, to teach artistic composition ; but since this is the ground where courses called "rhetoric" and courses called "literature" overlap, the time devoted to it by a given group of courses in rhetoric should depend upon the number and character of the courses in literature ; should depend, that is, on the particular college. In this regard colleges vary, and will doubtless continue to vary widely, both in the extension given to the terms *rhetoric*, *English*, and *literature*, and in the actual proportion of hours given, on the one hand mainly to reading, and on the other hand mainly to writing. In short, the teaching of rhetoric may profitably spend on the artistic side so much time as seems wise in a given college to complement the teaching of literature ; so much, furthermore, as will give to any student the opportunity for consecutive criticism of any artistic form he shows himself capable of pursuing ; but in every college the teaching of rhetoric must devote its main time to the training of the average student on the logical side.

Finally, let me explain what I wish to include in that term logical. Argumentation, of course, debate and other kinds of speech-making. Persuasion must always remain for most men the main skill sought by rhetoric. Its importance is not in the least diminished by such changes in outward form as have ensued upon modern conditions. But the term logical is meant to include also what the books call exposition, either as subsidiary to persuasion or as independent and self-sufficing ; in a word, to include essays as well as speeches. Either may or may not be literary in diction ; both are logical in construction. Logical progress, in the whole and in every part, the lucid conduct of a theme to its conclusion, is attainable by every student through courses in rhetoric ; it is attainable, without far greater labor, in no other way ; and through courses in the history of literature or through "wide" reading without practice it is not attainable at all. "Reading" in the sense of logical analysis, the study of the whole framework and of each part, is of course directly contributory ; but this kind of "reading" is confined practically to courses in rhetoric.

This logical group, this bringing of knowledge to bear, which is one of the most fundamentally valuable results of a college education, is subserved more directly, I believe, than in any other single way, by the teaching of rhetoric. Essentially different from all other courses in seeking directly a skill, an ability, rhetoric may thus be made to serve in particular each course on which it depends for material and in general the great object of all the courses together. Here, it seems to me, is its main claim to a place in any scheme of college education. Whatever was once meant to be included in the idea of logic as the "*organon*," our "*organon*" in college to-day is rhetoric.

5. "Goethe's Idea of Polarity and its Sources." By Dr. Ewald A. Boucke, of the University of Michigan.

6. "Cato and Elijah." By Professor C. H. Grandgent, of Harvard University. [Read by title.] [See *Publications*, xvii, 1, p. 71.]

EXTRA SESSION, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 26.

The Association met at 8.15 p. m. to hear an address by Professor E. S. Sheldon, President of the Association, on "Practical Philology." [See *Publications*, xvii, 1, p. 91.]

After this session President and Mrs. Charles W. Eliot received the members of the Association at their residence, 16 Quincy St.

SECOND SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27.

The session began at 9.30 a. m.

7. "The Relation of Shakespeare to Montaigne." By Miss Elizabeth R. Hooker, of Vassar College. [See *Publications*, xvii, 3, p. 312.]

8. "Classical Mythology as an Element in the Art of Dante." By Dr. Charles G. Osgood, of Yale University.

9. "The Amelioration of our Spelling." By Professor Calvin Thomas, of Columbia University. [See *Publications*, xvii, 3, p. 297.]

This paper was discussed by Professors H. E. Greene, F. N. Scott, O. F. Emerson, A. Cohn, E. H. Babbitt, L. R. Gregor, E. S. Sheldon, J. W. Bright, W. E. Mead, Dr. K. D. Jessen, and Col. T. W. Higginson.

Professor Emerson spoke as follows :

I am sure we all appreciate Professor Thomas's paper, and especially the delightful manner in which he has forestalled the many prejudices

against this subject. One point has been forcibly impressed upon me. It must be remembered, in connection with the suggestion of orthographic changes, that most people have little real conception of the spoken as distinct from the printed word. This includes not only adults, but our children and even the majority of teachers in our common schools. It results from learning English mainly by the eye, so that, owing to our vicious spelling, our minds and the minds of our children are burdened with an enormous number of ideographs almost as diverse and meaningless as those of the Chinese language. For example, call up the mental picture of the word *night*, and it will be found to contain in all our minds the quite useless *gh* and the so-called long *i* which inadequately represents a diphthong. The ideograph *knight* contains all these useless or inadequate forms, and a *k* which has not belonged to the spoken word for three centuries at least.

To counteract this lamentable difference between the spoken and printed word we have two equally ineffective means. The first is the diacritical marking of our dictionaries and other books, a scheme devised more than a century ago, when the study of the spoken language was in a most elementary state. The present system of diacritical marks is needlessly complicated because it attempts to follow the written word, with its numberless representations of the same sound. It is ineffective, because always interpreted, or misinterpreted, in accordance with the individual's conception of the signs employed. Let me illustrate. A professor of Latin told me a few years ago that his children were correcting his pronunciation. They said, "Papa, you must not say *frost* (with the sound of *o* in *lord*), but *frast* (with the sound of Italian *a*)." And this was the teaching of the school. The teacher, finding the *o* of *frost* marked short in the dictionaries, and interpreting short *o* as Italian *a* from her own pronunciation, was forcing this sound into words to which it was utterly foreign. The diacritical marks had been wholly ineffective, both in preventing misconception and in suggesting a consideration of the facts of the spoken language. The other means of counteracting the burdensome learning of ideographs is what is called "phonics" in the schools, a non-descript kind of phonetics, if I may so dignify it, which is intelligently used by neither teacher nor pupil.

While I agree, therefore, with all Professor Thomas has so well said, I think we must also educate the teachers of our common schools to the importance of taking greater account of the spoken word, before we can hope to be relieved of the burden of our barbarous spelling.

Professor Sheldon said :

Unity in spelling does not prevent divergence in pronunciation. Suppose that instead of teaching a uniform spelling, we try to teach the language itself, that is good pronunciation, pronunciation that is in accord with good usage, or at least some good usage. Those who now pronounce *fire* and *far*

alike, or *doll* and *dial* alike, in spite of the difference in spelling [examples cited by Professor Babbitt], at least those of them who wish to pass as well educated, would perhaps then feel a force exerted on them urging them to conformity with some recognized good usage. Our present spelling hides the real facts of divergence, and not being recognized they can the less easily be fought against.

I welcome the coming of chaos in orthography if it is to be the prelude to a better uniformity. Ultimately such better—much better—uniformity I believe is sure to come, though it may not be achieved even in this century.

10. "The Influence of German Opera upon Grillparzer." By Dr. Edward S. Meyer, of Western Reserve University. [In the absence of the author, this paper was read by title.]

11. "The Work of the American Dialect Society." By Professor O. F. Emerson, of Western Reserve University.

In presenting and emphasizing the work of the American Dialect Society, no apology is made for its absolute importance. Its relative importance to us as individuals may be variously estimated. But that a study of the spoken language of any country is fundamental to a correct and adequate knowledge of its linguistic basis ought not to be argued to-day.

The seriousness of our work is put first because one stumbling block to our progress is the misunderstanding of our aims. The study of dialect too often suggests the dilettante collector. This may be partly due to the apparent lack of seriousness in some of our published word-lists. But in reality there is ample justification for these. It is important to collect even the apparently ephemeral, the so-called slang, and the evident colloquialisms, since these often contain words which have merely dropped out of the literary language, or those which are equally valuable in illustrating some principle of linguistic development.

It is not necessary to consider the objection to our endeavors, less commonly urged at present, that there are no dialects in America. Notwithstanding considerable uniformity in the spoken language, as compared with older countries, a close examination shows many important changes since English was first introduced into this country. There are also many "speech-islands" in which the linguistic development has been but slightly effected by external influences for one or two centuries. The development of foreign languages on American soil is also well worth systematic study.

As to our own language, the work may be divided into two kinds, of quite different sort. The first is an exact study of phonology and inflection, or all grammatical forms, after the most exact methods of Germany. Of such studies we need some for each great dialectal division of the country, as New England, the North Central region, the South Atlantic

states, the South Central states, the Midland district parallel to Mason and Dixon's line on both sides, and the extreme West.

Following English models also, the Dialect Society has always emphasized the collection of lexical material, that is, words and phrases of strictly dialectal usage. This is a vast field, in which a much larger number of active workers is necessary. Individual collections, though small, are also important. Local Societies can be of immense service without extraordinarily taxing the time or energy of anyone. Readers of American books are needed to gather from American literature of the last two hundred years all words used dialectally. Finally we need much assistance in localizing words already known to be dialectal in various parts of the country, and now in printed collections, as in Bartlett's *Americanisms*. We wish to know exactly where such words are used, approximately for each state, after which we shall be ready to bring all these results together in a great dialect dictionary for the whole country.

It is needless to say, yet important to reiterate, that the American Dialect Society needs more vigorous financial support. The English Society has been asking for an annual subscription of one guinea for thirty years. Our own annual fee of one dollar is so small that it need not tax anybody. Yet we have a comparatively small membership, and consequently an inconsiderable sum with which to publish. With adequate support our activities could be greatly increased and would surely meet with your approbation.

12. "Biblical Names in Early Modern English." By Professor George H. McKnight, of Ohio State University. [Read by title.]

13. "On Verner's Law." By Dr. Herbert Z. Kip, of Vanderbilt University. [Read by title.]

14. "The Relations of *Hamlet* to Contemporary Revenge Plays." By Dr. Ashley H. Thorndike, of Western Reserve University. [Read by title.] [See *Publications*, xvii, 2, p. 125.]

THIRD SESSION, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27.

The session began at 3 p. m.

15. "The Home of *King Horn* and of *Sir Tristrem*." By Dr. W. H. Schofield, of Harvard University.

16. "The Legends of Horn and of Bevis." By Mr. P. C. Hoyt, of Harvard University. [See *Publications*, xvii, 2, p. 237.]

17. "Literary Adaptations in Gerhart Hauptmann's *Ver-sunkene Glocke*." By Professor Henry Wood, of Johns Hopkins University.

18. "Lessing's Attitude toward the Sources of his Dramas." By Dr. Albert Haas, of Bryn Mawr College.

19. "The Origin of the Negro Dialect in the United States." By Professor George Hempl, of the University of Michigan. [Read by title, owing to the absence of the author.]

20. "Conflicting Standards in French Literature at the Opening of the Twentieth Century." By Dr. A. Schinz, of Bryn Mawr College. [See *The Bookman*, 1902, Nov., p. 252.]

21. "A List of Hated Words," By Professor F. N. Scott, of the University of Michigan.

22. "Literal Repetition in Anglo-Saxon Poetry." By Dr. William W. Lawrence, of Harvard University. [Read by title.]

23. "The Date and Composition of *The Old Law* (Middleton, Rowley, Massinger)." By Professor Edgar Coit Morris. [Read by title.] [See *Publications*, xvii, 1, p. 1.]

24. "The Life and Works of Heinrich der Teichner." By Professor J. B. E. Jonas, of Brown University. [Read by title.]

The Auditing Committee reported that the Treasurer's accounts were found to be correct.

In the evening the members of the Association were entertained at the Colonial Club. Mr. Bliss Perry, Editor of the

Atlantic Monthly, gave a smoke talk on "The College Professor and the Public."

FOURTH SESSION, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28.

[The annual meeting of the American Dialect Society was held at 9 a. m.]

The Association began its fourth and last session at 9.30 a. m.

25. "Chaucer and Milton." By Professor W. H. Hulme, of Western Reserve University. [In the absence of the author, this paper was read by Professor O. F. Emerson.]

The Nominating Committee reported the following nominations :

President : James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University.

Secretary : C. H. Grandgent, Harvard University.

Treasurer : Gustav Gruener, Yale University.

Executive Council.

F. M. Warren, Yale University.

E. H. Mensel, Smith College.

J. D. Bruce, University of Tennessee.

W. H. Carruth, University of Kansas.

Francis B. Gummere, Haverford College.

Charles W. Kent, University of Virginia.

Chiles Clifton Ferrell, University of Mississippi.

Raymond Weeks, University of Missouri.

G. E. Karsten, University of Indiana.

Pedagogical Section.

President : F. N. Scott, University of Michigan.

Secretary : W. E. Mead, Wesleyan University.

Editorial Committee.

The Secretary of the Association, the Secretary of the Central Division, and such other persons as they may designate to assist them.

Professor H. E. Greene urged the importance of the Treasurer being near to the Secretary, and moved to amend the report by substituting the name of Professor H. C. G. von Jagemann, of Harvard University, for that of Professor Gustav Gruener. The amendment was carried.

This substitution having been made, the candidates nominated were elected officers of the Association for 1902.

[The two Secretaries subsequently added to the Editorial Committee Professors Calvin Thomas and J. M. Manly.]

[The Executive Council elected the following Vice-Presidents, to serve as members of the Executive Committee :

F. B. Gummere, First Vice-President,
F. M. Warren, Second Vice-President,
G. E. Karsten, Third Vice-President.]

Professor Calvin Thomas, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, offered the following resolutions, which were approved by a rising vote of the Association :

Resolved, That this Association desires to record its appreciation of the services rendered through it to the cause of sound learning in America by its Secretary, Professor James W. Bright. During the considerable term of years for which he has held his office, the Association has steadily grown in numbers and influence, while the variety and quality of its publications have as steadily improved. No small part of this result has been due to the untiring labors, the good judgment, and the uniform courtesy of its Secretary. His duties, always arduous and sometimes delicate, have been discharged with a fidelity and conscientiousness worthy of all

praise ; and the Association desires to extend to him in this manner, as it has already done by elevating him to the office of President, its commendation and its thanks.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Association are justly due and are hereby tendered to Professor H. E. Greene, for the conscientious care with which, in the office of Treasurer, he has guarded and promoted its financial interests.

The Committee on Place of Meeting recommended the acceptance of the invitation of the President and Board of Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University to meet one year hence in Baltimore :

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, *Baltimore, Md., Dec. 18, 1901.*

The President and Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University hereby invite the Modern Language Association of America to meet at the Johns Hopkins University during the Christmas recess of the year 1902.

IRA REMSEN, *President of the Johns Hopkins University.*

The recommendation was adopted.

On motion of Dr. Albert Haas, it was

Resolved, That the Modern Language Association of America expresses and records its regret at the loss of its Honorary Member, Professor Rudolf Haym, of the University of Halle, Germany.

The Committee on International Correspondence submitted the following report :

Your Committee, now constituting the American Bureau of International Correspondence of professors, students and others, established at Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, to supply American students with correspondents in French, German, Italian, and Spanish, makes the following report as to the result of this work for the year 1901.

The report of last year was published in the *Modern Language Notes*, and has since been published in the *Publications* of the Modern Language Association of America, in the New Series, vol. ix, No. 4, pp. ix-xi. This publication has done and is doing much to bring the work of the American Bureau to the attention of our teachers of Modern Languages and others,

and thus promote the increase of this correspondence throughout the country. As a result thus far, aided by a free distribution of circulars and deprints, and an extensive correspondence on the part of your Committee, the following applications have been received, forwarded abroad, and supplied (or are soon to be supplied); 321 for French correspondents; 257 for German correspondents; 11 for Italian correspondents; and 6 for Spanish correspondents. These applications have come from eleven Universities; seven Colleges; four High Schools, and thirty-one from private individuals. It will thus be seen that 595 pairs of correspondents have been formed, and 1,190 individuals are engaged in the work.

The French correspondents have been largely supplied by Prof. Gaston Mouchet of Paris, some by the inventor of the system, Prof. Paul Mieille of Tarbes, and some by a few other instructors; the German correspondents have been supplied by Dr. Martin Hartmann of Leipzig; the Italian by Mr. E. Moneta of Milan, and the Spanish by Mr. E. Garpan of Valencia.

The amount of fees received from students and others applying for correspondents during the year has been \$63.92. Out of this sum there has been expended for stationery, postage, printing, circulars, deprints, type-writing, and foreign fees, the sum of \$57.84, leaving a balance due the Association of \$6.08. The last item, foreign fees, requires some explanation. This refers to the charge made by the German Bureau for each correspondent furnished. For the other languages no fees have been charged, and the chairman of your Committee has endeavored to convince the German Bureau that each Bureau should cover its expenses by charging students of its *own nation* only, for the correspondents furnished them. That would seem to be the most natural, simple, and reasonable method, and avoid all foreign money transactions through a money-order office. But the German Bureau adheres to its method of charging applicants from other nations. I do not know the facts, but have supposed that they also receive fees from their own people to whom they furnish correspondents. I would recommend, however, that the present practice of the Germans be not disturbed, now that their arrangement has been made, and is complied with by the American Bureau.

It may be remembered that in last year's report, mention was made of prizes offered by W. T. Stead, of the *Review of Reviews*, to those "most deserving as regards continuance in regular careful correspondence, and as regards character." Ten of these prizes were allotted to America, but the notice was too brief for many to enter into competition. These prizes were given in the United States, as follows:—to Miss L. Goodnight, University of Kansas; Miss Lina B. Dillistin, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania; and Mr. Newkirk, Rutgers' College, New Brunswick, N. J.

Mr. Stead also published an Annual last Easter in the three leading languages, English, French, and German, entitled in English *Comrades All*, which was devoted to the subject of the International Correspondence. It was a very interesting work, and your Committee sent me a few specimens

of this journal for the examination of the Association. He proposes to repeat it, with considerable improvements and enlargement this year, at a price, including postage, of about 18 cents each, if a sufficient number of subscribers can be secured. We should be glad if the teachers would subscribe for about 1000 copies in this country. All desiring to do so will please send their names, with the number they will take, to the chairman of your Committee, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, and they will be promptly reported in London.

The increased demand for correspondents has caused considerable delay in all of the languages, though the French correspondents have been mostly quite promptly supplied. It is also found that foreigners desiring correspondents in English prefer those from England, probably because letters can be more promptly exchanged than, at the greater distance, with Americans, and also, to some extent, from a belief still too prevalent that *American* is not really *English*, but a species of *patois English*, and thus a hindrance rather than an aid in acquiring the language. It is part of the mission of the International Correspondence to eradicate antique and obsolete ideas of this character.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Committee on International Correspondence.

EDWARD H MAGILL, *Chairman*.

The report was approved and the Committee continued.

The Secretary, Professor James W. Bright, read a communication from a member of the Association, suggesting certain changes in the method of arranging the programme of the meetings. The suggestions offered in the letter were as follows :

(1) That we hereafter recognize two different kinds of contributions, namely, (a) thirty-minute papers of general interest, such as are discussable and will presumably provoke discussion; (b) ten-minute *résumés* of papers which are not of general interest and are not expected to provoke discussion, but about which questions may be asked.

(2) That the papers of class (a) be put, as far as possible, in the second and third half-day session (when the members have all arrived and have not yet begun to go away), and that never more than three of them be listed for any one half-day.

(3) That it be the inflexible rule hereafter that a paper to be read by a new member, or in general by any one not known to the maker of the programme, shall be submitted by December 1 and examined by some responsible member of the Association for the purpose of determining whether it is fit to be read at a public session.

(4) For the purpose of determining in advance whether a paper belongs to class (a) or to class (b), let the Secretary prepare a brief circular, setting forth the evils from which we have suffered in the past and explaining what it is hoped to accomplish by the new regulations. Let the circular be sent immediately to any member proposing to present a paper, or to any person from whom a paper is solicited. Let the circular ask the intending reader whether, in his own opinion, his paper belongs to class (a), or to class (b). If he thinks it belongs to class (a), let the circular ask him to furnish a brief account, in not more than three hundred words, of his general drift; and then let this account be printed by the Secretary, if he is himself satisfied with it, and sent out to members along with the programme of the meeting. The object of this provision is to inform the members in advance what they are to hear; to give them an opportunity for reflection, so that they may come to the meeting prepared to speak and say something worth while.

(5) If it should ever happen that *less* than six papers of class (a) are offered, the Secretary might announce one or two topics for discussion in "committee of the whole." Such topics, that would interest everybody, are not at all difficult to find. If *more* than six papers of the thirty-minute class should be offered, the Secretary might select six, having some regard to the variety of interests represented in the Association, and give the rejected candidates the option of going into class (b) or holding over to the next year in class (a).

(6) The above-mentioned circular might very well state that the Association is no less eager than it always has been to encourage accurate scholarship and close investigation. The sole aim of the proposed changes is to make our public sessions, which many travel hundreds of miles to attend, really worth attending.

On motion of Dr. C. S. Baldwin, the proposals were referred, with an expression of general approval of the spirit of the communication, to the Executive Council.

[The Council adopted the following regulations, which were printed on the cover of the third and fourth numbers of the *Publications* for the current year:—

1. Members wishing to present papers at the meeting are expected to prepare them for that particular purpose. Extremely technical treatises may be read by title. Subjects too large to be treated in an ordinary paper, and topics too special to be of general interest, may be brought before the meeting in the form of abstracts lasting from five to ten

minutes. The papers read in full should be so constructed as not to occupy more than twenty (or, at most, thirty) minutes.

2. Every member offering a paper, whether it is to be read in full or not, shall submit to the Secretary, by November 15, with its title, a synopsis of its contents, consisting of some fifty or sixty words. He shall state, at the same time, whether he thinks his paper should be presented by the title only, summarized in an abstract, or read in full. The synopses of accepted papers are to be printed on the programme.

3. The Secretary shall select the programme from the papers thus offered, trying to distribute the matter in such a way as to make all the sessions attractive. In general not more than an hour and a half shall be devoted to the presentation of papers at any one session. There shall be sufficient opportunity for discussion and for social intercourse.

4. The question of publication is to be decided for each paper on its merits as a contribution to science, without regard to the form in which it has been presented at the meeting.]

On motion of Professor Calvin Thomas, it was

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Association that the Cambridge meeting of 1901 has been extremely pleasant and profitable. We feel under great obligation to the authorities of Harvard, especially to President and Mrs. Eliot for their delightful hospitality, and to the Local Committee for the admirable arrangements they have made for our pleasure and convenience. It is our desire that the Secretary convey to Professor Bliss Perry an appropriate expression of our thanks for his incomparable smoke talk on Friday evening. To all and several of the Cambridge people who have entertained us, we are very grateful.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

26. "The *Comedias* of Diego Ximenez de Enciso." By Dr. Rudolph Schwill, of Yale University.

27. "The Literary Influence of Sterne in France." By Dr. Charles S. Baldwin, of Yale University. [See *Publications*, xvii, 2, p. 221.]

28. "Friedrich Hebbel and the Problem of 'Inner Form.'" By Dr. John F. Coar, of Harvard University.

29. "The Dramatic Guilt in Schiller's *Braut von Messina*." By Professor W. H. Carruth, of the University of Kansas. [Read by title.] [See *Publications*, xvii, 1, p. 105.]

The Association adjourned at one o'clock.

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1902.

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*Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.**Treasurer,*

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- Abernethy, Julian W., Principal, Berkeley Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
[185 Lincoln Place.]
- Adams, Warren Austin, Assistant Professor of German, Dartmouth College,
Hanover, N. H.
- Adler, Cyrus, Librarian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
- Alden, Raymond Macdonald, Assistant Professor of English Literature
and Rhetoric, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal.
- Allen, Edward A., Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia,
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- Allen, Philip S., Instructor in German, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Almstedt, Hermann Benjamin, Assistant Professor of Germanic Language
and Literature, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Armstrong, Edward C., Associate Professor of French, Johns Hopkins
University, Baltimore, Md.
- Armstrong, Joseph L., Professor of English, Randolph-Macon College,
College Park, Va.
- Arrowsmith, R., American Book Co., New York, N. Y. [Washington
Square.]
- Augustin, Marie J., Professor of French, H. Sophie Newcomb Memorial
College, New Orleans, La. [1304 8th St.]
- Averill, Elizabeth, Concord High School, Concord, N. H. [3 Hanover St.]
- Aviragnet, Elysée, Professor of Romance Languages, Bucknell University,
Lewisburg, Pa.
- Ayer, Charles Carlton, Professor of Romance Languages, University of
Colorado, Boulder, Col.
- Babbitt, Eugene H., Professor of Modern Languages, University of the
South, Sewanee, Tenn.
- Babbitt, Irving, Instructor in French, Harvard University, Cambridge,
Mass. [6 Kirkland Road.]
- Baillot, E. P., Professor of French, Northwestern University, Evanston,
Ill.
- Baker, George Pierce, Assistant Professor of English, Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass. [195 Brattle St.]

- Baker, Harry Torsey, Assistant in English, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. [60 N. College St.]
- Baker, Thomas Stockham, Professor of German, Jacob Tome Institute, Port Deposit, Md.
- Baldwin, Charles Sears, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Baldwin, Edward Chauncey, Assistant Professor of English Literature, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [704 West Oregon St.]
- Bargy, Henry, Tutor in the Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Fort Washington Park.]
- Bartlett, Mrs. D. L., Baltimore, Md. [16 W. Monument St.]
- Bartlett, George Alonzo, Associate Professor of German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- Bassett, Ralph Emerson, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Batchelder, John D., Assistant Professor of Romanics, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. [Hotel Vendome.]
- Beatley, James A., Master (German and French), English High School, Boston, Mass. [11 Wabon St., Roxbury, Mass.]
- Becker, Ernest Julius, Instructor in English and German, Baltimore City College, Baltimore, Md.
- Belden, Henry Marvin, Assistant Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Bell, Alexander Melville, Washington, D. C. [1525 35th St.]
- Bernkopf, Anna Elise, Instructor in French and German, Rogers Hall School, Lowell, Mass.
- Bernkopf, Margarete, Instructor in the German Language and Literature, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. [77 Round Hill.]
- Béthune, Baron de, Louvain, Belgium. [57 rue de la Station.]
- Bevier, Louis, Jr., Professor of the Greek Language and Literature, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.
- Bierwirth, Heinrich Conrad, Instructor in German, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [15 Avon St.]
- Blackburn, Francis Adelbert, Associate Professor of the English Language, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Blackwell, Robert Emory, Professor of English and French, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.
- Blain, Hugh Mercer, Professor of Modern Languages, Valley Seminary, Waynesboro, Va.
- Blau, Max F., Professor of the German Language and Literature, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [57 Clifton Place.]
- Bloombergh, A. A., Professor of German, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
- Boisen, Anton T., Instructor in Romance Languages, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- Boll, Helene H., Instructor in German, Hillhouse High School, New Haven, Conn. [37 Howe St.]

- Bonnotte, Ferdinand A., Professor of Modern Languages, Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md.
- Borgerhoff, J. L., Fellow in Romance Languages, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Both-Hendriksen, Louise, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [166 Macon St.]
- Bothne, Gisle C. J., Professor of Scandinavian, Norwegian Luther College, Decorah, Ia.
- Boucke, Ewald A., Instructor in German, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [808 S. State St.]
- Bourland, Benjamin Parsons, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
- Bowen, Benjamin Lester, Professor of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Bowen, Edwin W., Professor of Latin, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland Va.
- Bowen, James Vance, Professor of English, French and German, Weatherford College, Weatherford, Tex.
- Bradshaw, S. E., Head of the Department of English, Du Pont Manual Training School, Louisville, Ky.
- Brandon, Edgar Ewing, Professor of the French Language and Literature, Miami University, Oxford, O.
- Brandt, Hermann Carl Georg, Professor of the German Language and Literature, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
- Brédé, Charles F., Philadelphia, Pa. [3931 Baltimore Ave.]
- Bright, James Wilson, Professor of English Philology, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Bristol, Edward N., Henry Holt & Co., New York, N. Y. [29 West 23d St.]
- Bronk, Isabelle, Assistant Professor of the French Language and Literature, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Bronson, Thomas Bertrand, Professor of Modern Languages, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.
- Bronson, Walter C., Professor of English Literature, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
- Brooks, Neil C., Assistant Professor of German, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Brown, Arthur C. L., Instructor in English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. [221 Langdon St.]
- Brown, Calvin S., Acting Professor of Modern Languages, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
- Brown, Carleton F., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
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J. KARGÉ, Princeton College, Princeton, N. J. [1892.]
F. L. KENDALL, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. [1893.]
EUGENE KÖLBING, Breslau, Germany. [1899.]
J. LÉVY, Lexington, Mass.
JULES LOISEAU, New York, N. Y.
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Cambridge, Mass. [1891.]
J. LUQUIENS, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1899.]
THOMAS McCABE, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. [1891.]
J. G. R. McELROY, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1891.]
EDWARD T. McLAUGHLIN, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [1893.]
SAMUEL P. MOLENAER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1900.]
JAMES O. MURRAY, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [1901.]
C. K. NELSON, Brookville, Md. [1890.]
W. M. NEVIN, Lancaster, Pa. [1892.]

- CONRAD H. NORDBY, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
[1900.]
- C. P. OTIS, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. [1888.]
- W. H. PERKINSON, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898.]
- SAMUEL PORTER, Gallaudet College, Kendall Green, Washington, D. C.
[1901.]
- RENÉ DE POYEN-BELLISLE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1900.]
- CHARLES H. ROSS, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Auburn, Ala.
[1900.]
- O. SEIDENSTICKER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [1894.]
- M. SCHELE DE VERE, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. [1898.]
- MAX SOHRAUER, New York, N. Y.
- F. R. STENGEL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- H. TALLICHET, Austin, Texas. [1894.]
- E. L. WALTER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1898.]
- KARL WEINHOLD, University of Berlin. [1901.]
- MISS HÉLÈNE WENCKEBACH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. [1888.]
- MARGARET M. WICKHAM, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. [1898.]
- R. H. WILLIS, Chatham, Va. [1900.]
- CASIMIR ZDANOWICZ, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. [1889.]
- JULIUS ZUPITZA, Berlin, Germany. [1895.]
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CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

I.

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America*.

II.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

III.

The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures.

IV.

The officers of this Association shall be a President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and nine members, who shall together constitute the Executive Council, and these shall be elected annually by the Association.

V.

The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Association, such as the election of members, calling of meetings, selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of the Executive Council.

*Amendment adopted by the Baltimore Convention,
December 30, 1886.*

1. The Executive Council shall annually elect from its own body three members who, with the President and the Secretary, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Association.

2. The three members thus elected shall be the Vice-Presidents of the Association.

3. To this Executive Committee shall be submitted, through the Secretary, at least one month in advance of the meeting, all papers designed for the Association. The said Committee, or a majority thereof, shall have power to accept or reject such papers, and also of the papers thus accepted to designate such as shall be read in full, and such as shall be read in brief, or by topics, for subsequent publication; and to prescribe a programme of proceedings, fixing the time to be allowed for each paper and for its discussion.

APPENDIX II.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEET-
ING OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF
AMERICA, HELD AT CHAMPAIGN,
ILLINOIS, DECEMBER 26,
27 AND 28, 1901.

THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSO- CIATION OF AMERICA.

The seventh annual meeting of the CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at the University of Illinois, at Champaign, December 26, 27, and 28, 1901.

FIRST SESSION, DECEMBER 26.

The members of the Association assembled in the Library, at 8 o'clock. In the absence of the President of the University, the address of welcome was spoken by Professor Thomas A. Clark, Dean. The address of welcome was followed by that of the President of the Central Division, Professor James Taft Hatfield, of Northwestern University. The theme of this address was the relation of scholarship to the commonwealth. The remarks of the President were clear, incisive, sparkling, and proved an excellent introduction to one of the most interesting meetings of the Division. [See *Publications*, xvii, 3, p. 391.]

At the conclusion of the meeting, there was held an informal reception at the Elks.

SECOND SESSION, DECEMBER 27, at 9 A. M.

The meeting was convened at 9 o'clock, in the Physics Lecture Room, with the President in the chair.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The Secretary, Professor Raymond Weeks, of the University of Missouri, then read his annual report. He discussed the matter of the preparation of the programme, and stated that some way must soon be devised for restricting the number of papers read, and of diminishing their length. Greater guaranty should be given the Secretary of the genuine interest and value of papers submitted. Keen competition for a place on the programme might, or might not be a healthful sign. One desirable thing, in the opinion of the Secretary, was an increase in the number of those members who attended the meetings without reading papers, simply for the pleasure of hearing the papers and the discussion, and of enjoying annually a few days in the company of their colleagues.

Some statistics were given showing the increase and loss for the year among the members of the Association.

One of the most important matters to be decided by the Division was the time of holding the annual meetings. It was shown that the movement known as "Convocation Week" was spreading rapidly, and the members present were urged to be prepared to vote on the proposed change.

Invitations to hold the next meeting at the following universities were then laid before the Association: Chicago, Johns Hopkins, Michigan.

The following report of the Treasurer was read, and on motion was referred to the Auditing Committee. The President named Professors Blackburn and Dodge as members of this committee.

Report of the Secretary of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America for the year 1901:—

RECEIPTS.

Received from the Secretary of the M. L. A.,	\$40 00	
	<hr/>	\$40 00

EXPENSES.

Express,	\$ 25	
Telegram,	75	
Programmes,	20 65	
Clerk hire,	3 00	
Stationery,	7 02	
Stamps,	7 00	
	<hr/>	\$38 67
Balance on hand,		<hr/> 1 33 <hr/>

Respectfully submitted,

RAYMOND WEEKS,
Treasurer.

The President appointed the following committees:

Committee on Nominations for Officers: Professors Cutting, McClumpha, Rhoades, Baillot, Heller.

Committee on Place of Next Meeting: Professors Pearson, Pietsch, Voss, Kern, Galloo.

After some discussion as to Convocation week, the reading of papers was begun.

1. "Goethe's *Faust*, lines 418-29." By Professor A. R. Hohlfeld, of the University of Wisconsin.

Professor Hohlfeld reviewed the opinions of the critics with regard to these lines, and showed why criticism of them was justified.

The author's argument was from beginning to end a model of clear exposition.

The paper was discussed by President Hatfield, and would doubtless have received a longer and more adequate discussion, had it not been that the members seemed to fear that the time was hardly sufficient to read all the papers announced for the session.

2. "Notes on English Elegiac Poetry, with a Bibliography." By Professor Albert E. Jack, of Lake Forest University.

The author gave, as the title indicates, a careful study of

the different forms of elegiac verse in English, and suggested some causes for the comparative account of elegiac verse in English. One of his most valuable suggestions was of a possible influence on the metre of *In Memoriam* of Petrarch's sonnets.

This paper was discussed by Professors Dodge, Blackburn, McClumpha, and Nollen.

3. "The English Sixteenth Morality Play, *Mary Magdalen*." By Professor F. I. Carpenter, University of Chicago. In the absence of Professor Carpenter, this paper was passed over. [Printed among the "Decennial Publications" of the University of Chicago.]

4. "Notes on Wieland's Translation of Shakespere." By Dr. Marcus Simpson, of Northwestern University.

The author showed the importance of an examination of the work of Wieland to one who wished to obtain an idea of the manner in which Shakespere first penetrated into Germany. Wieland's translation was in many ways mere task-work, performed without the encouragement of friends. The translator did not seem to feel the greatness of his model. He left out whole scenes at times. His translation shows a lack of comprehension, and an inability to find the proper words in German for the English poet's ideas.

This paper was discussed by Professors von Klenze and James.

5. "In what Order Should the Works of Martin Luther be read?" By Dr. W. W. Florer, of the University of Michigan.

Dr. Florer deplored the admitted fact that the works of Luther do not receive the attention in our curricula that their linguistic importance entitles them to. He believed that admirable use might be made of these works, and advocated beginning with the translation of the Bible, 1545. The student would make rapid progress here, in reading a book

with which he was already familiar, and could then proceed profitably to Luther's other works.

This paper was discussed by Professors Hatfield and Hohlfeld.

6. "Goethe's Predecessors in Italy." By Professor C. von Klenze, of the University of Chicago.

The author desired to find out whether the opinions and views of Italy expressed by Goethe in his *Italienische Reise* were the mere reflex of other opinions current at that time, or whether Goethe shows in his observations a real originality. The author passed in review in a clear and striking manner the current books of travel in Italy, published before Goethe's visit. These books show an interest in antiquity, but no appreciation for the art of the Renaissance. Goethe seems to have done little more than to follow his predecessors.

THIRD SESSION, DECEMBER 27, at 2.30 P. M.

7. "Intercollegiate Agreement in English Courses." By Professor Daniel K. Dodge, of the University of Illinois.

Professor Dodge's paper was pedagogical. He said that the migration of advanced students in English was hindered by the lack of agreement as to equivalents. What has been done in the English for admission to our greater universities could perhaps be done on a higher scale. It might be possible, with a fair if not an absolute amount of justice, to arrange some system of equivalents in the undergraduate work in English in American colleges, so that a student who had done this work well in one school, might feel sure of being admitted to the graduate work in another school to which he desired to go for graduate study.

8. "An Old Spanish Version of the *Disticha Catonis*." By Professor K. Pietsch, of Chicago University.

Professor Pietsch is engaged in preparing a reconstruction of this badly corrupted text, and his paper was in the nature

of advanced sheets from his work. The paper gave evidence of the most careful and exhaustive study of the subject. [To appear among the "Decennial Publications" of the University of Chicago.]

9. "A Comparison of the Ideals in Three Representative Versions of the Tristan and Isolde Story." By Dr. May Thomas, of the University of Chicago.

The author discussed the version of Chrétien de Troyes, and the fifteenth century prose version, together with that adopted by Wagner. The paper was one of immediate interest, because of the revival in Tristan studies, as indicated in the version of Bérout, now under press by the *Société des anciens textes français*, edited by M. Muret, and the attempted restoration of M. Joseph Bédier: *Tristan et Yseut*.

This paper was discussed by Professors von Klenze, Weeks, and Schütze.

10. "The Technique of Adam Bede." By Professor Violet D. Jayne, of the University of Illinois.

In this paper the author made an application of the methods now in vogue for criticism of texts, showing graphically the elements in composition that characterize *Adam Bede* as distinguished from George Eliot's other novels of the same epoch.

11. "The Latin Sources of the *Expurgatoire* of Marie de France." By Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins, of the University of Chicago.

Professor Jenkins presented advanced sheets of a new edition of his former work. His study offers a genuine interest as enabling us to approach nearer to the source actually utilized by Marie. [To appear among the "Decennial Publications" of the University of Chicago.]

12. "The Short Story and its Classification." By Professor C. F. McClumpha, of the University of Minnesota.

Professor McClumpha began by showing through recent

experiment what proportion of six numbers of popular November magazines was devoted to the short story. Nothing can show better the growth of a style or movement in literature than a series of such experiments, carefully made. The author stated that the short story must be carefully distinguished from the novelette, and that no classification which fitted the novel would do for the short story. He then proceeded to build up a system of classification, based upon a careful study of the short story, not only in English, but in other languages, especially in French.

Remarks on this paper were made by Professors Pietsch and Nollen.

13. "*Das* and *Was* in Relative Clauses Dependent on Substantivized Adjectives in Modern German." By Professor Starr W. Cutting, of the University of Chicago.

The appearance of this study in print will alone enable one to obtain an idea of the amount of labor involved in the gathering of the statistics presented, and of the author's arguments. The results arrived at were surprising to many.

Remarks were offered by Professors Voss, Hohlfeld, and Heller.

[Printed among the "Decennial Publications" of the University of Chicago.]

At eight o'clock, Friday evening, the 27th, President and Mrs. Draper received the members of the Association at the President's house.

FOURTH SESSION, DECEMBER 28, at 9 A. M.

14. "The Influence of Wilhelm Müller upon Heine's Lyric Poetry." By Professor John S. Nollen, of Iowa College.

This interesting study was based upon a metrical comparison between the pertinent works of the two poets. The author found that Heine's asserted indebtedness to Müller

was real. See, for this paper, the *Modern Language Notes*, vol. xvii, Nos. 4 and 5, pp. 206 and 261.

This paper was discussed by Professor Hatfield.

15. "An Unpublished Diary of Wilhelm Müller." By Dr. Philip S. Allen, of the University of Chicago.

Through the kindness of the widow of Max Müller, the author and Professor Hatfield have received and are to publish at the University of Chicago Press an unpublished diary of the father of Max Müller. In addition to the diary, there are several letters and some sonnets.

This paper was discussed by Professors Hatfield, Blackburn, and Stempel.

[Published in book-form at the University of Chicago Press.]

16. "The I. E. Root, *selo-*." By Professor F. A. Wood, of Cornell College.

In the absence of the author, a brief presentation of the paper was made by Professor Blackburn.

17. "Literary Criticism in France." By Professor E. P. Baillot, of Northwestern University.

Professor Baillot, while not deprecating the value of genuine criticism, expressed the fear that in France, at the present time, there is a tendency to trust the opinion of the critics, instead of reading the originals. The result of this would be to create a literary despotism, and to prevent real literary originality.

The discussion was animated on this paper. Among others, the following discussed some feature of the subject: Professors Blackburn, Jenkins, Hatfield, Galloo, Thieme, and Jack.

18. "Remarks on the German Version of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*." By Professor H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, of the University of Chicago.

Professor Schmidt-Wartenburg being absent through sickness, his paper was not read.

19. "The Sources of Cyrano's Trip to the Moon." By Professor John R. Effinger, of the University of Michigan.

The author showed that, while Cyrano was slightly influenced by a book entitled *The Man in the Moone, or a Discourse of a Voyage Thither*, said to have been written by Francis Godwin, and published in 1636, he really owes but little to this book.

20. "A Record of Shakespearian Representations at Chicago for the past five Years." By Professor W. E. Simonds, of Knox College.

The period covered in this record is from 1895 to 1900. The record shows nineteen different plays, with a total of two hundred and eighty-two performances.

It was clear from the discussion on this paper that the members thought the preservation of such records a desirable thing. The following gentlemen took part in the discussion : McClumpha, James, Effinger, Stempel, Dodge.

21. "The Symbolistic Drama since Hauptmann." By Dr. Martin Schütze, of the University of Chicago.

This paper was read by title.

FIFTH SESSION, at 2.30 P. M.

The Committee on Nomination of Officers reported as follows : For President, Professor Francis A. Blackburn, of the University of Chicago ; for Secretary and Treasurer, Professor Raymond Weeks, of the University of Missouri ; for First Vice-President, Professor Violet D. Jayne, of the University of Illinois ; for Second Vice-President, Professor John R. Effinger, of the University of Michigan ; for Third Vice-President, Professor Lawrence Fossler, of the University of Nebraska ; for Members of the Council : Professors C. Alphonso Smith, University of Louisiana ; W. E. Simonds, Knox College ; A. R. Hohlfeld, University of Wisconsin ;

Clarence W. Eastman, University of Iowa; C. von Klenze, University of Chicago.

The Committee on Place of Meeting reported in favor of Chicago, at the same time expressing the thanks of the Association for the kind invitation from Johns Hopkins and from the University of Michigan. The time was fixed as the 1, 2, and 3 of January, 1903; provided, however, that the Executive Committee be empowered to change the above dates for good and sufficient reasons.

Professor Blackburn declining absolutely to accept the presidency because of bad health, it was moved and carried that the choice of a president be left to the members of the Council, to be arranged by correspondence. The result of this correspondence was the election of Professor Starr W. Cutting, of the University of Chicago.

It was moved by Professor Dodge, that at the next meeting we try the experiment of "contemporaneous departmental meetings." Motion was carried.

The motion was made and carried to send a telegram of greeting to the Association in session at Cambridge.

The motion was made and carried to send a greeting to the former Secretary, Professor H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, who was lying sick at his home.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

22. "The Authenticity of Goethe's Sesenheim Songs." By Professor Julius Goebel, of Stanford University.

In the absence of the author, the paper was read by Dr. Allen.

23. "The Plautine Influence on English Drama during the last Decade of the Sixteenth Century." By Professor Malcolm W. Wallace, of Beloit College.

The author's study was the last chapter of a work on the same subject, which is being published by Scott, Foresman &

Co. The chapter treated the following plays: *Mother Bombie*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Silver Age*, *Timon of Athens*.

The paper was discussed by Professors Blackburn and Hatfield. [This paper is to appear at the press of Scott, Foresman & Co.]

24. "The Sources of Ferdinand Kürenberger's Novel, *Der Amerikamüde*." By Mr. George A. Mulfinger, of the Chicago South Division High School.

In this paper, the theory that Kürenberger embodied in his novel the experiences in America of Lenau was combated. A skilful argument, based on literary evidence, and supported by personal reminiscence, left no doubt of the author's being right. This study is to appear in the *Americana Germanica*.

25. "Taine." By Dr. H. P. Thieme, of the University of Michigan.

Dr. Thieme developed in this paper some theories with regard to the psychological elements of Taine's work. The study was really psycho-physiological.

26. "The Development of the Middle High German Ablaut in Modern German." By Dr. Paul O. Kern, of the University of Chicago.

Of this purely philological study only the part relating to the development of the M. H. G. preterite into its present form was presented.

27. "Goethe's Schäfer's Klagelied." By Professor A. R. Hohlfeld, of the University of Wisconsin. [Read by title.] [To appear in the next volume of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*.]

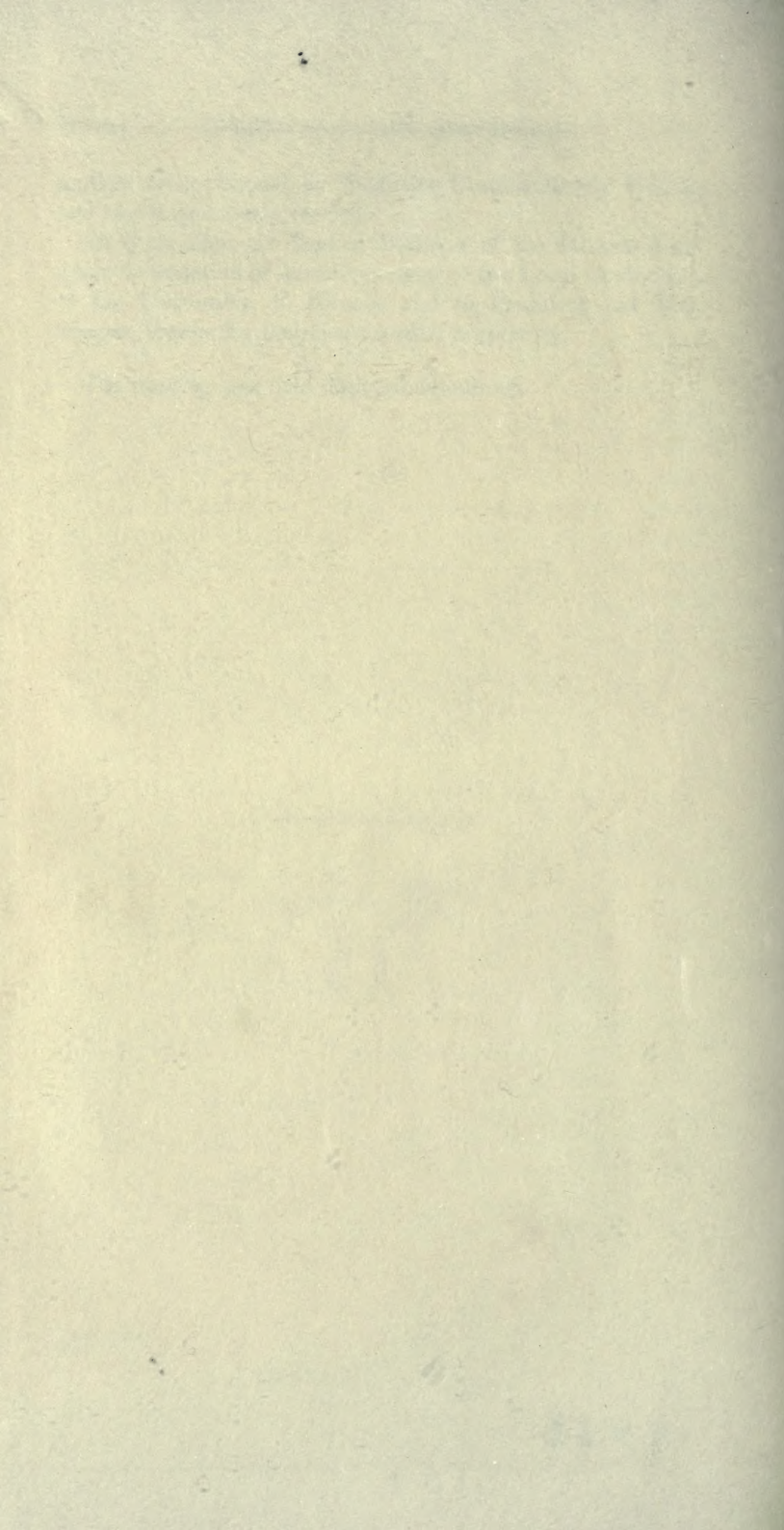
28. "Aïmer le Chétif." By Professor Raymond Weeks, of the University of Missouri. [Read by title.] [See the *Publications*, Vol. xvii, 4, p. 411.]

At the conclusion of the reading of the papers, the following

motion was presented by Professor Charles Bundy Wilson, and was unanimously carried :

Resolved, That the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America extend to the Local Committee, to the University of Illinois, and to President and Mrs. Draper, thanks for their very cordial hospitality.

The meeting was then declared adjourned.



MAY 25 1994

